

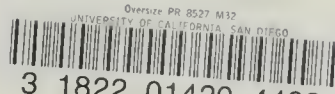
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Lives and Characters
of the
Eminent Writers
of the
Scots Nation

George Mackenzie
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Volume I



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T H E
Lives and Characters
Of the most Eminent
W R I T E R S
O F T H E
SCOTS NATION;
W I T H
An Abstract and Catalogue of Their W O R K S;
Their Various E D I T I O N S;
A N D
The Judgment of the L E A R N ' D concerning
Them.

B Y
GEORGE MACKENZIE, M. D.
Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh.

V O L. I.

Mibi pulchrum imprimis videtur, non pati occidere, quibus Æternitas debeatur.

C. Plinius Cæcil. Secund. Lib. V. Epist. 8.

*Cum Scotis animus sit, in quæcunque inclinant studia; nam nunquam Musæ de-
licatius habent, quam cum in Scotos inciderint.*

Joan. Barclaius Icon. Animarum.



E D I N B U R G H,
Printed by James Watson in Craig's-Clofs, on the North-side of the
Crofs. M. DCC. VIII.

To the Right Honourable,
WILLIAM Lord Seaforth, &c.

MY LORD,



ONCE the Greatness of Persons, of your Birth and Quality, consists in Imitating the Actions of those *Illustrious Heroes*, who have Distinguish'd themselves from the rest of Mankind, either by their extraordinary *Piety, Learning or Valour*; I thought, I could not make a more suitable Preface, nor better express the Grateful Desire that I have of letting the Publick know, how much I am indebted to your Lordship's Friendship and Kindness, than by Presenting you with the *Lives and Characters* of the Illustrious Persons of your own Nation; not doubting, but that the same Goodness that oblig'd me, to this Acknowledgment, will also induce your Lordship to accept of this First Opportunity I have had of expressing it.

'Tis true, *My Lord*, that there are several Persons I have here given an Account of, who are not to be propos'd as Patterns for your Imitation: No, *My Lord*, they acted in a lower *Sphere*, and were confin'd within the Narrow Limits of *Cloysters*. But there are others, that have been, not only the Glory of their own Nation, but the Envy and Admiration of all the other Nations that have heard of them: Yea, those of the lower Rank are not unworthy of your Lordship's Consideration, since the Greatest Men in all Ages have either been the Patrons of such-like Persons, or spent some of their time in the same Studies, that they employ'd theirs in; many Instances of which, I could give, out of the *Grecian and Roman Histories*: For, the Protecting and Encouraging of the Muses, either by their Liberality or Example, was the Distinguishing Mark of Greatness amongst them; and *Quintilian* observes of the Great *Julius Caesar*, That he Spoke, Wrote and Fought by the same Spirit, and that the same happy Genius which favour'd all his Victories, Animated all his Writings. Your Lordship will find, in the following Collections, our Noble and Illustrious Prince *Robert Bruce*, amidst all the Hardships of War,

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War, solacing himself with the Muses : As likewise, the Monarch who first Civiliz'd us, I mean, King *James I.* not only a great Protector and Encourager of them, but well Vers'd himself in all the Sciences. The Second Volume of this Work will be almost a continu'd Instance of this; for when Letters were once brought in amongst us by the Excellent Prince above-nam'd, then our Greatest Scholars were our Greatest Statesmen.

My Lord,

'Tis the Observation of *Aristotle*, That all Nobility had its first Rise, either from Valour or Learning; for to these Two, and the various Employments fitted to them, the Chiefest Parts of Civil Merit are reducible: But, says he, as Plants, so Men vary from their first Stock: The Nature of that is often retain'd in Posterity but for a time, and then they, whose Ancestors were rais'd for Active and Stirring Spirits, Degenerate into Wildness, Levity and Debauchery, as his Examples are in the Posterity of *Alcibiades*, and the Elder *Dionysius*; and the Posterity of those who were Rais'd for their Wisdom and Learning Degenerate into Lazy Dullness, as the Descendants of *Cimon*, *Pericles* and *Socrates*. I wish, *My Lord*, that we had not the Occasion daily of seeing this Observation of *Aristotle's* verify'd in some *Nobilia Portenta*, as *Valerius Maximus* calls them: But, *My Lord*, you have already given such Proofs of a strict Virtue and Nobleness of Mind, that we have no Reason to suspect, that your Lordship will any way Degenerate from your Ancestors, but rather that instead of putting a Stain upon, you will add a New Lustre to the Noble Family you Represent. And since I have mention'd your Lordship's Family, I must at once incroach upon your Patience and Modesty, and beg leave to show by what Virtues your Predecessors came to obtain those Titles, Honours and Possessions you now so justly Inherit. It was the Valour, Fidelity, Magnanimity and Conduct of *Colin Fitz-Gerald*, Son to the first Earl of *Desmond*, at the Battel of *Largs*, which made that Excellent Prince King *Alexander III.* bestow the Lands of *Kintail* upon him, as it appears by the Charter granted to him at *Kincardin*, upon the Ninth Day of *January*, in the Year 1266. which is still in your Possession; and it was from his Son *Kenneth* that all your Predecessors and their Descendants have been ever since call'd by the Highlanders *Mackemeths*, or *Kenneth's Sons*, which is now English'd *Mackenzies*.

The reducing of that Formidable Rebel *John Lord of the Isles* and Earl of *Ross*, in the Reign of King *James III.* was in a great Part owing to the Loyalty, Courage, Prudence and Conduct of *Alexander Mackenzie* of *Kintail*; for which, that Monarch, in a Charter granted to him at
Edin-

Edinburgh, in the Year 1477. bestow'd several of that Earl's Lands upon him, Annexing the rest to the Crown. His Son *Kenneth* was kill'd at the Battel of *Flowden*, as all our Historians affirm, where above Five Thousand Persons of the most Noble Families, in the Kingdom, lost their Lives, in the Defence of their Country.

But, *My Lord*, it was not by Valour alone, that your Predecessors were Rais'd; for, *John Mackenzie* of *Kintail*, for his great Knowledge in all the Parts of Learning, but more especially in the Laws, was prefer'd by that Wise and Excellent Monarch King *James V.* to be one of the Lords of his Privy Council. In the succeeding Reign, when that unfortunate Princess Queen *Mary* was Involved in her Troubles, *Colin Mackenzie* of *Kintail* never left her, till her Imprisonment in *England*, for which he was forc'd to accept of a Remission from the Regent: Her Son King *James VI.* when he attain'd to his Majority, was so sensible of the good Services that this *Colin* had done to his Mother, and of his other Accomplishments, that he made him one of his Privy Council, and Created his Son Lord *Mackenzie* and *Kintail*, and his Grand-Son Earl of *Seafort*; both of them, had given him undeniable Proofs of their Fidelity and Loyalty, by Quelling several Insurrections in the Highlands. In the Reign of that Noble and Religious Monarch King *Charles I.* *George* Earl of *Seafort*, for adhering to him in his Misfortunes, had his Estate Sequestrated, his Lands Plunder'd, and himself Excommunicated and Banish'd to *Holland*, where he Died in that Honourable, tho' then not Lucrative Station, of one of the Secretaries of State to King *Charles II.* Your Grand-father *Kenneth* Earl of *Seafort*, was so far from being Discourag'd in his Duty, by the Misfortunes of his Father, that he gave many Signal Instances of his Valour, Magnanimity and Loyalty for Supporting of the *Royal Cause*, as long as there was any to appear in the Field for it; and when they were oblig'd to submit to the then Prevailing Power of the Rebels, he endur'd, with great Constancy and Firmness of Mind, a long and tedious Imprisonment, till it pleas'd GOD to deliver him, by the happy *Restoration* of the King.

As the *Royal Family* have all along bestow'd the Marks of their Favour on your Predecessors; so the late King *James* made your Father one of his Privy Council, and one of the Knights of the most Noble and most Ancient Order of the *Thistle*; and when that Monarch fell into his Misfortunes, and Retir'd from his Kingdoms, he, in Imitation of his Predecessors, who never forsook their Princes in their greatest Difficulties, went over to *France* after him, and from thence to *Ireland*, where, when the King was bestowing upon his Servants these Favours he thought he

had a Power to give, and that they Deserv'd, he made your Lordship's Father Marquis and Earl of *Seafort*, Viscount of *Fort Rose*, Lord *Mackenzie* and *Kintail*, &c. And upon his Death, he made your Lordship, tho' then but Thirteen Years of Age, one of the Knights of the *Thistle*.

I intend not, *My Lord*, by these few Instances, to raise a Vanity in your Lordship from the imaginary Advantages of an Ancient Family, but to Excite your Lordship, from their Examples, to Imitate and Out-do them : Which is the Earnest Desire and Wish of,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most Humble

Servant,

George Mackenzie.

THE

T H E P R E F A C E.



THE Moral and Intellectual Conduct of Men's Lives is, in a great Part, Owing to the Observations which they make, either upon the Vertues or Failures of Others; and accordingly as they Imitate them, so they prove either Vicious or Virtuous. Hence it is, that all the Wise Nations in the World, have, with great Care and Diligence, transmitted to their Posterity, the Lives and Actions of their Illustrious Predecessors, that they, seeing the Rewards and Honours that were conferr'd upon them for their Vertues, might be thereby excited to Imitate them in their Actions: And tho' our Nation has produc'd as Great Men as any other Nation in the World, yet we have been so unjust to their Memories and to our Posterity, that hitherto there has not been made a Collection of their Lives; so that, as a Learn'd Prelate of our Neighbouring Nation observes (a), To one that considers how many Great Men of Letters, in all Faculties, the Kingdom of Scotland has produc'd, and what a Figure the Gentlemen of that Nation have frequently made in the Universities of Italy, France and Germany; it must appear very strange and unaccountable, that so few of these have been the Particular Subjects of other Mens Pens; and that such mighty Heroes in Learning, to whom the Old Romans and Athenians, would have Erected Altars, should want even the cheap Acknowledgment of a Paper Monument. It is true, that in the Seventh Century Adamanus wrote the Life of St. Columba, and Jonas the Lives of several Saints, St. Alred in the Twelfth Century did the like; and towards the Beginning of the last Age, Dempster and Camerarius gave an Account of such of them as had come to their Knowledge. But these Authors have been extremely blam'd, not only by the Learn'd Men of the Protestant Perswasion, but likewise by those of their own Communion, for obtruding upon the World a Number of Fables and Legends, instead of Authentic Relations of Matters of Fact; so I resolv'd to try what I could do in a Work of this Nature, not out of any Opinion that I had of my being sufficiently Qualify'd for such an Undertaking, but that I might excite others to it, who are better Qualify'd; And I shall think my self sufficiently Rewarded for the Pains and Labour that I have been at in the Compiling this Work, if it can be, in any measure, Serviceable to them; and how severe soever the Censures of the Critics may be upon it, it will be always some Satisfaction to me that I have Labour'd in, and Aim'd at so good a Design.

These being the Reasons that mov'd me to Publish the following Sheets, I shall, in the next Place, give an Account of the Method that I have follow'd in Prosecuting my Design, and obviate such Objections as, I think, may be, probably, rais'd against me.

When I first undertook this Work, I intended only to give a simple Catalogus of Scots Writers, (like that of Dempster's) from the Five Hundreth Year of our LORD, till the Year Seventeen Hundreth: But, finding that this

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would

(a) Vid. the B. of Carlisle's Scots Hist. Lib. Chap. 6. Pag. 252.

would be but a dry and insipid *Work*, I laid aside my First *Design*, and, with some more Pains and Materials, I drew up the History of their Lives, an Abstract and Catalogue of all their Works, their Various Editions, and the Judgments of the Learned concerning them. Moreover, for the Reader's greater Diversion, when ever I find an Author Engag'd in a Controversy of any Moment, I give a short Historical Deduction of that Controversy, from its First Rise till our Author's time: And here I doubt not but it will be Objected, That as my First *Design* was too narrow and barren, so my Second is of too great an Extent; it being hardly probable, that one Person can so much as tolerably well perform a *Work* of this Nature. But if they, who are of this Opinion, would but Reflect a little upon the Materials which the Learn'd Men of this Age have afforded by their Bibliothecs, Historical Dictionaries and Journals, they would quickly perceive their Mistake. By their Bibliothecs I do not here mean their Libraries, but their Elaborate Composures Publish'd under that Title, such as the New Ecclesiastical Bibliothec of M. Du Pin, wherein we have an Abstract of all the Works of the Ecclesiastical Writers, who have liv'd since the Birth of our Saviour till the Beginning of the last Age; which truly is a *Work* of such Labour and Learning, that it is deservedly esteem'd one of the best Ecclesiastical Histories that ever the World had.

Others may think that I have been Injurious to our Neighbours of Ireland, who, upon the plausible Pretence of their being call'd the Ancient Scots, affirm, That many of the Writers that I have made mention of, were Born in their Country (b); and their Antiquaries will not so much as allow us to have had the Name of Scots till the Eleventh Century (c). Thus, Arch-Bishop Usher speaking of the Eleventh Century, says (d), *Neminem, qui toto antecessentium Annorum Spatio scripserit, produci posse arbitramur, qui Scotiæ Appellatione Albaniam unquam designaverit.* I do not believe that there is any Writer that liv'd within a Thousand Years after Christ, that once mentioned the Name of Scotland, and doth not mean Ireland by it. But besides the Arguments that I have brought to the contrary, in the Beginning of every Writer's Life, Dempster, Camerarius, Buchanan, Sir George Mackenzie, Sir Robert Sibbald, Sir James Dalrymple and several others have done it from unquestionable Authorities, as it will evidently appear to every one, who impartially reads their Writings upon this Subject. There is likewise now ready for the Press, a Learn'd and Elaborate Treatise, written by the Right Honourable George Earl of Cromarty, wherein he proves, from their own Records and Writers, that we were settled here from Ireland long before the Birth of our Saviour. But tho' this be the Opinion of all our Antiquaries, yet I think that there are greater Presumptions for believing that the Scots in Ireland came from the Scots in North-Britain, than that the Scots in North-Britain should come from Ireland; and this I shall endeavour to prove by proposing what seems most probable to me, concerning the First Peopling of the North of Britain or Scotland.

The Ancient Geographers, as Strabo observes out of Ephorous (e), divided the then known World into Four Parts; the Eastern, they call'd India; the Southern, Æthiopia; the Western, Celtia; and the Northern, Scythia; and in the European Parts they knew but of Two Nations beside the Greeks, and those are the Celtæ and the Scythæ. Those that Inhabited the North-

(b) Vid. Waræus, de Scrip. Hibern. (c) Usher, Primord. Pag. 725. &c. Bishop of St. Asaph's Hist. Account, Ch. I. Pag. 9. (d) Pag. 734. (e) Strabo, Geogr. Lib. 7. Pag. 23.

Northward, saith Strabo (f), were call'd *Scythæ*, and those to the West *Celtæ*. Now the Inhabitants of the Higher Asia, Situate above Media, Mount Taurus and Caucasus, were all of them, from the Beginning, call'd *Scythians*, and this Name was known to the most Ancient Greeks, tho' it had not its First Rise from them, but from their Dexterity in Shooting of Arrows (g), Darting their Javelins, and such like Exercises; and to this very Day, several of the Northern Nations use the Word *Scheten* or *Schuten* in that Sense: And the Word *Schutz*, from which came that of *Scythies*, signifies an Archer among them. These *Scythians* were formerly reputed the Ancientest Nation in the World, which made Justine (h) after Trogus Pompeius say, *Scytharum Gens Antiquissima semper habita*, and he assures us, that they were before the Egyptians, who disputed the Prerogative of Antiquity with them, and from whom our Antiquaries make the Scots to be Descended *Superatis Ægyptiis, Antiquiores semper visi Scythæ*; and nothing can be truer, for, by the Sacred Scriptures, we find that the *Scythians* came from Magog, the Second Son of Japhet, whereas the Egyptians were the Descendents of Mizraim the Second Son of Cham, and consequently the Former must have the Prebeminence, since Japhet was Cham's Eldest Brother, and the First Begotten of Noah (i). Monsieur Pezron (k) has clearly proven, that the Gomerians, or the Descendents of Gomer, were call'd *Sacæ*, while they continued in the Upper-Asia, and that this Name was Anciently given to all the *Scythians*. Thus Herodotus says, That the Persians gave this Name to all the *Scythians* (l), *Persæ cunctos Scythos vocant Sacas*; and this agrees exactly with what Pliny (m) says of the Persians, or rather of the Parthians, for these Ancient Historians very often take the one for the other; *Ultra sunt Scytharum Populi, Persæ illos Sacas in Universum appellavere a proxima Gente*; where, by the Proxima Gens, or next Nation, he means the Margians; for the Gomerians, having, from the Earliest Times, possess'd themselves of the Provinces that lie to the East of the Caspian Sea, and that reach from Media to the River Jaxartes, some of them step'd into Margiana, which is a Rich and Fruitful Country. This People, in Process of Time, Increasing to a vast Multitude, the Seeds of Dissention sprung up amongst them, and, amidst their Commotions, those who proved the weakest, either in Number or Strength, were expell'd by the other, and forc'd to seek for a Retreat in the Neighbouring Countries; so that passing over these vast Mountains, that are to the South of Margiana, they entred into a Country then in the Possession of the Medes, who were known by the Name of the Aarii. Those Fugitives, having fix'd themselves in this Country, were call'd Parthians, the same signifying as much as Exil'd or Banish'd Persons. Now there were Two sorts of *Sacæ*, viz. the more Civiliz'd *Sacæ*, who Coalesced into Societies in Bactriana and the Adjacent Countries; and the Vagrant or Wild *Sacæ*, who were known by the Name of Nomades.

These *Sacæ*, call'd Nomades, who dwell about the Rise or Spring of the Jaxartes, and not far from Mount Imaus (n), whether it were that they were not willing to follow the Example of the other *Sacæ*, who had fallen into Armenia and Capadocia, made great Incursions towards the North Part of Asia and over all Europe; and as they were in Quest of some proper Place, where to fix themselves, they took a Resolution, after their frequent Rovings, to settle

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above

(f) Lib. 1. Pag. 22. (g) Vid. M. Pezron's Antiquities of Nations, Chap. 4. Pag. 21. (h) Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 13.
(i) Vid. Boch. Phaleg. (k) Ubi sup. (l) Herod. Histor. Lib. 7. (m) Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. Cap. 17. (n) Vid. Pezron's Antiq. Chap. 7.

above the Euxine Sea, towards the Palus Mæotidis. Scymnus Chius (o) says, That the Scythians extended from the Palus Mæotis to Countries wholly unknown to the Greeks; and here they chang'd their Name into that of Cimbrians or Cimmerians, in Latine, Cimbri, which properly signifies Warriours or Men of War: But the Greeks, especially the Poets, whose Business it was to soften those Barbarous Names, gave them that of Cimmerians. Being thus settled about the Palus Mæotidis, and having fix'd their Habitations, they Communicated their Name to that Famous Streight called the Cimbrian or Cimmerian Bosphorus. For all which, besides the Authors already cited, Polidonius (p), Diodorus Siculus (q), Strabo, Plutarch (r) and other Ancient Authors may be Consulted.

Now these Cimbrians, says Bishop Stillingfleet, being tempted by Rivers, as Olaus Rudbeck conjectures, (f) having no Skill in Navigation or Astronomy, and the Woods, in the First Ages of the World, being unpassable, the People still went further and further by the Rivers side, till at last, finding themselves Bounded by the vast Mountains in these Northern Countries, and the Sea beyond them, they sat down there, and in time so Replenish'd those Parts, that they were willing to discharge themselves, by sending Colonies Abroad. To which End, they accustomed themselves to the Sea, and so from thence these Scythians came into the Northern Parts of Britain, where they had the Name of Caledonians. Now Ireland, being the next Adjacent Country to them, and in their View, it was very Natural for them, when they were over-stocked with People, to send a Colony there.

To confirm this Conjecture, of the Peopling of Ireland from the North of Britain, and that both We and They are Descended from the Ancient Scythians; we are to observe, in the First Place, That when the Almighty, after the Appeasing of His Displeasure by the Universal Deluge, which destroy'd the Wicked of the Old World, came to give His Blessing to the Three Sons of Noah, whom He had reserv'd for the Peopling of the Earth again; He said unto them, Multiply and Increase: But when their Father Noah, some time after, gave them his Benediction, he said to Japhet his Eldest Son, God shall enlarge Japhet, &c. To let us know, that the Bounds and Possessions of his Posterity should be of a Vast Extent, and accordingly the Descendants of that Ancient Patriarch Possess'd above the half of Asia, all Europe and a Part of America; and it was from the Descendants of Gomer his Eldest Son, who settled first in the Provinces of the Upper-Asia, that in Process of time the Celtæ came, and these People were so Warlike and Numerous, that they possess'd almost all the Countries of Europe (t): And hence it was, that on the One Side the Cape of Oby, which is at the Mouth of the River Oby, the farther Part of Mulcovy, was Anciently call'd (u) Promontorium Celticæ litarmis, carambucis lucis; and That on the Other Side Cape Finister, which is the farthest Bounds of Spain and the Western Point of Galicia, was also call'd Promontorium Celticum, from the Celtæ, who possess'd these Countries in Spain. The Celtæ were therefore, Anciently Seated in both the Extremities of Europe, towards the East and West; and the Ancient Greek Writers call'd all the Northern Nations Celtæ or Celto-Scythæ; Veteres Græcorum Scriptores, says Strabo (x) Univerſas Gentes Septentrionales ΣΥΤΘΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΕΛΤΟ-ΣΥΤΘΑΣ ΕΚΛΑΟΥΝ.

Scy-

(o) Vid. Holfsten. Not. in Steph. de Urbibus, Pag. 378. (p) Apud Strab. Lib. 7. (q) In Bibliot. (r) In Mario. (f) Vid. Olaus Rud. Atlantic. Cap. 3. Sect. 10. Stillingfleet's Preface to his Orig. Britan. Pag. 37. (t) Vid. Pez-
roo's Antiq. Book II. Ch. I. (u) Plin. Lib. 6. Cap. 13. (x) Strab. Lib. 11.

Scythas & Celto-Scythas appellaverunt. And, as we have already Observ'd, That Learn'd Man, in his First Book, gives the Name of Celtæ and Iberi, or rather that of Celti-Berians and Celto-Scythians, to those People, who Liv'd towards the Western Parts of Europe: His Words are, Celtæ & Iberi, aut mixto nomine Celtiberi ac Celto-Scythæ appellati sunt. This made Ephorus, who liv'd a little before the Time of Alexander the Great, say, That Celtica was of a Prodigious Extent; Ephorus ingenti magnitudine dicit esse, ΤΗΝ ΚΕΑΤΙΚΗΝ (i. e.) Celticam. And from the Celtiberi in Ireland is that Country call'd Ibernia; as the Scythians being in the North of Britain, was the Reason of its being call'd Scotia or Scotland: For, as Radulphus de Diceto (y) has Observ'd, Scythæ Scythici, Scoti Scotici, are all one: And Nennius expressly calls them Scythæ; and Gildas, the Irish Sea, Vallem Scythicam; and Alfred, in the English Translation of Orosius, calls them Scytan, and the Germans call both, the Scythians and Scots, Scutten, and the Old Britain Yfcot. All this is acknowledg'd by Bishop Stillingfleet; but he makes the Scythæ in Ireland to have come from Scandinavia, and to have Sail'd by our Northern Islands thither, and not from the Scythians in North-Britain. But is it not more Probable and more Natural, to think, that the Cimbri, from the Palus Mæotis, (who gave the Name to the Cimbric Chersonesus, now call'd Jutland; and Subject to the Danes, and the Scythæ from the other Parts of Scandinavia,) should have come First to the North of Britain, as being the Land that was next to them, and from thence to have Spread into Ireland, being the Land next in their View, than to suppose they Sail'd by such a Continent in Quest of Another?

Another Argument, for proving the Irish Scythians to have come from the Scythians in North-Britain, is from what is Own'd by their own Antiquaries, from their best Records; Thus, One of their late Antiquaries says (z), That it appears by all their Ancient Records, that they had their Original from the Scythians. The same Records speak of Two great Colonies, which came thither from Britain, the One of the Belgæ, of which Slangius or Slanius was the Head; who was the First Monarch of Ireland; and Another of the Dannanæ, from the Northern Parts of Britain, under Nuadus: And this Account is likewise given of them by Giraldus Cambrensis.

Here it may be thought very strange, How a Colony of Germans should be sent from Britain over to Ireland; but this is a further Proof of the Probability of what I am advancing: For, the Cimbri, who came from the Upper-Asia, possess'd themselves of a great Part of the Lower-Germany (a); and after several Removes and Agitations, they at last Fix'd, at least a great Part of them, in Scandinavia, and particularly in the Peninsula, now call'd Jutland, and from thence came over to Britain.

As to the other Colony, call'd the Dannanæ, I take them to be the same with the Dax or Dahæ. These Dahæ are Famous enough in Ancient Historians and Geographers; they had their First Settlements in Hircania and Margiana. Thus Ptolomy, who has given us the best and surest Account of Asia, places them with the Parni and Massagetæ in Margiana; for, after he has spoken of the Derbices that Liv'd near the Oxus, a little to the North, he says, Below these are the Massagetæ, that is, towards the South; near unto them, are the Parni, and then the Dax, and near unto them are the Desarts of Margiana.

Now these Dahæ were the next Neighbours to the Ancient Teutons, whom the Romans call'd Germans, which is a Foreign Word, and never Adopted by them no more than the Word Scot, by the Scots, there being no such Word in our Old Language. I say, that these Dahæ were not only Neighbours to the Germans, but, likewise, by their Origination, they were Brethren, as M. Pezron has proven; and from them a great many Nations are Descended, such as the Patni, the Aparni, the Getæ, otherwise call'd Massagetæ, the Syebi or Suebi, the Saffons or Saxons, the Taparoans, Anarians, Afiotes, and Alani. So that it is no wonder, that they came along with the Germans to the North of Britain.

A Third Argument for this Conjecture is, the Conformity that is to be Observ'd betwixt the Customs and Manners of the Ancient Celto-Scythæ and our Highlanders. In the First Place, the Celtæ Wore a small Cap, or rather, a little Round Bonnet upon their Heads (b); So do our Highlanders. The Celtæ were Naturally Valiant, Inur'd to Hardships, Agile and Expert in all Manly Exercises; So are the Highlanders. The Arms of the Celtæ were a Head-Piece, a Target, Bowes and Arrows, and a short Sword like a Bagonet; and our Highlanders have these Arms to this very Day. The Celtæ had their Bards or Poets, who Sung the Illustrious Achievements of their Ancestors; so have our Highlanders. If the Celtæ, by Misfortune, were beaten, they choos'd rather to die with their Swords in their Hands, than to be taken Prisoners; So do our Highlanders. The Celtæ had their Schaldres, who Recited the Genealogies of their Great Men; and our Highlanders have their Sanachies, who do the same. The Celtæ, when they went to Battel, Encourag'd their Men to Fight by Music; So do the Highlanders. The Celtæ were more addicted to War than Letters, never desiring to know more than their Songs and Genealogies; So are the Highlanders. The Celtæ, when they would have any thing made Known or Public, they wrote it upon a long and Polish'd Stick, like a Cylinder, which they call'd Scytale; and our Highlanders, when they desire any thing to be publish'd, do it by sending about among them a Clowen Stick, which they call the Fiery Cross. The Celtæ were very Abstemious and Course in their Way of Feeding; So are our Highlanders. The Celtæ, that they might make their Children Hardy, Robust and Healthful, were Wont to Wash them in Cold Springs of Water; So do our Highlanders. The Language of the Celtæ is, in a great Part, still Retain'd by the Ancient Highlanders, as it will evidently appear to any One, who shall Consult the Learn'd Mr. Lhwyd his Archæologia Britannica. And Lastly, the Celtæ were Clothed in Plaids, and after the same Manner that our Highlanders are, as it appears from what is said of them by Caius Sollius Apolinarius Sidonius, in the Fourth Book of his Epistles, and in the Twentieth Epistle.

A Fourth Argument for this, is taken from the Accounts that Tacitus gives us in the Life of his Father-in-Law Agricola (c). In his Time, the Northern Parts of this Island were well Inhabited, as it will appear by the following Account that he gives of them. The Brigantes, who Extended as far as the Tine, were, as he saith, Subdued by Petilius Cerealis; The Silures, by Julius Frontinus; The Ordovices, by Julius Agricola, in his First Entry upon this Province. But in his Third Year, he went as far as the River Tay. In his Fifth Year, he says, That he Fought with, and Discover'd Nations, that were before Unknown; And in his Sixth Year, he apply'd himself to
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(b) Vid. Pezr. Antiq. Book I. Chap. 8. (c) Tac. Vit. Agr. C. 17, 18.

the Conquest of these Nations, among whom, a General Insurrection was apprehended, and all the Passages by Land were Suppos'd to be Beset; and therefore Agricola set out a Fleet to Discover the Country, the very Sight of which, struck them with great Terror and Amazement: And then, saith he, the Caledonians Arm'd themselves, and set upon the Romans with all the Force they could make: And falling upon the Ninth Legion unexpectedly, they had totally Defeated them, if the Army had not come in timely to their Rescue, by which good Success the Roman Army, being much Encourag'd, cried out to March into Caledonia, that they might, at last, come to the outmost Parts of Britain: But the Caledonians, not attributing this to the Valour of the Romans, but to the Ill Conduct of their General, resolv'd to Fight it out bravely; and to That End they Dispos'd of their Wives and Children in Places of Safety. Then, after several Meetings and Solemn Sacrifices, they Enter'd into a Strict Confederacy, to stand it to the outmost against the Romans. In this Case of Common Danger all the Clans United themselves together; and rais'd an Army of Thirty Thousand Men, under the Command of Galgacus or Galdus, whom our Historians make the Twentieth and First King of Scotland. This Excellent Prince, being ready to give them Battel, told them, in his brave Oration, so much Commended by Justus Lipsius, That they were the Last of the Britains, there being no Nation beyond them; and he calls them the Most Noble of the Britains, who had never beheld the Slavery of Others.

Upon this, a Bloody Battel was Fought at the Foot of the Grampian Hills, where Galgacus had Ten Thousand of his Army kill'd, and the Rest dispers'd; After which, Agricola was Recall'd. This is the Substance of what Tacitus says, concerning the Inhabitants of North-Britain; wherein we may observe, says Bishop Stillingfleet (d), That these Britains or Caledonians, were not such as were Driven thither by the Strefs of War; but such as had long Inhabited there, and had so little Communication with the other Britains, that they had never seen the Condition of Slavery, which the Romans had brought them to. Secondly, That they were not inconsiderable for their Numbers or Valour, who were able to Oppose the whole Roman Army, and make their Victory so doubtful. Thirdly, That these had a distinct Name from the rest, being in general call'd the Caledonian Britains.

Now Tacitus thinks, that they had a Different Original from the Silures and other Britains, who came from Gaul; whereas the Caledonians, he says, came from Germany, where he takes Germany in a very large Sense, so as to Extend as far as the Sarmatæ (e), and to Comprehend under it the Northern Nations of the Cimbri, Gothones and Sucones, from whom the Caledonians were Descended, as we have formerly Observ'd; their Coasts being the nearest to these European Scythians. Ptolomy (f) places the Royal Scythians near the Hyperborean Mountains, which could never be found in the Vast Plains of Poland and Muscovy, as some have thought, there being no Mountains there, answering to their Description, as Herbersteinus (g) and Matthias a Micou confess (h): And therefore Olaus Rudbeck hath Undertaken to prove, (i) That these Mountains were no other than the Ridge of Mountains in Sweden, where the Seat of the Ancient Scythians was, and that Ptolomy was extremely Mistaken in the Situation of the Northern Nations, removing them several Degrees more Eastward than they ought to have

b 2

been;

(d) De Orig. Brit. Cap. 5. Pag. 245. (e) De Mor. Germ. C. 1. 43, 44. (f) Tab. 8. Europa. (g) Rer. Muscov. Pag. 61. (h) Sarm. Europ. Lib. 2. C. 3, 4. (i) Atlantic. C. 9.

been, and so very much straitning Scandinavia; which, for its Populousness, Jornandes(k) calls the Workhouse of Nations. These European Scythians did make frequent Expeditions by Sea; and Tacitus says particularly of the Sueones(l), That they were well provided of Shipping: And Olaus Rudbeck, from the Old Gothic(m) Historians, tells us, That it was a Custom for them to go Abroad by Sea, under the Conduct of One of their Princes, to see for Booty; and therefore, as Bishop Stillingfleet has rightly Observ'd, (n) There can be no Improbability that these Northern Nations should People that Part of Britain which lay nearest them. From these and several other Reasons that I could Adduce, were it not too Tedious, One would be tempted to think, that it is much more probable, That the Caledonians were the Ancient Scythians or Scots, who Peopled Ireland, than that they were Peopled from Egypt and Spain. But I leave every one to Judge in this as he thinks fit.

I acknowledge, That in this Volume I have made several Digressions, which some may think are noway Relative to the Lives of the Persons whom I am writing of. But how ill this is Founded, will appear from the following Account of them, by which likewise, the Reader may make his own Choice, if he thinks them Worth his Perusal. St. Columbanus, having wrote a large Account of the Controversy betwixt the Eastern and Western Churches, on the Celebration of Easter, and that Book being Lost, I have, in his Life, given the History of that Controversy, because not only some of his Writings still extant, but likewise the Writings of several Others that I have mention'd, in Defence of the Practice of the Eastern Church, could not be well understood without it. The same Saint, being employ'd by Agilulphus King of the Longobards, to Write upon the Lawfulness of giving the Title of the Mother of GOD to the Blessed Virgin. I have likewise, in his Life, given a Brief Account of that Metaphysical Controversy so well known afterwards by the Name of the Three Chapters. St. Boniface Arch-Bishop of Mentz, having been One of the greatest Sticklers for the Papal Power, I have from thence taken the Occasion, in his Life, to show, by what Means and Ways the Popedom Rose to its present Greatness. St. Macarius, having wrote an Answer to Claudianus Mamertus's Book concerning the Immateriality of the Soul; I have, in his Life, given an Account of Mamertus's Book, by which the Reader will find the Arguments that were then made Use of for Defending the Materiality of the Soul, and Mamertus's Reasonings against them, which are the very same that has been made Use of since by the Famous M. Descartes in his Meditations. The Emperor Charles the Great, having Order'd Albin Founder of the University of Pavia, to write against the Abuse of Images, which the Second Council of Nice seem'd then to Approve of; I have given the History of that Controversy in his Life, and shown, what the Practice of the Scots and French were in this Matter. Clement Founder of the University of Paris, having wrote a Book in Defence of Arianism, I have given an Account, in his Life, of that Controversy, from its First Rise till the Condemnation of Arius, by the First General Council of Nice. In the Life of David Scot, Historiographer to the Emperor Henry V. I have given an Account of that Prince's Wars and Transactions with the Popes about the Investitures; but this cannot be properly reckon'd as a Digression, since our Author was Eye-witness, and Wrote the History of it by the Emperor's Command:
And,

(k) De Reb. Get. Lib. 1. C. 4. (l) De Mor. Germ. C. 44. (m) Atlau. C. 7. (n) Orig. Brit. Cap. 5. P. 247.

And, upon the Account of his being made Poet-Laureat, I have shewn how Ancient that Custom of making of Poet-Laureats was. St. Ælred, having wrote against Abailard, I have, in his Life, given an Account of him and of his Opinions. In the Life of Adam Scot, upon the Account of his Preaching a Sermon upon the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, there is a brief Account of the Rise of that Controversy. Our Historians, having affirm'd, that Godricus Bishop of St. Andrews was the First that us'd the Ceremony of Anointing at the Coronation of King Edgar, I have shewn the First Rise of this Custom of Anointing of Kings, and How and When it was First brought in amongst us. In the Life of Hugh Benham Bishop of Aberdeen, there is an Account of the State of the Church and Empire, at that Time, which is the only long Digression in this Volume; yet I hope will be excus'd, upon the Account of its Usefulness, and the absolute Dependence that it has upon the History of that Bishop's Life. Simon Taylor a Dominican Monk, having Reform'd the Church-Music in Scotland, I have given a Brief History of Church-Music, from its First Rise to our Author's time. The Famous Michael Scot, having written Two Large Volumes upon Aristotle's Philosophy, I have, in his Life, given an Account of that Philosophy, and in what State it was in, before Aristotle's time; and upon the Account of his Book about the Transmutation of Mettals, I have given a Brief Historical Account of the Performances of the Alchimists in this Grand Operation, as they call it. John Scot of Duns, having Introduc'd a New Sort of Theology into the Church, I have shewn, in his Life, what were all the Different Ways that were taken in Explaining the Sacred Scriptures, from our Saviour's Time till his; and what his Method and Peter Lombard's was, by giving an Account of the Book of the Sentences, on which he wrote Six Volumes in Folio. William Dampster, having, at the Command of the University of Paris, written against the Famous Raymond Lully, I have, in his Life, given an Account of him and his Opinions. In the Life of John de Fordoun, upon the Account of his mentioning the Roman Wall, I have given the different Accounts of our Antiquaries about it. John Bassol a Minorite Monk, having, with great Subtily, Treated after the Scholastic Way, the Controversies in Divinity, I have, in his Life, shewn what Prejudice the School-Men have done to the Christian Religion, by their extravagant Adhesion to Aristotle's Philosophy, which taught them such Niceties. I have given a full Account of the Transactions of the General Council at Bale or Basile, in the Life of Thomas Abbot of Dundranan; but this is not to be look'd upon as a Digression, because that Author was an Eye-Witness to all that pass'd, and at length became one of the Principal Actors himself. St. Boniface Arch-Bishop of Mentz, having accus'd St. Virgil of Heresy, for Maintaining, That there were Antipodes, I have, in St. Virgil's Life, given an Account of the State of Geography, before and at his Time. Robert Ellis Dean of St. Peters at Tholouse, having had a great Hand in Suppressing the Heretics call'd the Good-Men, or Oliverians, I have, in his Life, given an Account of these Heretics and their Opinions. Simon White, being forc'd to fly from Scotland, for being one of the Order of the Templars, I have, in his Life, given an Account of the Extirpation of that Order. Adam Blacater, having Censur'd Titus Livius for his Digression concerning Alexander the Great, I have given, in his Life, an Account of the Faults that are generally imputed to that Famous Historian, by the Critics of the Former and Latter Ages. Radulph Strode, being one of the First who wrote against Wickliffe, I have, in his Life, given an Account of Wickliffe

and his Opinions. William Bailzie M. D. having wrote in Defence of the Dogmatic and Galenic Physicians, against the Emperics, I have, in his Life, given an Account of that Controversy. These are all the Digressions that I have made in this Volume, if they may be properly call'd Digressions, since all of them tend either to Illustrate or clear the Subject Matters treated of; and in this I have Imitated the best Biographers of this Age; such as Dr. Cave, M. Du Pin, M. Le Clerc, Dr. Smith, &c. Tea, some of them, by their Digressions, have given us Large Octavo's, Quarto's and Folio's upon Single Persons of far less Note, than many that I have given an Account of here. Besides this, in the Accounts that I have given of the Writings of several Authors, I have Illustrated what they have said, from other Authors of unquestionable Veracity, that the Reader might have a more full and distinct View of the Matters they treat of: Thus in the Lives of John Blair and John Barbour, I have not only given their Accounts of the Wars betwixt the Two Kingdoms of Scotland and England, but likewise, what the best and most approv'd Historians of both Nations have said of the Transactions of these times; but so as that the Reader may easily discern what is said by Blair and Barbour, from what is said by Others.

As for the Authors that I have drawn this Collection from, I have given a pretty large Catalogue of them, but those whom I am most beholden to, are the Learn'd M. Du Pin, Dempster, and the Writers themselves whose Lives are here Inserted; for the most of the Persons mention'd in this Volume, being either Divines themselves, or such as have written upon and apply'd themselves to Divinity, M. Du Pin, in his New Ecclesiastical Bibliothec, has given us a pretty Large and Accurate Account of them: And as for Dempster, it may seem indeed somewhat strange, that I should Cite him so often, after that I had acknowledg'd him to be a Fabulous Writer; but I have taken all the Precautions imaginable, in shunning what I thought really Fabulous in him; For, tho' he was Naturally Credulous and Inclind to believe Monkish Stories and Miracles, yet he was one of the Greatest Prodigies of his Age for Reading and Learning, as I shall make appear, GOD willing, in the History of his Life, and I have never made use of his Authority in any thing concerning the Ancient Writers, but when the Truth of what he says appears from other unquestionable Authorities. And in the Three Ages preceeding him, I have never Cited him, but when he says, that he either saw the Books themselves in such Libraries, had them in his own Possession, or that they were Publish'd in such Places, in such a Year of GOD. It were very hard to Question the Veracity of so Great a Man in these things, especially considering that several Learn'd Men have found, that he has been very often in the Right, even in those things that Arch-Bishop Usher, Sir James Ware and the other Irish Antiquaries have Charg'd upon him as Fabulous. But above all, I would have the Reader take Notice, that notwithstanding of all the Authorities that I have produc'd in this Volume, for Avouching the Truth of what I have said, I am most of all beholden to the Writings of the Authors, whose Lives I have here mention'd, and whom I have no otherways Cited than by giving the Catalogue of them; for the best Instruction that can be had about any Author is, from what he says of himself.

I have Divided this Volume into Two Parts; In the First, I have given a large Account of those who made the greatest Appearance in the World for their
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Writings; and in the Second of those, of whom we have only some small Fragments, yet have made a very Considerable Appearance, upon the Account of their other Extraordinary Endowments. In the Second Volume, I have Observed the same Method, but the Reader will Find in it a more Particular Account of the Lives and Transactions of the Persons mentioned there, and a more Surprising Variety of Accidents and Intrigues: For the Persons mentioned in this Volume having lived either in Foreign Countries or in Monasteries, and the Most of the Obituaries of these Monasteries being Destroy'd at the Reformation, it cannot be Expected, that our Accounts of them should be so Full and Large as what we have of the Authors that have Flourish'd since that Time.

In all my Citations, I have, for the most Part, given them in the very Words of the Authors whom I Cite; so that the Reader is not to Expect here an Uniformity of Style, the Matters of which I Treat, and the Various Authors from whom they are taken, not Admitting of it.

The Common Method Observed in Writing the Lives of Illustrious Persons, is either, in Relation to their Moral Conduct, or to History; in the First, a Particular Account is given of all their Actions, and a great many Moral Reflections made upon their Conduct, their Virtues and Vices; but in the Other, the Principal Circumstances of their Lives are only Related, and the Actions that concern their own Persons, that have no Relation to the Public Good, or the History of their Times, are pass'd over in Silence without any Moral Reflections upon them. This last Method I have propos'd to my Self in the Accounts that I have given, and am to give of the Authors of our Nation, many of whom I have purposely omitted, that are mention'd by Dempster and Camerarius. First, because several of them are Saints, of whom we have nothing Remaining: And tho' it be probable that the most of them all, either wrote Sermons or Letters, and are upon that Account set down by Dempster in his Catalogue of Scots Authors; yet since nothing of theirs is Extant, either in Manuscript or Print, they fall not under our Consideration: Besides, that they very often make Two or Three, and sometimes Four different Saints, and as many Authors out of one. Secondly, A great Number of Writers are mention'd by Dempster as Scots Writers, who were Born in other Nations, as it appears from the Biographers of the several Nations whom they belong to: Whereas I have taken Care to Insert none but those whom I think are undeniably such.

For the Reader's further Satisfaction in this, I have subjoin'd to this Preface a Catalogue of the Writers mention'd by Dempster, with the Years in which they Flourish'd, and omitted by me, either because I thought that several of them never were Writers, and if others of them were, their Writings are not now Extant, either in Manuscript or Print; Or lastly, Because they belonged to other Countries. In this Catalogue, I have likewise inserted the Authors mention'd by Dempster, of whom I am to give an Account in the Second Volume, and these are Distinguished from the rest by an Asterisk. To this Catalogue, I have annexed another of those whom I am to give an Account of, and who have Flourish'd since Dempster's Time. But besides all these, there are others of less Moment that are Omitted, as not now occurring to my Knowledge; and if any Gentleman will be so Kind to me, and so Just to the Memory of their Predecessors who have been Famous for Learning, as to Communicate any Accounts of them to me, they shall be Faithfully Inserted with a just Acknowledgment.

But after all the Care that I have taken, it is not to be Doubted, but that the Reader will Find a great many Omissions, Escapes and Real Faults in this Work, for want of sufficient Memoirs, and other necessary Qualifications in me. But I have done my Best, and in all the Controversies that are Treated of in this Volume, I have not given a precise Judgment, as coming absolutely from me, but left, without Partiality, a Free Liberty to all Men, to Judge in these Matters as they think fit; and when I give my own Opinion, I would not have the Reader to look upon it further, than what I think is Grounded upon some Appearances of Truth.

Now, how Useful Books of this Nature are, will appear from the following Considerations. First, because tho' that this kind of Writing is, in Dignity, inferior to History and Annals; yet in Pleasure and Instruction it is not only Equal, but Excels both of them. For as Mr. Dryden has Observed in the Life of Plutarch (o), 'Tis not only Commended by Ancient Practice, to Celebrate the Memory of Great and Worthy Men, as the best Thanks which Posterity can Pay them: But also the Examples of Virtue, are of more Vigour when they are thus Contracted into Individuals. As the Sun-Beams, United in a Burning-Glass to a Point, have greater Force than when they are Darted from a plain Superficies; so the Virtues and Actions of one Man, drawn together into a single Story, strike upon our Minds a Stronger and more lively Impression, than the Scattered Relations of many Men, and many Actions; and by the same Means that they give us Pleasure, they afford us Profit too. For when the Understanding is Intent, and fixed on a single Thing, it carries closer to the Mark, every Part of the Object sinks into it, and the Soul receives it Unmixed and Whole. For this Reason Aristotle commends the Unity of Action in a Poem; because the Mind is not Capable of Digesting many Things at once, nor of Conceiving fully any more than one Idea at a Time. Whatsoever Distracts the Pleasure, Lessens it. And as the Reader is more concerned at one Man's Fortune than those of many; so likewise the Writer is more Capable of making a Perfect Work, if he Confine himself to this narrow Compass. The Lineaments, Features, and Colourings of a single Picture, may be hit exactly; but in a History-Piece of many Figures, the General Design, the Ordinance or Disposition of it, the Relation of one Figure to another, the Diversity of the Posture, Habites, Shadowings, and all the other Graces conspiring to an Uniformity, are of so difficult Performance, that neither is the Resemblance of particular Persons often Perfect, nor the Beauty of the Piece Compleat: For any considerable Error in the Parts, renders the whole Disagreeable and Lame. Thus then the Perfection of the Work, and the Benefit arising from it, are both more Absolute in Biography than in History.

Moreover, the Histories of particular Lives, tho' Circumscribed in the Subject, is yet more Extensive in the Style than the other Two. For, says the Polite Author above-cited (p), It not only Comprehends them both, but has somewhat Superadded, which neither of them have. The Style of it is Various, according to the Occasion. There are proper Places in it, for the Plainness and Nakedness of Narration, which is Ascrib'd to Annals; there is also Room reserv'd for the Loftiness and Gravity of General History, when the Actions Related shall require that Manner of Expression.

(o) See Plut. Liv. From the Greek Lond. 1703. Pag. 55. (p) Ubi Sup. Pag. 58. & 59.

fion. But there is withal, a Descent into Minute Circumstances, and Trivial Passages of Life, which are Natural to this way of Writing, and which the Dignity of the other Two will not admit. There you are Conducted only into the Rooms of State; but here you are led into the Private Lodgings of the *Hero*: You see him in his Undress, and are made Familiar with his most Private Actions and Conversations. You may behold a *Scipio* and a *Lelius* gathering *Cockle-Shells* on the Shore; *Augustus* Playing at Bounding-Stones with Boys; *Agesslaus* Kiding on a *Hobby-Horse* among his Children. The Pageantry of Life is taken away; you see the Poor Reasonable Animal, as Naked as ever Nature made him; and made acquainted with his Passions and his Follies, and find the *Demy-God* a Man: And *Plutarch* in the Life of *Alexander the Great*, says of himself; "In Writting the Lives of Illustrious Men, I am not Tyed to the, Laws of History: Nor does it follow, that because an Action is Great, it therefore Manifests the Greatness and Virtue of him who did it; but on the other side, sometimes a *Word*, or a *Casual Jest*, betrays a Man more to our Knowledge of him, than a Battle Fought, wherein *Ten Thousand Men were Slain*, or Sacking of *Cities*, or a Course of Victories.

There is nothing that Explains better to us, the Thoughts and Designs of an Author, than the knowing when he Liv'd, upon what Occasion he Wrote, whom he had to do with, what his Religion was, and what his Circumstances were, which is only to be learned from Biographers: For it is in this, as it is in the common Transactions of our Lives, we Learn from a Man's Conversation, What Books he Reads; What Studies he applies himself to; What his Failings and Virtues are: For we can never constrain our Selves so, but that, at some Time or other, these Things will break forth.

By Biography, we likewise come to know, better than by History, all the Ancient Customs and Virtues of the People or Nation, that the Biographer Treats of: Thus by the Perusing of the following Sheets, the Reader will find how Just and True that Beautiful Character is, which our Incomparable Poet, Buchanan, gives of the Ancient Scots, in his Epithalamium upon Queen Mary.

Ista Pharetratis sit Propria Gloria Scotis,
Cingere Venatu Saltus, superare Natando.
Flumina, Ferre Famem, contemnere Frigora & Æstus,
Nec Fossa, & Muris Patriam, sed Marte tueri:
Et spretâ incolumem vitâ defendere Famam.
Pollicitis servare Fidem, sanctumque vereri
Numen Amicitia, Mores, non Munus amare.
Artibus his totum fremerent quum Bella per Orbem,
Nullaque non Leges Tellus mutaret Avitas,
Externo subjecta Jugo, Gens una vetustis
Sedibus Antiqua sub Libertate resedit:
Substitit hic Gotbi Furor; hic gravis Impetus hæsit
Saxonis; hic Cimber, superato Saxone, & acri
Perdomito Neuster Cimbro. Si volvere Priscos
Non piget Annales, hic & Victoria fixit
Præcipitem Romana Gradum: quem non gravis Auster
Reppulit, incultis non squallens Partbia Campis,

Non Æstu *Meroe*, non Frigore *Rhenus*, & *Albis*
 Tardavit, *Latium* remorata est *Scotia* Cursum.
 Solaque Gens Mundi est, cum qua non Culmine Montis,
 Non rapidi Ripis Amnis, non Obice Sylvæ,
 Non vasti Spatiis Campi *Romana* Potestas,
 Sed Muris, Fossæque sui Confinia Regni
 Munivit: Gentisque alias cum pelleret Armis
 Sedibus, aut victas vilem servaret in Usum
 Servitii, hic contenta suos defendere Fines
Roma securigeris prætendit Mœnia *Scotis*:
 Hic, Spe Progressus positâ, *Carronis* ad Undam
Terminus Ausonii signat Divortia Regni:
 Neque putes duri Studiis assueta *Gradi*
 Pectora, mansuetas non emollescere ad Artes:
 Hæc quoque cum *Latium* quateret *Mars* barbarus Orbem,
 Sola prope expulsis fuit hospita terra *Camænis*.
 Hinc *Sophiæ* *Graæ*, *Sophiæ* decreta *Latinæ*;
 Doctoresque rudis Formatoresque Juventæ,
Carolus ad *Celtas* traduxit: *Carolus* idem
 Qui *Francis* *Latios* Fasces, *Trabeamque* *Quirini*
 Ferre dedit, *Francis* conjunxit Fœdere *Scotos*,
 Fœdere, quod nec *Mars* Ferro, nec turbida possit
 Solvere Seditio, aut Dominandi insana Cupido,
 Nec series Ævi, nec Vis nulla altera, præter
 Sanctius, & Vinculis Fœdus propioribus arctans.

Which I find thus *Englished*, by an Anonymous Author, in my Custody.

These Glories do the Valiant Scots Commend,
To which no Rival Nation must Pretend.
In Hunting bravely they surround the Woods,
And with Address in Swimming part the Floods.
Nor Heat, nor Cold, nor Hunger them Appall;
Their Bodies are their Countries firmest Wall.
Their Love of Fame is than of Life more Great,
What once they Promise, is of fixed Fate.
None more the Rights of Friendship do Regard,
And Love the Person, but not for his Reward.
By such like Arts, when Bloody War was Hurl'd,
With Fatal Desolation thro' the World;
And Nations did their Ancient Laws forgo,
Because the Victors needs would have it so;
The Scots alone their Ancient Rights Enjoy'd
And Liberty, for which they Noblely Dy'd.
Here stopt the Gothick Furie, here was Crost
The Saxon Bravery and the Danish Lust,
And all the Efforts which Normandy could Boast.
If you the Mouldy Annals will Survey;
The Roman Conquest here was at a Bay.
Their Eagles which to Southern Countries Flew,
And in Revenge the Engaged Parthians flem;

And

Whose Flights the Egyptian Heats could not confine,
 Nor all the chilling Damps o' th' Frozen Rhine.
 When they to Caledonia did Resort,
 Their Pinions mouldred, and their Arms fell short :
 When Romans bad with other Realms to do;
 A Ridge of Mountains limited the Foe :
 Or some huge River interposed an Arm;
 Or Woods and Wastes secured them from Harm.
 These Peaceful Bars by Nature fram'd had been ;
 But Art, to keep off Scotland, was call'd in.
 A Costly Wall was Rear'd up for that End,
 Which did a Cross from Sea to Sea Extend.
 Victorious Rome did other Nations Drive
 From their Old Seats, or in Subjection live ;
 With all the Marks of Servitude Opprest,
 Eternal Drudges, without any Rest.
 But here she stopt, to keep her Own Content,
 And rais'd a Wall, Incursions to prevent.
 Despairing of Advance, the Cause she yields,
 And to God Terminus a Temple builds,
 Where Carron's Waves glide gently thro' the Fields. }
 Think not these daring Sons of Mars, inur'd
 To Arms, have all the Liberal Arts Abjur'd.
 When Barb'rous Foes the Roman Bounds o'respread,
 Thither the Muses for Protection fled. }
 Hence Greek and Roman Learning in full Store,
 By Charlemain to France was wasted o're,
 And Planted Throve, as on their Native Shore. }
 That Charlemain that Liv'd and Reign'd so well,
 In Goodness, as in Greatness, did Excel ;
 That willing Nations own'd him for their Lord,
 And join'd the Gallic Flowers to the Imperial Bird.
 This Emperor thought it no unbecoming thing,
 To enter in a League with Caledonia's King ;
 A League which neither Dint of Sword can break,
 Nor Wild Sedition from its Center shake.
 No mad Desire of Sway can give it Date,
 But only the Resistless Power of Fate.

In the Reading of the Lives of Great Men, we see, what a Transitory and
 Fading Thing Fame, Honour and all Worldly Greatness is ; not that we
 should from thence, as some Enthusiasts have done, think that it is a Piece of
 needless Labour, to transmit the Account of their Actions to Posterity, because
 the Fashion of this World passes away, and that those, in whose Praises
 they Outlive themselves, must also shortly Die, and that then their Fame will
 have a Funeral as well as they themselves : No, it is a Duty incumbent upon
 every Man, to Honour and Respect them when Alive, and to Reverence their Me-
 mories when Dead ; not only upon the Account of the Excellent Things that
 they have done in their Generations, and their being bright Patrons of Virtue
 to Others, but because that which stamps any Person with a Character of
 Dignity, and makes him truly Honourable, (as a Late Ingenious Au-
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thor (q) *bus* Observ'd,) must be some real *Excellence* or other, either *Inbering* or *Adhering*, either *Moral*, *Intellectual* or *Political*; whereby he resembles *GOD*, or some Perfection of the *Divine Nature*. Thus those who are in Power or Authority, are Honourable, as Representing and Partaking of the Sovereign *Regality* of *GOD*; those that have great *Intellectual Endowments*, that are Knowing and Learned, are so far Honourable, as Representing the Wisdom of *GOD*; and those that are Good and Pious are Honourable, as Representing and Resembling the Goodness of *GOD*, the Excellent and Immutable Order and Regularity of the *Divine Will*. . . . So that That Person who has any thing of this, (as all Men have in some Degree or other) is so far Honourable; and he that has most of it, in whom the Glory of the *Divinity* does most brightly shine, in whom there is the greatest Appearance of *GOD*, he it is that is most Honourable. We find, that the Heathens themselves had a Notion somewhat like this; for Velleius Paterculus the Roman Historian, when he is Commending the Great Cato, says (r), That he was the Lively Image of Virtue, and in every thing liker to the Gods than to Men. *Homo Virtuti adeo simillimus, per omnia ingenio Diis quam Hominibus propior.*

Lastly, a great Advantage that is to be had by the Reading of Books of Biography, especially when written after the manner that I have written this, is, That every Reader may thereby know a great many Curious and Useful Books, with their best Editions, which they may furnish their Libraries with, according as they fancy the Subject Matters upon which they are written.

Amongst the many Illustrious Authors that are Inserted by Dempster, and Omitted by me, there are some of them that seem to be founded upon very good Authorities; I shall therefore give the Reader an Account of the Reasons, that made me Reject them. The First of these is Alcuin, Master to Charles the Great, whom, not only all our own Historians, but a great Number of the French, Germans and Others have asserted to be a Scots Man; but this evidently proceeds from their taking him to be the same with Albin, Founder of the University of Pavia, as we have shown in that Author's Life. For Alcuin tells us expressly in one of his Epistles, That he was Born at York. St. Anatolius Patriarch of Constantinople, is likewise Classed among the Scots Authors by Dempster (s), because Chancellor Maitland's Son had assur'd him, that at Salins in Burgundy, where he is held in great Veneration, he is Design'd S. Anatolius Scotus Archiepiscopus Constantinopolitanus; and that George Lesly the Famous Scots Capucin, had transmitted this Passage to him out of Paradinus, de Antiquitatibus Burgundicis. Tempore Lotharii Quarti Regis, per Legatos Constantinopolim ab eo missus translatum fuit pretiosum Corpus S. Anatholii Patriarchæ, quem Scotum faciunt; That's to say, In the Time of King Lotharius the Fourth, by Legates sent by him to Constantinople, the Precious Body of St. Anatolius the Patriarch was Translated, whom they make a Scots Man. But nothing seems more Improbable than this, it being against all the Concurring Testimonies of the Grecian Historians, and the best Critics in Ecclesiastical History: Besides that Lesly the Capucin is not much to be trusted to, as I shall make appear, GOD willing, in the Second Volume, when I come to give an Account of his Life. It is with some more Reason, that Pope Innocent the First

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is reckon'd our Country-Man (t), upon the following Authorities. Genebrard, a Prelate sufficiently known for his great Knowledge in the Oriental Languages and Chronology, says, speaking of Vincentius Lirinensis, Vixit circa Tempora D. Augustini, sub Innocentio Primo, Natione Scoto; Anno circiter 406. Henricus Somnalius a Learn'd Jesuit, who Publish'd St. Augustine's Soliloquies (u), Arnaldus Pontacus (x), in his Notes upon the Chronicles of Eusebius, St. Jerome and St. Prosper, and a great many other Learn'd Men are of the same Opinion. But all this is founded upon his being call'd Albanus, and Albion's being the Ancient Name of Scotland; an Argument of no Force, since there are several Cities in Italy that have the Name of Alba. Anastasius, Platina, Sabelicus and all the other Writers of the Pope's Lives, that are of most Credit; make him an Italian; besides that it appears to me, from his own Works, that he could not be a Scots Man; for in the Preamble of his Letter to Decentius Bishop of Eugubio, he says (y), That if all the Churches had Observ'd the Practices that they Receiv'd from the Apostles, they would agree all in the same Discipline, and that all the Differences that arise amongst the Christian Churches, and gives such Scandal to the People, is from their Reciding from the Tradition of the Apostles. Upon which, he draws this Conclusion, That the Discipline of the Church of Rome, as it was delivered by St. Peter, ought to be embrac'd by all the Churches of the World; because, says he, it is visible, That the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Afric, Sicily and the other Isles, that are betwixt Italy and Afric, were Establish'd, either by the Bishops that St. Peter or his Successors sent there; but there is not the least Word of Britain or Scotland, where the Discipline of the Eastern Church, in the Celebration of Easter, was Establish'd, as they had it from the Apostle St. John, and entirely differing from that of Rome. Upon the Authority of Notkerus Balbulus, a Monk of St. Gall, in the Tenth Century, Faustus Bishop of Ries in France, is made a Scots Author; for he, in his Martyrology Publish'd by Canisius, in the Sixth Tome of his Antiquities, speaking of St. Columba, says (z), Qui cum plurimos Discipulos vel Socios Sanctitatis suæ suppare habuisset, unum tamen, Congellum, scilicet, Latinè Fausti Nomine Illustrem, Præceptorem Beatissimi Columbani, Magistri, Domini & Patris nostri Galli Virtutum, ac Meritorum suorum quasi unicum, Exemplo Isaac reliquit hæredem. And both Avitus (a) and Sidonius (b) call him a Britain. But here is a gross Mistake in Chronology; for St. Columba, whose Disciple this Faustus was, who is mention'd by Notkerus Balbulus, died in the Year 597. whereas Faustus Bishop of Ries Flourish'd in the Year 462.

Cardinal Bellarmine, in his Book de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis (c) says, That Francis Mayron, of the Order of St. Francis, so well known amongst the School-Men, by the Designation of the Acute Doctor, and the Author of the Sorbonic Act, was Born in Scotland: And in this he is follow'd by a great many Learn'd Men, who have Flourish'd since his time. But the Learn'd Philip Labbe (d) has evidently proven, That he was Born at Digné in Provence. These are all the Authors that I have Omitted, and that Dempster has Inserted upon any tolerable Ground; unless it be a great many Saints, whom indeed he has proven to be Scots Men, upon very good Documents, but not that they were Writers; tho' some very Learn'd Men, who liv'd about Dempster's

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time,

(t) Vid. Dempst. Lib. 9. Pag. 370. (u) Rothomag. 1608. (x) Burdig. 1604. (y) Vid. Con. T. II. Pag. 1245. (z) Vid. etiam Dempst. Lib. 3. Pag. 152, & Lib. 6. Pag. 272. (a) Epist. 4. (b) Lib. 9. Epist. 9. (c) Lib. 21. (d) Dissert. de Scrip. Eccles.

time, have believ'd, that many of the Kings and Saints, whom he mentions as Authors, were really so; of which we have an Instance, in a very Elegant Oration Deliver'd before the University of Aberdeen, in the Year One Thousand Six Hundred and Eleven, by Mr. Gilbert Gray, which I have here prefix'd to this Volume, for the Affinity that it has to my Undertaking, it being a Panegyric upon the Writers and Men of most Eminent Learning in this Nation.

In this Oration the Reader will find, as I have said, a great many Kings and Saints mention'd as Authors, who are mention'd likewise by Dempster; but I have purposely Omitted them, for the Reasons above specified: And if I be not mistaken, a great many things may be Corrected in this Oration and in Dempster, from what I have said, in the following Sheets. But there is one Mistake in this Oration, that is so very gross, that it is Matter of Admiration, how the Author could fall into it, and that is, How he should come to place Florentius Volusenus, an Author who was Co-temporary with himself, in the Year 688. Confoundng him with Florentius Bishop of Strasburgh, of whom I have given an Account in this Volume.

In the Compiling of this Volume, I have had little or no Assistance but from what fell within the small and narrow Compass of my own Reading: So that it is no Wonder, if I fall into several Mistakes; and if our Learn'd Antiquaries will Inform me of them, or Assist me in my Undertaking, I shall not fail to acquaint the Public, in the Preface to my Second Volume, of the Obligations I owe them.

In this Volume also, I have been necessarily oblig'd to give an Account of several Controversies and Scholastic Disputes; but instead of them, the Reader will find, in the Second, a great many Curious Original Papers relating to the Lives of the Illustrious Persons whom I treat of.

By this time, I believe, I have sufficiently tried the Reader's Patience, so I shall Conclude with these few Verses written by the Learn'd Father Labbe (e), and thus Paraphras'd into English, at my Desire, by my Worthy Friend Mr. Crawford of Drumsfury, lately Deceas'd, a Gentleman, who has this Character given him by an Eminent Wit. "In the following Epistles, says he, (f) (speaking of Mr. Crawford's Ovidius Britannicus) the Author has not run the common Road of Error, in Imitation of Cowley, Suckling, &c. but of Nature, in truly Drawing the Passion he undertakes to describe; that is to say, his Sentiments are Tender and Passionate, and Natural for a Man in Love to think: And I dare be Confident, that no Man, who is either acquainted with the Ancients, or has ever felt what Love is, can doubt the Truth of my Assertion, and must own, That our Author is one of the First of this Isle, that in the English Language, has put in for the Prize of Nature with Ovid and the rest of the Ancients.

Docti atque Indocti Fato rapiuntur eodem:
Una omnes Magni Judicis Urna movet.
Quid Musæ profunt, quid Carmina, Phæbus & Artes?
Quid Sophia, aut Leges, quid Medicina juvant?
Vita Perit, fugiunt Anni, Mors certa propinquat.
Inter tot Mortes, da mihi Christe Bonam.

Learn'd

(e) S. Patr. &c. Bib. Chron. Par. 1653. in 12mo. (f) Mr. Charles Gildon, in his Preface to Crawford's Ovid. Brit. Lond. 1703. in 8vo.

*Learn'd and Unlearn'd receive one common Doom ;
Nor know we which is which within a Tomb.
Life only makes the Odds, and when we Dye,
The Wise with Fools will undistinguish'd Ly.
Nor Law nor Physick a Reprive Afford ;
And Health once Lost, what Muse has e're Restor'd.
Philosophy removes no Sense of Pain :
For That, in spite of Thinking will remain.
Our Posting Hours admit of no Delay,
And certain Death Approaches every Day.
Amongst the Various Ways to Lasting Rest,
Grant me, Kind Heaven, the Easiest and the Best.*

ORATIO

*O R A T I O de Illustribus Scotiæ Scriptori-
bus, habita a Magistro Gilberto Grayo,
Gymnasiarcha Academiae Novæ Abre-
doniæ, A. D. 1611.*

ET si præstantius sit, Auditores, Res præclaras gerere quam gestas celebrare, & sua ab aliis Benefacta laudari, quam ipsum aliorum narrare; tamen quia *Reipub.* profunt non modo ipsi qui fecerunt; sed & qui facta aliorum scripserunt, qui literis suis bene gestorum ab aliis Historiam, reliquis faciendorum Exemplum relinquunt. Mihi quis vitio vertet, cui *Reipub.* benefaciendi Vires Natura negavit; eidem benedicendi oblatam occasionem Industriâ qualicunque prosequi, & Priscorum *Scotorum* de Re Literariâ bene meritorum Famam ab ingrata Oblivione vindicare, Laudatissimosque Patres ad quos Hæreditas hujus Gloriæ & Studiorum Imitatio pertinet suspiciendos & subsequendos proponere, idque hoc potissimum Tempore, quo pristinus dicendi Ardor refrixit, quo cessant æqua meritis Præmia pensari, & desinit Virtuti Honos vel labori Pretium poni. Quo rectius mihi facturus videor, Auditores, qui Argumentum hoc & præsentî actioni accommodatum & vobis, ut spero, non ingratum, ornandum & dicendum suscepi; quod dum pro mea Virili in vestra præsentia, præsto adeste æqui omnes, dumque Vetustis Novitatem, Novis Authoritatem, Obscuris Lumen, Fastiditis Gratiam, Sepultis Vitam qua possum Ope & Operâ confero. Peto interea a vobis ut meam dicendi tenuitatem, vestrâ audiendi patientiâ & alacritate sublevetis. Accipite igitur breviter Doctorum nostræ Gentis Exempla ut cognita vobis & cognata, quæ plurimum habeant & Autoritatis ad Movendum & Jucunditatis ad Audiendum & Utilitatis ad Imitandum, eaque, Candidati, finite vobis ut persuadeant, ad similem Gloriam Virtutis viâ grassari.

Principio, Auditores, *Scotos* in extremo *Britanniæ* Angulo, à reliquo Orbe divisos, Literarum splendore quis est qui nesciat remotissimis usque Gentibus semper illuxisse, ita ut quo *Scoti* Hominis pes non peragrârit *Scotici* nominis Laus & Fama pervolârit. Libetne à Religione & Cultu Numinis auspicari. En, statim post Apostolorum Tempora, sub *Victore* Pontifice, *Donaldus Scotorum* Rex cum universo suo Regno *Christianâ Sacra* suscepit; gliscente deinceps Persecutione *Decii, Dioclesiani*, aliorumque Imperatorum adversus *Christianos*, & vastatis post *Theodosium Magnum* passim alibi Ecclesiis & Scholis, extinctisque Literarum Studiis Bellorum rabie, Gentiumque Motibus & assiduis Migrationibus, sola *Scotia* remansit *Ecclesiæ* Asylum & Musis gratissimum Diversorium: Unde Accolæ omnes adeoque florentissima *Europæ* Regna, prima & cultûs Numinis & in Literis luminis Principia hausserunt. Possum vobis, Auditores, rei hujus laudare Authores in omni Scientia notissimos. Nam *Cbrysost.* in Serm. de *Pentecostæ* ex falsa illa vulgi Opinione qua *Scoti* humanis carnibus vesci dicebantur. *Britanni*, inquit, qui aliquando humanis carnibus vesciebantur, nunc animas suas jejuniis reficiunt. Et in

Homilia, *Quod DEUS sit Homo*. Ait, *Apud eos fundatus esse l'ecclē-
sias, erecta Altaria*. Cui addit *Hieronymus ad Marcellum*, *Si in Religione
processerint, incipient facile Christianorum primis accenseri*: Nec prætereun-
dum puto *Tertulliani* de nobis Testimonium, qui *Libro contra Judæos*, ait
Britannorum inaccessa Romanis Loca, jam Christo verò subdita sunt.
At ne in hujus Societatem *Laudis Angli Vicini* irrepant, hocque quasi
de se dictum arripiant, considerate quæso mecum, Auditores, quænam
tunc erant *Britannorum Romanis inaccessa Loca*, nisi ea sola quæ *Scoti*
tenebant, in quæ *Romanorum Arma*, eâ Ætate nondum penetrârunt; cum
illud ex *Historiis* notissimum sit, reliquam omnem *Insulæ Partem*, *Scotiâ*
exceptâ, sub *Julio Cæsare & Claudio Imperatoribus*, *Romano Imperio* sub-
jectam fuisse. *Siquidem Romani* (ut testatur *Joseph: Lib. 2. de Bello
Judæico*) in *Britannia* nè quam *Populus ille Seditionem* excitaret, *Qua-
tuor Legiones perpetuò* alebant. Et *Severus Imperator*, eam *Britan-
niæ Partem*, quæ *Romano imperio* parebat, *Vallo* (cujus *Vestigia* in hodi-
ernum usque *Diem* extant) a *Scotis* diremit, ex quo erutus *Lapis*, cum
Vexilliferi Romani *Nomine*, adhuc *Dumnotiæ* apud clarissimum *Marischalli*
Comitem, asservatur.

Sed quid *Rationibus* pugno? Nonne candidè fatetur *Beda Lib. 3.
Cap. 3.* *Imbutos fuisse à Præceptoribus Scotis Parvulos Anglorum cum
Matribus, Studiis & Observatione Disciplinæ regularis*? *Milit* namque
(eodem referente) *Rex Oswaldus* ad *Majores natu Scotorum* ut eorum
Ministerio, *Gens* quam regebat *Anglorum Dominicæ Fidei & Dona* dis-
ceret & *sacra* susciperet, missusque ad eos est *Pontifex Aidanus*, summæ
Manfuetudinis & Pietatis Vir. Quin & erat semper *Colmami Scoti* Vene-
rabile inter *Anglo-Saxones* nomen, (quem ut refert *Beda*) multum dili-
gebat *Northumbriorum Rex*; imo impensius multo *Scotis* quam *Britannis*
favebant *Anglorum Prælati*, quod eos *Prædicationibus* juarent, & quo-
tannis non sine *Animarum lucro Sacrum Christi Nomen* propalando
perlufrarent; quod ingenuè agnoscit *Balleus* de *Scriptoribus Britannicæ*.
Quod & ipsum non obicure prædicat *Malsburiense Cœnobium* in *Anglia*
erectum, à *Maildolpho Scoto*, Anno *Gratiæ 690*, qui & ibidem *Anglis*, diu
magnâ cum *Laude*, publicè bonas *Artes* perlegebat; sed & ipsa *Oxonienſis*
Academia, *Luce Joannis Scoti*, primi ibidem *Litararum Professoris*, ad
hoc ipsum ab *Alfredo Anglorum Rege* accersiti multum est illustrata, &
fœlix *Initium* habuit, ut mirari subeat *Impudentiam Hardingi*, *Scotorum*
in *Re Literariâ Gloriam* obruentis, cum tot *Domesticis* de sua *Gente*
Testibus possit redargui; Nam ne nostris hac in re *Scriptoribus* utar,
faciunt, & quod putem *Hostium* de nobis quam nostrum testimonium
esse validius, & quia *Codices Antiquitatum* nostrarum *Edwardus Anglo-
rum Rex*, cum *Regionem* hanc intestinis *Nobilium Factionibus* divisam
popularetur, ubicunque repertos omnes *Igne* concremaret, tantâ *Libidine*
& *Gentis & Memorix Scotorum* delendæ flagravit, studens una operâ sic
& *Majorum Famam æternis Oblivionum Tenebris* sepelire, & *Posteris* à
Parentibus bene gestorum quæ imitarentur *Exempla* præripere: Non
secus ac *Julianus*, qui *Christianorum Liberis* ne *Literas* discerent *Scholas*
occlufit. Hem uno incendio quanta *pristinæ Virtutis memoria*, quanta
Doctrinæ Scotorum gloria periit! Sed me reprimo, ne si diutius julto
Dolori indulgeam, *Argumento* excidam. Postquam igitur, *Auditores*,
non satis fuit *Scotis* vicinis *Anglis* in *Pietatis Cursu & Litararum Luce*
profuisse, tum sane non *Insulæ* hujus angustiis contenti, latè per *Euro-
pam*

pam Religionem propagârunt, Scholas aperierunt, Ecclesias fundârunt; agnoscit hoc . grato ore Gallia, confitetur Italia, nec dissimulat Germania, cujus Provincias aliquot à Scotis Luce Evangelii illustratas & bonis Literis excultas, Argumento sunt Quatuordecim Monasteria in Germania a Scotis, aut in Scotorum Memoriam erecta, quorum quædam, ad hodiernum usque diem, ab ipsis possidentur. Quæ omnia ut vobis constent clarius; eia, agite, celebremus jam Majores nostros celebres in omni Scientia Viros. Verum in hoc Doctorum Catalogo, qui æquius Agmen ducent, quam Reges quos Divina nobis Clementia, semper dedit Clarissimos, qui Doctrinæ Laude & suis præirint & Exteris præluxerint?

En vobis, Auditores, *Fergusum* Primum Scotorum Regem illustrissimum, qui vixit Anno Mundi 3641. ante *Christi* vero in Carnem adventum 330; cum *Alexander Magnus* *Darium* Bello superaret, hic foelicem Doctrinæ Facem sequuturis *Scotiæ* Regibus primus prætulit, scripsit inter alia *Legum Politicarum* Librum unum. Post hunc, *Dornadilla* Quartus Scotorum Rex, agens Anno à condito Mundo 3693. ante *Christum* vero 270: Hic, post edita *Statuta* quædam *Tabularia Fergusi* Legibus adjecta, composuit ad Posteritatis usum, ut alter *Artaxerxes*, *Legum Venatoriarum* Librum unum, aliaque foelicis Ingenii Monumenta. Cui, non multis interjectis Annis, successit *Reutha* Septimus *Scotiæ* Rex, qui Medicinam imprimis callebat, Viros doctos unicè diligebat, ac singulari Patriæ Commodo studebat, ut Nobilium Liberi Literis imbuerentur, utque Virorum fortium Gesta conscriberentur; cujus ipse Exemplum Subditis Scripto suo reliquit ac Medicinæ novum usum invenit; vivens Anno Mundi 3784. ante *Christum* vero 187. Sed tanto Literarum Amore flagrabat *Josina* Nonus Scotorum Rex, ut Patriæ ac Posteris hac in re consulendi studio, jussit in suo Regno Gentilium Philosophis maximè *Druidibus* Loca patere, Minervalia præberi, Necessaria denique magnificè suppeditari; Doctos insuper omnes, Medicos præcipuè, summo semper in honore habuit, ipse Physices & naturalium Causarum peritissimus. Cumque videret Rex optimus ex imperitia tractandorum Vulnerum, & Rerum Naturalium ignorantia, perire quotidie sibi multos, militaribus Laboribus & Bello assuetos viros fortissimos; ex mera animi in Plebem Pietate, sic Physicæ Studio incubuit, ut brevi evaserit Medicus & Botanicus insignis, ediditque de *Herbarum viribus* Librum unum, de *Morbis & Vulneribus curandis* Librum; adeoque Nobiles Regis Exemplum sequuti, ita sese in ejus mores formârunt, ut Medicinam eo Seculo ignorare turpe haberetur: Florebat Rex Doctissimus Anno Mundi 3826. ante *Christum* vero 161.

Nec Proavis degener *Erbodius* Primus, Vicesimus Quintus Rex Scotorum, nam foeliciter Literas media inter Arma tractabat, scripsitque inter alia ad *Pictorum* Regem *Epistolarum* Librum unum reconditæ Eruditionis. Dedit præterea *Legum Venatoriarum* Librum: Nec cuiquam mirum videatur, Optimis Regibus hanc Venandi Curam fuisse, ut Libris etiam hac de re editis Regium nomen apponerent, cum hinc levi arreptâ Occasione gravissimum inter *Scotos Pictosque* Bellum exarserit, quod tandem *Pictorum* Excidio cessit. Vivebat Rex foelicissimus Anno Mundi 4133. ante *Christi* vero 94. Sed eminet, foelicis inter Majores suos Memorix, *Kenethus* Secundus, *Alpini* Regis Filius, qui non satis habuit, *Pictos* frequentibus Præliis superatos prorsus delevisse, *Camelodunum* Regiam ipsorum Civitatem solo æquâsse, Scotorum Regnum in duplâ ferè

magnitudinem à se auctum ad *Northumbriam* usque protendisse, nisi & ipse Eruditionis laudem ad Belli gloriam adjiceret; quare scripsit *Breviarium Legum*, Librum unum; *Novellarum Constitutionum*, Librum unum, has *Leges Macalpinianas* Posteritas dixit; quibus multis diu Seculis non minus quam Armis *Scotica* Res stare visa est. Vixit Anno Mundi 4084. Anno Christi 834; sed nec Parente pejor proles *Milcolumbus* Secundus, Octogelimus Tertius Rex, nam & sceleriter Literas coluit, & Condidit ipse *Municipalium* Libros, quibus etiamnum in Foro & Regni Comitibus utuntur. Vixit Anno Christi 1004.

Jacobus etiam Primus dabat Eruditionis suæ non vulgare Testimonium, quod docent relicta ab eo pulcherrima Poemata, sciz. *Latinorum Rythmorum* Lib. unum, *De Regina sua futura* Lib. unum, *Legum Patriæ* Liber, qui præterquam quod esset in universa Philosophia & Theologia apprime versatus, Oratoriam tamen & Poeticam plurimum excolebat, Juris & Æqui studiosissimus, floruit Anno *Messæ* 1424.

Sed quâ ego Facundiâ dicam, nunquam satis dicendum Clementissimum nostrum Regem *Jacobum Sextum*, ad Miraculum usque & Invidiam Doctum: Cujus Doctissima Scripta per omnium Gentium jam ora oculosque volitant; quæ quò vobis sunt Notiora & in se Perfectiora minus egent Præconio meo, ab illis igitur enumerandis consulto abstineo; sed quem, huic Antiquitas conferendum aut Posteritas ulla habitura est præferendum? Faxit *Deus*, in ipso diu ejusque Posteris hanc Literarum laudem *Scotorum* Genti perpetuam; verum ad ea, quæ in ipsum *Deus* contulit, Natura congessit, Virtus auxit, Doctrina illustravit, Bona de prædicanda, non mea sed *Ciceronis* Eloquentia desideratur; quare nolo diutius frigidi Laudatoris, cum nequeam justî legitimique Præconis officio defungi. At ne putetis, Viri graves, Regium discendi Ardorem penes Reges solum, & non etiam omnium in *Scotia* Ordinum Viros permansisse. En quanta Doctorum turba ex omni Plebe mihi hic sese ingerit, ut unde incipiam aut ubi desinam incertus planè hæream. Item quàm nullis clausa est ad Virtutem via, quàm bonus est Dominus & benignus omnibus, quàm verè demonstrat quod apud Se nulla sit Personarum distinctio. Succedat igitur sedulus in omni Scientia *Sedulius Scotus* magnum Gentis suæ decus, ad Literas quodammodo natus, in Divinis & Humanis insigniter versatus, toti *Hispaniæ*, *Galliæ*, *Italiæ*, quas discendi studio peragravit, ob sceler Ingenium, Facundiam admirabilem, Judicium Solertissimum notus. Cujus in Decretis, distinctione decimaquinta, *Gelasius* Pontifex honorificè meminit, *Venerabilem Sedulium* appellans. Scripsit hic Carmine Elegantissimo *Evangelii seriem* cui pro titulo addidit *Carmen Paschale*, insignes insuper in omnes *Pauli* Epistolas *Commentarios*, *Hymnos* de Servatore, in *Prisciani* Volumen, *Librum exhortatorium ad Fideles*, *Librum Epistolarum* ad Diversos, *Librum de Christo* solutâ Oratione, *Libros duos Carminum* diversi generis, *Librum ad Theodosium Cæsarem* sub quo clauit, regnantibus apud *Scotos*, *Fergusio* Secundo & *Eugenio* Secundo, Anno Salutis in *Christo* partæ 430.

Non inglorii & Literatorum Genti circa hæc Tempora fuerunt *Servanus* & *Tervanus*; quorum hic Archiepiscopus *Pictorum* constitutus est à *Palladio*, & ad *Orcadenses Pictosque* diversa Opuscula scripsit, Anno Domini 440. *Servano* autem Præceptore, inter alios usus est *Kentigernus* Noster, & *Anglorum* quotquot illo Ævo doctissimi audiebant.

Sed nè in Doctõrum hoc Catalogo præteriri se querantur Fœminæ, en *Brigida* nostra in *Mona Insulâ*, pietate nescio an eruditione clarior, vivebat Anno *Christi* 518, Regnante apud *Scotos* *Corano*, quam tantâ veneratione *Scoti*, *Picti*, *Britanni*, *Angli* & *Hibernenses* sunt prosequuti ut plura *Templa Deo* in *Brigidæ* Memoriam apud illos erecta videas, quàm in ullius cæterorum Divorum omnium: Reliquit hæc inter alia *Revelationum suarum* Libros Duodecim. Nec mediocriter *Scotorum* Gloriam auxit *Merlinus*, Vates *Caledonius* dictus, quòd in *Sylva Caledonia* Philosopharetur; erat Vir in Rerum Naturalium Cognitione & universâ *Mathesi* insigniter versatus; unde multa verè prædicere putabatur, quo etiam Principibus ejus Ætatis gratissimus. Varia hujus Opera citat *Joannes Hardingus* in suorum *Chronicorum* Libris, verum ex tam multis Tractatibus quos & *Latine* & *Britannicè* edidit, solus ad nos pervenit *Vaticiniorum* Liber; vixit Anno *Christi* 570, Regnante apud nos *Aidano*.

Sed quis satis prædicaverit *Columbanum* cognomento *Pium*? Quis dicet nè Doctrinæ nomine apud Suos clarior, an Exteris charior extiterit? nam condidit hic *Burgundiæ* in *Gallia Luxoviense* Monasterium, in quo is erat Monachorum numerus, ut alii aliis succedentes Divinas Laudes assiduo cantu personarent, ut Locus ipse ex eo *Laus perennis* longo tempore diceretur. In *Apenninis* postea Montibus, ex *Burgundia* in *Italiam* rediens, *Bobienſe* Monasterium erexit, in quo mortuus est, Anno *Christi* 598. *Convulſo* Rege; relictis post se ingenii sui Monumentis hisce, edidit *Commentarium in totum Psalterium*; *Epistolarum* Librum; *Monasteriorum methodos*, Librum unum; *Adversus Theodoricum Regem adulterum*, Librum unum; *De Monachorum Moribus metricè*, Librum unum; *Collationes ad Monachos*, Librum unum, reliquitque in *Germania S. Gallum* *Scotum* commilitonem suum in *Vinea Domini* meritissimum.

Sed nec silendus est *Columbani* hujus comes conjunctissimus *Jonas*, Vir pientissimus simul & Philosophiæ *Aristotelis* peritissimus, ob singularem Doctrinam exteris carus, creatus enim Episcopus *Aurelianensis*, fœliciter Ecclesiæ præfuit. Scripsit *Vitam Abbatis Columbani*; *Vitam Attalæ*, Librum unum; *Vitam Eustatii*, Librum unum, vixitque imperante *Scotis* *Ferquibardo* Primo, Anno *Christi* 630. Hos parvo post tempore excepit, vir Pietate & Doctrinâ conspicuus *Adamus Avinas*, qui fœliciter Patrum vestigia pressit & expressit; ita ut hunc *Oswaldus Northumbriorum* Rex à *Donaldo* *Scotorum* Rege pro instruenda Gente *Anglorum*, per Legatos ut Munus maximum peteret ac simul impetraret: Hunc quum ob *Anglicæ* Linguae Imperitiâ concionantem Populus minus intelligeret, alter semper Interpres, ex Suggesto illustrabat. Constitutus postea ab *Oswaldo* Pontifex Primus Ecclesiæ *Lindisfernensis* in *Northumbria*, scripsit hic *Commentariorum* suorum Libros, *Homilias* & *Concionum* Libros, vivens Anno *Christi* 651.

Non modico etiam suos Honore affecit *Kilianus Herbipolensium* Episcopus, qui ex *Insula Scotiæ* cum Sociis profectus in *Germaniam* ad *Mænum* Fluvium confedit, *Christi* fidem prædicans, ubi Martyrio Coronatus, in ejus Memoriam fundatum est amplissimum pro *Scotorum* Gente Monasterium, reliquit hic Posteritati contra peregrinos cultus Librum unum; meminit etiam ex *Matthæo Dressero* *Gesnerus* *Lecturæ Kiliani* super *Magistro Sententiarum*; vixisse iertur, Anno *Christi* 669, sub *Heratlio* Imperatore. Nec parvi interea nominis inter *Anglo-Saxones* fuit *Colmanus* *Scotus*, quod ipsos, ut testatur *Beda*, *Christi* cognitione & *Literarum* Luce

imbuerat. Hic ortâ de *Paschæ* Observatione & Tonsurâ Cleri Controversiâ, aliorum Doctorum impetum sustinuit, composuitque pro sui *Quartadecimanis* Librum; concedens tandem in *Hebrides* Insulas Collegium condidit, in quo, cum Sociis, Pietatis Exercitiis Literarumque Studiis Seneſtutem oblectabat; tandem cum universam fere Germaniam Evangelii prædicandi causâ obivisset, Martyrii Gloriam adipiscitur; cuius & Sociorum triumphum *Joannes Stabius* sub *Maximiliano* Primo *Supphico* Carmine eleganter descripserit: claruit Anno *Messie* 670. imperante *Scotis* *Malduino*. Nec ad minora natus *Florentius Volusenus*, qui florebat Anno *Christi* 688. Regnante apud nos *Eugenio Sexto*; fuit hic Doctrinæ nomine apud exterarum Gentes illustris; nam in Germaniâ *Argentinenſi* Episcopatu honoratus, condidit ibidem pro *Scotorum* Gente nobile Monasterium, reliquitque inter alia, *Orationem Theologicam*; *De Animi Tranquillitate*; *Carmina*; *Aphorismos Vitæ Beatæ*; *Commentarios & Dialogos Sacros*; Quod & iisdem fere temporibus *Mildulphus Scotus* vir singularis Eruditionis & Ingenii *Scotorum* famam pro virili in *Angliâ* propugnabat; nam huic *Anglo-Saxones* ut ipsis bonas Artes perlegeret, Cœnobium ædificarunt, quod ab eo deinceps unâ cum Urbe *Mildulphsberry* nomen accepit. Scripsit hic de *Paschæ* Observatione Librum, *Lectioſum suarum* Librum, *Epistolarum* Librum, & alia id genus non pauca; vivens Anno Dom. 690. Nec ſegnius interea alibi *Adamus Cludius* sese in Virtutis exemplum Poſteris proponebat, homo, in Divinis Oraculis, teste *Tritheimio*, apprime verſatus; Abbas Monasterii Insulæ *Huene*, à *Columbano* nostro fundati, scripsit hic *De Locis Terræ Sanctæ* Lib. 1. *Alfredo Northumbriorum* Regi inſcriptum. *De Paschate* Lib. 1. *Epistolarum* Libros & *Antiquitatum*: Ex cujus scriptis, *Beda* creditur multa deprompſiſſe, vixit sub *Eugenio Sexto* Rege, Anno Dom. 690. Felicis etiam inter Majores Memorix fuit *Bonifacius Scotus*, qui *Romam* proficiſcens, ob conjunctam ſingulari cum Eruditione Pietatem, à *Gregorio Secundo* Papâ mittitur ad *Germanos* convertendos ad fidem *Christi*, unde *Germanorum* Apoſtulus eſt habitus, creatus Archiepiſcopus *Moguntinenſis*, poſtea Legatus Papæ in *Galliam* miſſus, ex *Turingis*, *Heſſis* aliisque ad fidem converſis, Meſſem longè copioſiſſimam collegit: Tandem in Germaniam & *Friſiam* rediens Martyrio coronatur. Scripsit hic *Epistolarum* ad diverſos Librum, *Vitam Sanctorum* Librum, aliaque; natusque dicitur in *Rosemarkie* Oppido *Rosſhe*, in ejuſque Memoriam Cathedralis *Rosſenſis* Eccleſia dicata putatur. Et meminit *Marianus Scotus* Lib. 2do. in fine Epistolæ *Gregorii Tertii* ſcriptæ ad *Bonifacium Scotum* Episcopum *Moguntinum*; vixit Anno *Christi* 755. Nec minus Doctrinæ ſux, præclarum ſpecimen edebat *Aitwillus Scotus*, nobili loco natus, qui, magnâ ingenii quâ erat ſœlicitate ſubjectus, ſcripſit eruditè de Rebus Mathematicis Lib. 1. item ad *Adelinum* Episcopum Lib. 1. hunc *Balæus* vixiſſe vult Anno *Christi* 720. ſed *Leſkeus* Noſter 772. ſub *Eugenio Octavo* Rege.

Sed ſilui nimis diu nunquam ſilentos *Joannem Melroſium* & *Claudium Clementem* *Scotos*, quos *Pariſiorum* urbem ingreſſos, & in medio Foro clamantes, *Sapientiam venalem ſe habere, nec quicquam Mercedis loco petere præter Victum & Amictum*; cùm primum audiſſet *Carolus* verè ille *Magnus Galliarum* Rex, honorificè habitos juſſit *Pariſiis* aperire Scholam quæ hodie celeberrimum eſt Literarum Emporium, ſtatimque poſtea *Joannes Paviam* à *Carolo* mittitur, ut & ibi quoque Gymnaſio initium poneret, ubi compoſuit terſo Sermone, rogantibus Diſcipulis, in *Evangelium*

Matthæi Lib. tres; *De Divinis Officiis* Lib. 1; *De Humanis alterum*, *De Naturæ divisione* Lib. 1, *Humiliarum* Lib. 1. *Commentariorum in Scripturam Sacram* Lib. 1. *De Germanis* Lib. 1. aliaque; vivens Anno Christi 792. Solvatio Scotis dominante. Claudius vero Caroli jussu hæsit Parisiis, Primus ibidem Scholæ Gymnasiarcha, ubi inter alia Ingenii Monumenta edidit in *ΠΕΝΤΑΤΕΤΧΗΝ* *Mosis* Lib. 5. *In Judicum Capita* Lib. 1. *In Ruth* Lib. 1. *In Psal.* Lib. 1. *In Evangelium Matthæi* Lib. unicum, *In Paulum ad Galatas* Lib. 1. *In Concordiam Evangelistarum* Lib. 1. contra Bonifacium Anglum Lib. 1. aliaque non pauca. Claruit Regnante apud Scotos Achabio, Anno Christi 810. Nec tamen eximii hī, in omni Doctrina proceres quamquam Primi, soli tamen *Parissensis* Scholæ Parentes dici merentur; nam nec eidem postea semper ornandæ Scoti unquam ad hunc usque Diem defuerunt; nam *Rabanus Maurus* Scotus Doctrinā omnigenā quā erat imbutus, Academiam eam celebriorem reddidit, ab Achabio Scotorum Rege fœderis perpetui cum Gallis ineundi causā missus erat; Theologus gravis, Philosophus insignis, & Astronomus celebris; tam Prosā quā Carmine disertus; qui Abbas *Fuldensis* primū mox Archiepiscopus *Moguntinensis* constituitur. Reliquit hic ex opulento Ingenii Thesauro Commentarios in omnes Libros *Bibliorum*, *De Virtutibus* porro *Numerorum* Librum; *De Ortus & Meritis Anti-Christi* Librum; *De Naturis Rerum* Librum; *De Computo* Librum. Atque adeo Auditores, in promptu mihi hic est enumerare hujus Auctoris Centum Libros, ni Temporis angustia, & Aurium vestrarum fastidium avocaret. Obiit tandem vir Doctissimus & Dignissimus Anno Christi 856. At quantum splendoris Scotorum nomini attulit Joannes Scotus aliās *Ærigena*? qui postquam plures annos *Athenis* Græcis Literis insudasset, à Ludovico Romanorum Imperatore in Galliam accitus, ejus jussu transtulit *Dionysii Hierarchiam*; postea Caroli Legatus ad *Alfredum* Anglorum Regem missus, perspectā ejus Eruditione, fit ex Legato hospes, ex hospite Præceptor Regiorum Liberorum non aliter quā apud *Athenienses* olim *Gorgias*, quo etiam viro, seu Geniali quodam Sidere, adornabat postea *Alfredus* Academiam suam *Oxonensem* tunc primū inchoatā, in qua Joannes Scotus Primus publicè bonas Artes perlegebat; in *Malsburiensi* deinceps Cœnobio quo recreationis gratiā se contulerat, hunc profiteptem frequens Anglorum Nobilitas audiebat; ejusque operā Res Literaria in Angliā magnum indies Incrementum capiebat. At crevit tandem cum Doctrina, adversus Doctorem Invidia, nam à Discipulis suis inter docendum, Pugionibus interimitur: Quam maculam Anglorum Rex ut elueret, à Pontifice Romano impetrat ut Joannes inter Martyres referatur. Transtulit è Græco, cujus erat Aevi illius omnium peritissimus, in tres Linguas, Chaldaicam, Arabicam & Latinam *Aristotelis Moralia*, scripsitque in Novem Libros *Ethicorum* Commentarios; *De Immaculatis Mysteriis* Lib. 1. *De Fide* Lib. 1. *De Corpore & Sanguine Domini* Librum; *Dogmata Philosophorum* Librum, *Paraphrasticos Tomos* quatuor; *Pro instituendis Nobilium Filiis* Lib. *Epistolarum* Lib. aliaque quam plura; floruit Anno Christi 894. sub Gregorio & Donaldō Sexto Scotorum Regibus. Erat etiam in nullo Doctrinæ genere non exercitatus. Hisce temporibus *Berovillus*, Scotorum Episcopus qui acerrimis Verborum & Sententiarum aculeis, Carmine eleganti scriptis quorundam Monachorum turbam laceffivit, Vitia notavit; vivens Anno Christi 977. Percelebris interea Fama fuit *Levini* Scotorum Archiepiscopi; qui pro sincerā verbi professione Martyrio fuit Coronatus *Gandavi*

in *Flandria*, sub *Theodosio* Imperatore, postquam scripsisset piè & eruditè Homilias multas, *Commentarios in Scripturam*, *Epitaphium Allovini Bavorum*, aliaque complura; vixit Anno Christi 1007, *Grimo* & *Milcolumbo* Secundo, Regibus; sed magno ut Literarum amore flagrabat; sic non parvo Patriam honore afficiebat, *Turgotus* Episcopus, vivens Anno Christi 1095. sub *Milcolumbo* Tertio, nam præter alia miræ Eruditionis Opuscula, dedit hic nobis *De Scotorum Regibus*, Librum 1. *Chronica Dunelmensia* Lib. 1. *Annales sui temporis*; *Vitas Milcolumbi Regis* & *Margaritæ ejus Reginae*, aliaque non pauca; Verum laudatæ imprimis. industriæ & spectatæ Scientiæ fuisse perhibetur *David* Presbyter *Scotus Virtzburgensis* Scholæ in Superiori Germania primùm Pædotribes, accitus postea ab *Henrico* Imperatore in *Italiam* tendente, qui quamquam multis Doctissimis viris abundaret, hunc tamen nostrum ex omnibus elegit, qui Itineris sui cursum, Rerumque à *Cæsare* gestarum ordine describeret; scripsit igitur *de Expeditionis Serie* Lib. tres, *Magistratuum Insignia* Lib. 1. *Apologiæ ad Cæsarem* Lib. duos, *De Regno Scotiæ* Lib. unicum; claruit Anno Salutis 1110 regnante apud nos *Alexandro* Primo. Interea etiam studebat ad Virtutis fastigium prorepere *Marianus Scotus*, qui ob eximias Ingenii & Doctrinæ Dotes, *Coloniæ*, *Fuldæ*, deinde & ultimo *Moguntiam* translatus est; habitus, omnium judicio, Theologus gravis, Historiographus insignis, & Computista celeberrimus. Scripsit *A condito Mundo*, ad sua Tempora *Chronicorum* Lib. tres; *In Evangelistarum Concordiam* Lib. 1. item *De Universali Computo*; *Emendationis Dionysii in Psalmos Algorismum*; *Breviarium in Lucam*; *Commentariorum in Scripturas* Librum; *Epistolarum Hortatoriarum* Librum, aliaque non pauca; tandem *Moguntia* moritur Anno Gratia 1086, sub *Milcolumbo* Tertio Rege. Sed quis majori gloriâ Patrum Memoriam exornavit quam *Richardus* noster de *Sancto Victore*, qui ex continua Palæstræ Literariæ exercitatione, Disputator acutissimus evasit? Dedit hic nobis de divite Ingenii Thesauro Lib. sex de *Sacro Sancta-Trinitate*; *Epitomen Bibliorum*; *Explanationes Psalmorum*; *De Statu interioris Hominis* Lib. de *Emanuele* Lib. duos. *De Spiritus Sancti Amore* Librum; estque, Auditores, mihi in promptu ni Brevitati studerem Librorum Doctissimorum quos hic emisit supra Sexaginta Quatuor enumerare; claruit Anno Christi 1140 sub *Davide* Primo Scotorum Rege, sepultus *Parisi* in Abbatia Sancti *Victoris*. Inscripto ipsius tumulo hoc Epitaphio.

*Tellus quem genuit, felici Scotica partu.
Hunc tegit in gremio, Gallica Terra suo.*

Nec potest tantum Literarum Lumen sub Modio abscondi, quantum in *Waltero* Notho, Filio *Davidis* Primi, Regis Scotorum refulsit, Anno Salutis 1135. hic Mundo relicto, ab ineunte Ætate se totum Literarum studiis asseruit, Religionis & Pietatis Exercitiis consecravit, ediditque Commentarios egregios in Librum, qui *Canon Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ* inscribitur; scripsit porro *De Libris Ecclesiæ* Librum; quin & Author perhibetur fuisse *Milcolumbo* Quarto tot Monasteria in *Scotia* fundandi: Tandem Pietate & Miraculis clarus *Sanctorum Albo* adscribitur. Verum quis pro Dignitate satis efferet *Joannem Campbel*, virum antiquæ Nobilitatis, ex veteri, illustri *Argadiæ* Familia Oriundum, qui ex sæcundo Ingenio deprompsit inter alia *A prima Gentis origine ad suam usque ætatem* Scotorum *Res gestas*? vixit Anno Salutis 1260. sub *Alexandro* Tertio Rege. Mi-

Mirabantur etiam & suspiciebant omnes *Thomam Lermond* Nostrium, hunc enim afflatum Numine incertum est, constat tamen multa vera prædixisse, unde *Vates*, vulgo, *Rymer* dictus est; scripsit enim *Rhythmatum* Librum, Anno 1286. sub *Alexandro Tertio*, cujus mortem repentinam etiam vivens prædixerat. Sed, Auditores, quis acrius unquam pro Literarum palma Genti nostræ paranda certavit *Michael Scoto*, cui Cognomentum Medici? nam hic Matheseos Scientiam Medicinæ Gloriâ cumulavit; habitus ab omnibus sui Ævi, Philosophus, Medicus & Mathematicus præstantissimus, ob quæ magna cum laude ornat *Picus Mirandula*, sicut ob eadem *Frederico Secundo* Imperatori unicè carus fuit; scripsit *In decem Libros Aristotelis Ethicorum Commentarios* doctissimos; *In Libros de Cælo*; *De ortu & interitu Meteororum*: Edidit insuper Librum *De Animalibus ad Cæsarem*, item *In Pretiosam Margaritam*; *Imagines Astronomicas*; *De Signis Planetarum*; *Dogmata Astrologorum*; *De Chiromancia & Physiognomia*, aliaque innumera. Vixit sub *Joanne Balliolo* Sotorum Rege, Anno 1296. At quo ego præconiò celebrabo celeberrimum nostrum *Joannem Scotum*, in Oppido *Duns* natum, qui ob Ingenii felicitàtem, Mentisque solertiam & acumen, *Scoti Subtilis* nomen meruit? Hunc *Cardanus* non dubitat inter Excellentissimos ponere, quos ulla unquam Secula tulerunt; equidem ut *Ulyssis* Arcum nemo *Græcorum* præter ipsum potuit intendere, sic hoc Nostro sive in Theologorum, sive in Philosophorum Campo decertante, tanto cum impetu ferebantur, quæ ab ipso dicerentur omnia, ut qui conjecta ab eo Syllogismorum Tela retunderet, qui intentos Rationum nervos dissolveret, vix ullus inveniretur; testantur hoc, plena subtilitatis quæ reliquit Opera, in *Aristotelis Libros varios*, *In Epistolas*, *In Evangelia*, possum namque hic Quadraginta insignes ejus Tomos enarrare. Verum hæc ejus Opuscula dum *Franciscani* seu *Scotistæ* cum *Dominicanis* seu *Thomistis*, multis mutuisque Argumentorum contentionebus urgent, hem quot *Dædalus Labyrinthi* bonas Literas onerant seque ipsos intricant? Sed, redeo, *Scotus* hic noster, postquam *Lucretiam* Luce sua satis illustrasset, à *Symmistis* suis *Coloniæ* evocatus, ubi in disputationibus, prælectionibus, tanto silentio, tantâ attentione, tantâ omnium admiratione audiebatur, ut majorum antea nemo; ibi tandem in medio studiorum cursu, ipsoque ætatis flore spes maximas mortem prævertit ex Apoplexia sublati, Anno Salutis 1340; regnante apud nos *Roberto Bruffio*. Erat etiam circa hæc tempora, de Literarum studiis optimè meritis *Thomas Varroy* Poeta insignis, qui Carminè elegantissimo, emisit opus Libris duobus contextum, *De Prælio Otterburnensi*, in quo *Angli* à *Scotis* fusi fugatique erant: Floruit hic sub *Roberto Tertio* Rege, Anno Salutis 1390. Magnâ Doctrina præditus ac ad Pietatem & honesta studia omnia vehementer propensus putabatur *Patricius Hamilton*, vir generis Nobilitate illustris, Comitibus quippe *Arraniæ* ex Fratre Nepos; scripsit hic *De Lege & Evangelio*, Lib. 1. *De Fide & Operibus* Librum; *Locorum Communium* Lib. 1. Postquam *Marpurgi* in Germania cum laude esset professus, in Patriam rediens *Andreapoli* moritur, sub *Jacobo Primo* Sotorum Rege, Anno partæ Salutis 1426.

Sed dicatur jam à nobis & vicinis, nunquam satis dicendus *Gulielmus Elphinstonus Abredonensis* Episcopus, qui magnis sumptibus Regale illud Collegium summo Literarum incremento & Patriæ ornamento *Veteri Abredoniæ*, posuit; & quanquam sub *Jacobo Quarto* Regni Cancellarius, maximis negotiis detineretur, sic studii tamen immanit ut Posteritati

relinqueret *Antiquitatum* Scoticarum Libros, quibus *Boetius* magnam *Chronicorum* suorum Partem debere se ingenuè fatetur. *Conciliorum* item *Statuta* Lib. 1. Functus est legatione honorificâ ad *Maximilianum* Cæsarem, missusque in Galliam Orator ad *Ludovicum* Undecimum Galliarum Regem, in Angliam similiter ad *Henricum* Regem, tandem moritur *Eilenburgi* Anno Christi 1514. Hunc *Angli*, qui aliàs in *Scotis* laudandis parciore sunt, summopere celebrant, nam *Bristonus Burriensis* in Catalogo *Scotorum* Scriptorum, *Gulielmum* nostrum mirificè effert.

Nec admiratione caret, Auditores, sub *Jacobo* Quinto Fortissimo & Inviçtissimo Rege, quam ferax bonorum Ingeniorum *Scotia* fuerit, nam enim statim occurrit *Joannes* Major *Hadintonensis* domi & foris magnus, nam *Andreapoli* in Patria publicè professus est, & in *Gallia* magnæ *Sorbonæ* Doctör meruit; scripsit *Placita Theologica*; *Decisiones in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum*; *Commentarios in Matthæum*; *In Ethicam Aristotelis*; *Historiam majoris Britanniae*, Lib. 6. aliaque multa, quibus enarrandis nolo vobis molestiam creare; vixit Anno Salutis 1520. Anno proximo sciz. 1521 Fatis concessit vir multigenæ Eruditionis ad magnum Ecclesiæ Lumen *Galvinus Douglas* Episcopus *Dunkeldensis*, relicto post se uberi Ingenii foetu, sciz. *Commentariis de Rebus Scoticis*; *Palatio honoris*; *Comædiis aliquot*; Et venusto Carmine Patrio Sermone fideliter redditis, *Duodecim Libris Æneidôn Virgilii*. Pari ad summa gressu post hunc tenebat multis Literis excultus *Gilbertus Crab*, qui ex singulari Eruditione magnam sibi per diversas *Galliæ* Civitates famam paraverat, *Burdegalæ* maximè ubi diu, magnâ cum laudè, publicus Professor audiebatur, scripsit ex omni Philosophia, *Terminorum Moralium* Libros aliaque diversa, Anno Christi 1522.

Nec minorem laudem in vicinia meruit *Hector Boetius Tuidmanus*, *Vesteris Abredonensis* Academiæ primus Moderator; vir in omni Philosophiæ & Theologiæ parte peritissimus, cum quo jucundam consuetudinem *Lutetiæ* coluisse se fatetur *Erasmus*, singularem in illo ingenii fecilitatem agnoscens. Dedit hic nobis inter alia, *Chronicorum* Scotiæ Libros Septemdecim, *Vitas item Episcoporum Abredonensium*, obiit Anno Christi 1526. Interea *Tolosæ* in *Galliis*, *Gulielmus Gregorius Scotus* avitum ac Scientiæ decus non invitatus tuebatur, apud *Franciscum* Galliarum Regem summo in honore habitus; depromptit hic ex divite Ingenii pœnu *In Psalterium* *Commentarios*, necnon *In Aristotelis Politicâ*, ediditque Libros alios numero Septemdecim, quos sigillatim recensere me vetat temporis brevitatis: Vivebat Anno Salutis 1527. Sed quantum in Musarum campo desudabat nostras *Joannes Altus* in eâ quæ sibi cum *Elisdano Morpeth* Controversia intercessit; edidit namque contra eum Carmine pungente *Apologiæ* Librum unum; item contra *Antiscoticon Morpeth* Librum; item *Epigrammatum* Libros: Vivens Anno Gratiæ 1530.

Interea Musarum Memoriam foeliciter litabat *Joannes Balantyn*, Archidiaconus *Moraviensis*, accuratissimâ sedulitate in Literis à puero usque educatus. Scripsit hic *Cosmographicam Historiæ Albanicæ Descriptionem*; transtulit è Latino in Vulgarem Sermonem, in Plebis & Patriæ usum, *Hectoriem Boetium*; vivens Anno Christi 1536. Quin & maculæ se in Virtutis causa hostibus opposuit *David Lindeus* Eques, animi & Judicii Bonis præstans, cujus teruntur jam omnium manibus *Acta sui temporis* Liber; *De Mundi miseriis* Liber; *Tragœdia Davidis Betonii*; *Testamentum Psittaci*; *Dialogus Aulici & Experientiæ*; *Deploratio mortis Reginæ* Mag-

Magdalenzæ, &c. cujus de *Quatuor Monarchiis* Librum, dum Latino carmine venustissimo *David Carnegius* noster *Abredonensis* redderet, immatura Authoris mors hoc nobis Opus invidit; vixit fideli obsequio servus gratissimus *Jacobo Quinto*, Anno Gratiz 1540.

Raræ Doctrinæ nomine apud bonos omnes bene audiebat tum etiam *Alexander Alesius* noster, omni bonarum Literarum peritiâ à puero præditus fuit, hic Professor *Lipsiensis* Academiæ primùm, tum *Francofordensis* ad *Oderam*, scripsitque *Pro Orthodoxâ Fide decretum Episcoporum* Scotiæ, Lib. 1. itemque *Scripturas* linguâ maternâ esse edendas Lib. 1. In *Psalms* Librum; *Orationem de Gratitudine & Restaurandis Scholis*, quæ adhuc cum *Declamationibus* *Philippi Melanchtonis* imprimitur; *Responsionem ad 32 Articulos* *Lovanienſium*, *Lipsiæ* excusam, Anno 1545. *Commentarios in Evangelium Joannis*; *In utramque Epistolam ad Timotheum*; *De Justificatione contra Osiandrum*; *Catechesin*, aliaque. Non Ignobilis Rei Literariæ Præses circa hæc tempora vivebat *Alexander Setonius*, natalium splendore clarus, *Jacobo Quinto* à Confessionum secretis. Reliquit hic *Commentarios doctissimos In Epistolas Petri, Jacobi, Acta Apostolorum*; *Sermones ad utrumque Statum*.

Magna etiam *Mariamæ Scotorum* Reginam & fœlix Doctorum corona comitata est, Anno namque ejus Regni Quarto, Ingenio & Eruditione clarus innotuit *Joannes Pourtem*, qui magnos in studio Theologico progressus fecerat, scripsitque *Catechesin Fidei* aliaque *De Religione* complura, Anno Christi 1546.

Disciplinis variis expolitus, & singulari Eruditione conspicuus post hunc vivebat *Jacobus Herrison*, qui scripsit inter alia multa, *De Regnorum Scotiæ & Angliæ Unione* Librum pulcherrimum, dicatum *Edwardo*, Duci *Somerſetensi Anglorum* Protectori, Anno 1548.

Sed cum bonarum Literarum cultura formatus, suspiciendus posteris vivebat *Christianus Maccabæus Scotus*, Professor *Hassniensis*, qui scripsit *De vera & falsa Ecclesia*, Lib. 1. *De Origine & Progressu Ecclesiæ Anglorum*, Lib. 1. *Explicationem suæ Fidei*, Lib. 1. aliaque; floruit Anno partæ Salutis 1558.

At multæ reconditæ Eruditionis fuit hoc tempore *Joannes Rbetorfortis*, non suis solum sed exteris ob singularem Eruditionem notus; docuit *Cominbriciæ* in *Hispania*; *Andreapoli* item in Patria, publica Professione magna sua laude, majori Literarum commodo honoratus: Cujus habemus *De Arte differendi* Libros 4. & alia in *Philosophia* Opuscula. Sed omnium industriam in pietate superavit *Joannes Knoxius*, cujus in Vineâ Domini, temporibus etiam difficillimis, opera Ecclesiæ longè fuit gratissima; non modo quod ipse passim prædicando Evangelio propagaret, sed quod Diligentiam suam ad aliorum instructionem Scriptis testatam reliquerit: Quod *Concionem Stephanisticam* fœliciter habuerit, cum *Jacobus Sextus* illustrissimus noster Rex Regni Coronâ ornaretur. Scripsit hic ad *Londinenses* & alios Librum 1. *Ad Evangelii Professores* Lib. duos; *Quomodo sit orandum* Librum 1. *Contra Missam* Lib. 1. *Buccinæ Afflatum* primum Lib. 1. *Appellationem à Sententia Cleri* Lib. 1. *Epistolas diversas*, aliaque. Vixit Anno Christi 1569. Eodem Anno Patriam non parum illustravit *Patricius Cockburn*, scribens *De Excellentia & Utilitate Verbi*, Lib. duos; *De Vulgari Scripturæ Phrasi* Lib. 2. doctissimos, in quorum uno, tractat *De Peccato in Spiritum Sanctum*, altero obscurissima Scripturæ loca commode illustrat & interpretatur; qui Liber excudebatur *Parisus*

Anno 1552. Sed enim, Auditores, sub *Jacobo Sexto*, clarissima cum Evangelii luce Doctrinæ etiam omnis Fax feliciter *Scotis* affulsit; cœpitque jam pristinæ & avitæ Virtutis vis major excitari, referamne, qui foro præsidebant, *Papinianos*; qui Cathedram Sacram conscendebant, Doctissimos verbi Præcones; qui teneram juventutem instruebant, industrios Scholarum Rectores? Vereor quidem, Auditores, si singulos pro meritis pergam ornare, ne videar vobis non Orationem sed Volumen justum meditari, quamobrem paucis selectis Telam posteris texendam relinquam. Inter Senatores Regios, non inutiliter operam in Doctrina ponebat *David Camerarius*, emisit enim *Chronicorum Regum Gallia, Scotia, Angliæ Epitomen*; Item *Singularitatum Scotiæ Tractatum* aliaque id genus. Fœlicis satis si pii Ingenii habeatur *Patricius Adamsonus*, Poeta Laureatus, bonarum Artium studiis & Literis perpolitus, qui carmine venusto complexus est *Catechesin* Calvinii; Extitit ejusdem *Gratiarum Actio*, Elegiaco Carmine ad Serenissimam *Elisabetham Anglorum Reginam*, ob liberatam civili seditione Scotiam. Erat & Literarum magnum Ornamentum *Joannes Lescæus Rossensis* Episcopus, cujus habemus de Rebus Scotorum Libros decem, *Romæ* excusos; *De Jure Regis nostri in Angliam* Lib: *De Tranquillitate Animi*; *De Consolatione afflicti*, 1584. Quis æquo animo ferat præterire *Jacobum Chineum*, nostrum Matheseos Professore celeberrimum *Duaci*, cujus habemus non vulgaris Eruditionis testes Libros hosce, *Epitomen Metaphysicæ, Physicæ, Geographiæ & Astronomiæ*, Anno 1580? Sed quis *Astrologorum* Motus, *Arithmetico*rum Numeros, *Geometricarum* Dimensiones, *Grammaticorum* Regulas, *Rhetorum* Elegantias, *Philosophorum* Subtilitates, *Medicorum* Thesaurus uberius unquam possedit, quam in vicinia nostra *Theophilus Stuartus*? cum quo, in omnibus ferè paria faciebat *Robertus Pont*, nisi quod ad Mathematicas, Philologicas & Philosophicas Disciplinas, quarum laude mirè excelluit, Jurisprudentiæ quoque & Sacræ Theologiæ insignem cognitionem adjecit; Facultatis utriusque, publicâ in Patria Professione honoratus, relictis adhuc Filiis non Nominis tantum & Bonorum, sed Virtutis & Doctrinæ hæredibus.

Sed quo te piaculo taceam *Buchanane*? aut quo Præconio celebrem unicuique Musarum hujus Ævi decus? nam cum perfectum Oratorem vix singula ferant secula, in te uno, summi Oratoris laus cum summi Poetæ conjuncta est. Tu Poetarum nostri seculi Princeps tuo jure haberi meruisti, in te omnes quas dormienti *Hesiodo* in *Parnasso* monte asperferunt Musæ Violas, omniaque *Virgilii, Flacci, Nasonis* capiti aptaverunt Serta in te, inquam, quis dubitat eadem esse collata? Cæterum, Auditores, nostro huic Poetæ majoremne gloriam pepererint Scripta, an doctissimi Regis *Jacobi Sexti*, cui præfuit, Educatio incertum est. Non defuit tamen è nostris etiam, qui ex tanti viri labe laudem quæreret; nam vir aliàs doctissimus *Adamus Blackwood* Senator *Pictaviensis*, scripsit contra Librum *Buchanani de Jure Regni*, 1590, qui Author edidit præterea *De Conjunctiōe Religionis & Imperii* Lib. *Funebres Orationes* *Admiralis Franciæ*, & *Jacobi Stuarti* Primi Regentis *Scotiæ*.

Præteribo hic, Auditores, (video enim jamdudum vos finem spectare) *Langium* *Scotum* Doctorem *Sorbonicum*, *Jacobum Tyreum* fortissimum *Jesuitarum* Præsidem, *Crichtonium*, *Thomam Swentonium*, *Barclaium*, qui eleganti Scripto Papæ Imperium in Reges imminuit, *Sbarpium*, *Marchinstonium* qui *Apocalypsin* Commentariis Illustravit & *Algebram* emisit; Mellito etiam ore *Melvinum* aliisque innumeros quorum etiam domi forisque clara sit Memoria,

non dubitò tamen quin posteris clarior & illustrior sit futura : Nescio enim qui fiat ut boni omnis, tunc maximè cum abest nobis jucunda possessio videatur, an quòd audita visis laudamus libentius; & præsentia Invidiâ, præterita Veneratione prosequimur, & his nos obrui, illis instrui credamus. Quicquid sit, unum hoc Præcepto olim meo reverendissimo Domino *Rollico* concedite, ne silentio à me prætereatur, vir omnium suffragiis immortalitate dignissimus; nam quò quæso æquius quam *Rollico* Personam agenti theatrum istud Doctorum gloriabitur? cujus potius ostentabit ingenium, mores commendabit, pietatem, & aureos in Sacras Literas Commentarios efferet? hoc Viro quid habuit nuper patria nostra doctius, quid sanctius, quid illustrius? Sed desino, ex hujus obitu communis mihi vobiscum luctus causas renovare, instruant potius & solentur nos Scripta ejus dulcissima quæ reliquit, quæ quia vobis omnibus sunt notissima recensere desinam. At inter cæteras *Scotiæ* civitates, singulari Dei beneficio, nulla magis claròrum ingeniorum proventu floruit, quam Tu *Abredonia*, felix si Deum in donis suis glorifices; dicent certè alii tuos *Liddelios*, *Cargillos*, *Hovæos*, *Dempsteros*, *Johnstonos*, *Morisonos*, *Graios*, *Wedderburnos*, *Jacheos*, *Duneos*, *Forbesios*, *Andersonos*, *Aidios* reliquosque Togatos Patres, quos pia & fera posteritas venerabitur. Gloria sit Domino, sic Ecclesiæ & Scholis in *Scotia* ubique consulenti; sic Doctrinarum studia ne unquam deficiant, elementer foventi; sic nova semper Literarum lumina ne extinguantur, prudenter excitanti: Equidem quam admirabilis est ingeniorum varietas, tanto clarior atque conspectior est Beneficiorum Dei Majestas. Sed hem quâ ego vetustatis admiratione abreptus, præsentis actionis inmemor in Immensum abivi, jam Littus legam, jam vela contraham; vobis equidem, Candidati, ad vos enim præcipuè hæc spectat Oratio, vobis, inquam; hi Parentes prædicantur; vobis si Majores celebrantur, vos ad horum Societatem laudis invitamini; quoties igitur Majorum vestrorum nomina audietis, toties vobis imitandæ similis laudis & industriæ desiderium accendatur, ut ex æmulatione virtutis surgat ad optima quæque tendendi voluntas, ac intelligatur multum vobis ad Sapientiam profuisse Majorum reverentiam, quorum etenim Patres aut Majores aliqua gloria præstiterunt, eorum plerumque posterì in simili laudis genere student excellere; testantur hoc *Thesæus*, quem *Herculis* Labores ad paria pericula obeunda coegerunt; *Themistocles*, qui gloriæ *Miltiadis* memor noctes insomnes agebat; *Alexander*, *Achillis*; *Cæsar*, *Alexandri*; *Scipio*, *Cyri* æmulatione accensi; vehementer gloriæ studio incubuerunt. Scilicet tantum apud Posteròs, valent Patrum, qui recto itinere præcesserunt exempla. Quod si reliquias bonorum virorum neutiquam aufert tempus; sed virtus etiam morte pereimptis lucet; si non potest probitas diu obtegi, si effert ipsa sese, & quo plus oneratur exurgit illustrior, si bene gestorum memoriam nulla deteret dies, nullius minuet potestas, aut fuscabit improbitas. Vobis, Candidati, cum præluceant de gente hac, Divinâ clementiâ, tot illustres in omni scientia Patres, quibus tulit nulla Ætas ullos unquam aut literaturæ politioris, aut ingenii elegantioris aut judicii maturioris; quanta putatis animorum contentione incumbendum, quanto studiorum fervore contendendum, ut relictam à Majoribus eruditionis famam auctiorem ad posteròs & illustriorem transmittatis; ut vos verè Patriæ virtutis æmulos, & eruditionis hæredes præbeatis; ut Doctorum Gentis hujus Catalogo, vestra aliquando nomina non postre-

miâ adscribatis, cum ad has laudes quas à parentibus accepistis, addetis aliquam vestram : Etenim si hoc ipsum propagâsse nomen Patribus pulchrum æternumque habetur, Posteris non extendisse sædum & ignominiosum censeatur. Quamobrem his orti Majoribus, his prognati Patribus, labentem Literarum causam serius suscipite & viriliter fœliciterque sustinete ; ut & Proavi vos, laborum & gloriæ socios non inviti agnoscant & posteris ; virtutis quo propiora eò potentiora ad imitandum exempla, aliquando sibi proponant. Eia igitur, Candidati, vosque omnes Studiosi, quos ad parem solertiam Natura genuit, usus exercuit, Doctrina formavit, studete in medium proferre, non modo Parentum antiquam gloriam, sed vestram quoque virentem recenti Doctrinâ florem : Nec permittite, ut tot insignium virorum ingeniis celebrata Natio, tot Doctorum monumentis nobilitata *Scotia*, vestrâ demum socordiâ vilescant. At si (quod Deus omen avertat) ignaviâ vestrâ, partam à prioribus Doctrinæ famam intermori patiamini, sicut victimarum confectarum pelles vixisse aliquando animalia testantur ; sic facta hodierno die à me Doctorum Gentis nostræ Commemoratio, Patriam satis ab ignorantie labe vindicabit ; vosque qui Majores non refertis, æternæ inertie ignominieque damnabit. Quin potius (nam meliora spero) ut ex reliquiis suis & cineribus reparatur *Phoenix*, sic indefessa diligentia perficiet, ut transmissâ ad vos à Majoribus Scientiâ, *Scotis* pulchrior, ornatiorque resurgat. In hanc sciz. spem expectationemque à Parentibus educati, in Scholis enutriti, jamque tandem Magistrali Laureâ ornandi estis, ut honores hos sic geratis, ut ornamentum non accipere, sed dare dignitate videamini. Persuadeat vobis hoc Avorum antiquitas, urgeat imposita ab ipsa Gente necessitas, impetretque Parentum, Patriæ, propria denique utilitas, ne unquam à Majorum virtute degeneretis ; sed in scientiis excolendis Industriâ Studium, & Studio Industriam superetis, ne sit quantò doctrinâ Majorum præclarior, tantò vestrâ socordiâ ignavior, ac literarum Patriæ hujus laus & nata & extincta cum Parentibus dicatur. DIXI.

A N

Alphabetical Catalogue

Of such of the SUBSCRIBERS Names and Designations as have come to our Hands.

A.

THe Right Honourable *WILLIAM* Marquis of *ANNANDALE*.
Sir William Anstruther of That-Ilk, one of the Senators of the College of Justice.

Patrick Abercromby, M. D.

John Abernathy, M. D.

William Adam, Apothecary in Edinburgh.

Patrick Anderson Wright in Edinburgh.

Sir Alexander Anstruther of Newmark.

Alexander Arbuthnet of Phindrocicic.

Mr. John Arrat, late Professor of Philosophy at St. Andrews.

James Auchinleck, Baker in Edinburgh.

B.

THe Right Honourable *DAVID* Earl of *BUCHAN*.

The Right Honourable *COLIN* Earl of *BALCARRAS*.

The Right Honourable *JAMES* Earl of *BUTE*.

The Right Honourable *WALTER* Lord *BLANTTRE*.

Mr. James Baillie Collector at Prestonpans.

John Baillie Chyrurgion in Edinburgh.

Robert Baillie of Carenbrew.

Mr. James Baillie Advocate.

Alexander Baillie of Afbesteel.

Sir William Baird of Newbeath.

Alexander Bane of Loggie.

John Blair, M. D.

George Borthwick Chyrurgion in Edinburgh.

Thomas Bower, M. D. and Professor of Mathematics in the King's College at Aberdeen.

John Bowie of Saltcoats.

Walter Boswal of Balbarton.

Alexander Bruce Apothecary in Edinburgh.

Alexander Bruce of Kinaird.

Sir George Brown of Colstoun.

William Brown of Seabegs.

Archbald Brown Writer in Edinburgh.

Sir Thomas Burnet of Leys.

Mr. Gilbert Burnet Advocate.

C.

THe Right Honourable *ROBERT* Earl of *CARNWATH*.

The Right Honourable *GEORGE* Earl of *CROMARTT*,
Justice-General.

Mr. Archbald Campbel, Esq;
 Colini Campbel of Camismore.
 Colin Campbel of Lochlane.
 Sir James Campbel of Aberuchel,
 Robert Car Touniger of Cavers.
 Sir James Carmichael of Boninton.
 Mr. William Carmichael, Her Majesty's Solicitor.
 John Carnagie of Baysack.
 Alexander Carnagie of Balnamoon.
 James Carstairs, Writer in Edinburgh.
 William Carruthers, Apothecary-Chirurgion in Edinburgh.
 James Carruthers of Hallaitbs.
 Sir William Calderwood, Advocate.
 James Cheap of Rossie.
 The Incorporation of Chirurgions in Edinburgh.
 The Incorporation of Chirurgions in Glasgow.
 Mr. William Cochran of Kilmaronock.
 John Cochran, Candel-maker in the Canongate.
 The College of Edinburgh for their Library.
 Alexander Colvil of Blair.
 Adam Cout, Advocate.
 Mr. George Crockat, Student in Medecine.
 Mr. John Crockat, Minister of the Gospel.
 John Cuming, Professor of Ecclesiastic History and Antiquities in the University
 of Edinburgh.
 Sir William Cuninghame of Caprington.
 Mr. John Cuninghame, Advocate.
 Mr. John Cuninghame of Woodball.
 Mr. William Cuninghame, Provost of Irvine.

D.

HIS GRACE ARCHBALD Duke of DOUGLASS.
 The Right Honourable CHARLES Earl of DUNMORE.
 The Right Honourable THOMAS Viscount of DUPLIN.
 The Right Honourable JAMES Lord DRUMMOND.
 Mr. James Daes, Writer in Edinburgh.
 James Deans of Woodislle Junior.
 Sir David Dalrymple, Her Majesty's Solicitor.
 Thomas Dalrymple, M. D. and First Physician in Ordinary for Her Majesty.
 James Derwar, Brewwar in Edinburgh.
 Mr. Alexander Dykes, Professor of Humanity at Dalkeith.
 John Don of Hattenburn.
 John Don of Spittle, Sberiff-Clerk of Stirling.
 Lieutenant Robert Douglass, in Major General Maitland's Regiment.
 James Douglass of Dornack.
 Mr. Robert Douglass of Auchinschinack.
 Mr. Alexander Drummond, Advocate.
 James Drummond, Writer to Her Majesty's Signet.
 Mr. David Drummond, Advocate.
 James Drummond of Blair Drummond.
 John Drummond, M. D.

Mr.

Mr. William Drummond, Writer in Edinburgh.
John Drummond of Colchquhailzie.
George Drummond, Merchant in Edinburgh.
Sir William Drummond of Hatherndean.
Sir James Dumbar of Mochram.
Alexander Dumbar, Taylor in the Canongate.
Mr. Alexander Dunlap, Professor of Greek in the College of Glasgow.
Mr. William Dunlap, Son to James Dunlap of Hous-hill.

E.

THe Right Honourable CHARLES Earl of ERROL, High
Constable of Scotland.
The Right Honourable ALEXANDER Lord ELIBANK.
The Right Honourable CHARLES Master of ELPHINSTON.
James Erskine of Grange, one of the Senators of the College of Justice.
Thomas Ellies, Writer to the Signet.
Gidion Elliot, Chirurgeon in Edinburgh.
Robert Elliot, Chirurgeon in Edinburgh.
Colonel John Erskine.
Mr. William Erskine, Merchant in Edinburgh.

F.

THe Right Honourable ARCHBALD Earl of FORFAR.
Thomas Fenton, Merchant in Edinburgh.
Alexander Ferguson of Craigdarroch.
Archbald Fisher, Chirurgeon in Edinburgh.
Thomas Fisher, Merchant in Edinburgh.
Patrick Foord, M. D.
David Fotheringham, M. D.
Patrick Fotheringham of Powrie Junior.
John Forbes, Peutherer in the Canongate.
James Forrest, Merchant in Edinburgh.
Robert Forrest, Merchant in Edinburgh.
Hugh Forsyth of Garvil.
Mr. William Fouls, Advocate.
Mr. George Frazer, Sub-Principal in the King's College in Aberdeen.
John Frazer of Kirkcoun Junior.
Henry Frazer, Herald Painter.
Mr. David Freebairn, Minister of the Gospel.
Mr. Robert Freebairn, Bookseller in Edinburgh.
David French of Frenchland.

G.

HIS Grace GEORGE Duke of GORDON.
James Galbreath of Balgair.
Mr. John Gaudie, Minister at Earlston.
Captain David George, Merchant in Aberdeen.
Sir John Gerdean of Aplegirth.
Sir Alexander Gibson, Baronet.
James Goodlet of Abbotshaugh.
Alexander Gordon, Writer in Edinburgh.
Mr. George Gordon, Professor of the Oriental Languages in the King's College at Aberdeen.

Mr. William Gordon, Merchant in Edinburgh.
 Thomas Gordon, Captain of Her Majesty's Ship the Royal William.
 James Gordon of Craiglaw.
 Alexander Gordon of Pitlurg.
 Robert Gordon of Cluny.
 John Glass of Sauchie.
 Alexander Grant of That-Ilk, Junior.
 Sir Francis Grant, Advocate.
 John Gregory, Writer in Edinburgh.
 Mr. James Grahame, Advocate, Junior.
 Mr. James Grahame, Merchant in Edinburgh.
 John Grahame of Mackeinston.
 Colonel William Grahame, Merchant in London.
 Colonel William Grahame of Buchaple
 Thomas Grahame of Balgoven.
 William Grahame of Orchal.
 Thomas Grahame of Kilarne.
 Alexander Grahame of Ducharie.
 George Grahame, M. D.
 Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg.
 James Grierson of Kapinoch.

H.

HIS Grace JAMES Duke of HAMILTON.
 Her Grace Lady ELISABETH HOWARD, Dutches of
 GORDON.
 The Right Honourable Lady FRANCIS HERBERT Marchio-
 nefs of SEAFORT.
 The Right Honourable ALEXANDER Earl of HOME.
 James Hacket, M. D.
 John Haldin of Glenelgies.
 Patrick Haldin, Professor of Philosophy in St. Salvator's College in St. Andrews.
 James Hamilton of Olivestab.
 John Hamilton, M. D.
 John Hamilton of Bardowie, Junior.
 John Hamilton, Merchant in Edinburgh.
 John Henderson, Wright in Edinburgh.
 Robert Hepburn of Keith.
 Mr. Andrew Hay of Monblarie.
 Patrick Hay, Esquire.
 John Henry, late Deacon of the Cordiners in Edinburgh.
 William Herris of Mabie.
 Sir James Holburn of Menstrie.
 John Hopepringle of That-Ilk.
 Roderick Hosack, M. D.
 Alexander Horsebrugh of That-Ilk.
 Richard Houison, Writer in Edinburgh.
 Sir Robert Hume of Renton, Baron.

I.

THE Right Honourable JAMES Lord JOHNSTON.
 Mr. Alexander Jaffrey, Minister of the Gospel.

George Innes of Cockstoun, Junior.
John Johnston of Straton.
James Johnston, M. D.
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K.

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Sir David Murray of Stenhop.
John Murray Elder of Touch-Adam.
John Murray Younger of Touch-Adam.
John Murray of Strowan.
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O.

John Ogilvy, Advocate.
 Patrick Oliphant of Bachelton,

James Oliphant of Gask.
George Oliphant of Clashbanie.
John Ouchterlony of Guinde.
John Ouchterlony, Writer to the Signet.

P.

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Q.

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R.

His Grace **JOHN** Duke of **ROXBURGH**.
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Mr. William Scot of Thirlston, Advocate.
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Archbald Seaton of Touch.

William Seton of Pitmedden, Junior.
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Sir Mungo Stirling of Glorat.
William Stirling of Harbertshire.
Mr. James Stirling, Chirurgion to Major-General Maitland's Regiment.
William Stirling, Chirurgion at Stirling.
Bertran Stot, Esquire in Northumberland.
James Stewart of Allentoun.
Mr. Walter Stewart, Advocate.
Mr. Alexander Sutherland, Minister of the Gospel.
James Summervel of Drum.
Colonel George Summervel.
Mr. William Sutherland, Brother-German to the Lord Duffus.
Colin Sympson of Whitehill.

T.

THe Right Honourable CHARLES Earl of Traquair.
Mr. David Thomson, Factor to the Earl of Northesk.
Mr. Robert Thomson.
Sir David Threpland of Fingask.
Robert Trotter, M. D.
Thomas Caddel, Brewer in Edinburgh.

W.

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Admiral of Scotland.
William Wachop of Niddrie, for Two.
John Wachop of Edmiston, Junior.
Francis Wachop of Kaickmoor, Advocate.
James Wachop, Merchant in Edinburgh.
Sir Alexander Wedderburn of Blackness.
James Wakenshaw of That-Ilk.
John Wakenshaw of Barrowfield.
John Wallis, Apothecary in Edinburgh.
John Watson, M. D.
James Winram, Sheriff-Clerk of Berwick-shire.
John Wordie of Cambusbaren.

T.

THe Right Honourable Lord TESTER.
Joseph Young, Merchant in Edinburgh.
Mr. Ninian Young, Regent in St. Leonard's College in St. Andrews.

THE
LIFE of PELAGIUS,
THE
Author of the Pelagian Heresy.

THE Learned *Dionysius Petavius* has observed, in his History of the Pelagian and Semi-Pelagian Heresies, that there were Three Monks of this Name, who Flourished in the Fifth Century (a); One mentioned by St. *John Chrysostom* (b); Another by St. *Isidore of Damiana* (c); And the Third was our Famous Author. And of late F. *Pagi*, in his Remarks upon Cardinal *Baronius's* Annals (d), has Confirmed *Petavius's* Observation.

As for our Author, all acknowledge, that he was Born in this Island of Great Britain; but many Learned Men are divided in their Opinions, about the Place of his Birth: For some will have him to have been Born among the Britains in Wales (e), and others among the Britains in Scotland (f). They who affirm that he was a Welsh Man, endeavour to prove their Assertion, from his being called a Britain by St. *Augustin*; and some other Ancient Writers, and from the Supposition, that the Scots were not then Inhabitants of this Island: But I think I have sufficiently shown the Weakness of both these Conjectures, in the Preface to this Work; and therefore I shall proceed to give an Account of the Arguments, brought by the Learned Men above cited, viz. *Vossius*, *Pagi*, *Le Clerc*, &c. to prove that he was an Albion or British Scot.

This evidently appears from St. *Jerome*, who tells us (g), that Pelagius was a Scots Man, and that the Scots were a Nation then Inhabiting this Island (h): And the same St. *Jerome*, in his Preface to his Third Book, upon the Prophet *Jeremy*, speaking of Pelagius, and of *Rufinus* his Master, says of them (i), *Hic (Rufinus) tacet, alibi criminatur, mittit in universum Orbem Epistolas Biblicas, prius auriferas, nunc maledicas, ipseque mutus latrat per Alpinum Canem (Pelagium) grandem & corpulentum, & qui calcibus magis scire possit, quam dentibus. Habet enim progeniem Scoticæ gentis, de Britannorum Vicinia; qui juxta Fabulas Poetarum, instar Cerberi, spiritali percutiendus est clava, ut æterno cum suo magistro Plutone, silentio conticescat.*

The Cardinals *Baronius* and *Noris*, Archbishop *Usher*, and several other Learned Men, have thought (k), that this Passage of St. *Jerome's*, was to be understood of Pelagius and *Cælestius's* Disciple: But the eminently Learned F. *Pagi* has shown (l), that it can be no ways understood of

B

Cæles

(a) De Pelag. & Semi Pelag. Dogmatum Historia Dogmar. Theol. Tom. 3. pag. 586. (b) Epist. 4. (c) Lib. 1. Epist. 314. (d) vid. M. Le Clerc Biblioth. choisie, vol. 8. pag. 307. (e) Jacob. Usser de Ecclesiis Britannicar. Antiq. Edward. Stilling. Orig. Britan. Guilel. Cave Histor. Liter. (f) Gerard. Vossius de Controver. Pelagianis. Anton. Pagi, ubi sup. M. Le Clerc, ubi sup. &c. (g) Nec recordatur (says he of Pelagius) stolidissimus & Scotorum pulchritudinis prægravatus. Præf. in lib. 1. Com. in Hierem. (h) Quid loquar (inquit) de cæteris Nationibus cum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia Scotos, Britannicam gentem, humanis veluti carnibus viderim, lib. 2. ad Jovian. cap. 6. (i) Præf. in lib. 3. Com. in Hierem. (k) Bar. Annal. Eccles. Noris Hist. Pelagiana. Usser de Ecclesiis Britan. Antiq. &c. (l) Ubi sup.

Cælestius, who was an *Italian*; but of *Rufinus*, *Pelagius's* Master, whom he represents here under the Name of *Pluto*, and of whom he says he held his Peace, because *Rufinus* was then dead; and the Dog is *Pelagius*, who should be call'd *Albinus Canis*, as it is found in an Ancient MSS. cited by the *Benedictines* of St. *Maure (m)*, who published the Works of St. *Augustin*; and it is only agreeable to *Pelagius's* Character, as it shall be afterwards made appear, when I come to give it as he is represented by the Learned Men of that Age. So that by all these Citations from St. *Jerome*, who was Co-temporary with *Pelagius*, I say, it evidently appears, that he was an *Albian* or *British Scot*.

The time of
his Birth.

The time of his Birth is altogether uncertain; but if we may believe *Gratian (n)*, it was in the same Year and upon the same Day that *Augustin*, Bishop of *Hippo*, was Born in *Africa*, which was upon the 13 of *November* 354. But whatever Truth be in this, it is certain that he

He goes to
Italy, and is
Educated at
Rome.

went from his Native Country to *Italy*, in his younger Years; for he had his Education at *Rome*, under one *Rufinus* a Presbyter, who is generally thought to be the Famous Presbyter of *Aquileia*; tho' the Learned F. *Garnier*, in his Notes upon *Marius Mercator (o)*, has endeavoured to prove the contrary, by some very probable Arguments.

He retires
from the
World.

Pelagius having finished his Studies at *Rome*, under *Rufinus*, retired from the World, which makes St. *Augustin* call him a *Monk*, and not from his being brought up in the Monastery of *Bangor* in *Wales*, as some *Irish* and *English* Antiquaries have imagined (*p*); there being no such Monastery at that time, nor for several Years after (*q*). When he was in his Retirement, he Composed his Books upon the *Trinity*, his *Consolatory Epistle* to a Widow, called *Livania*, and his Commentaries upon the Epistles of St. *Paul (r)*: The two former are lost, but we have his Commentary still extant, among the Writings of St. *Jerome*, a Work so highly Valued, by some of the Ancients, that after he was Condemn'd by the *Latin Church*, they published it with their Corrections and Amendments (*s*); and in the opinion of a Learned Critick (*t*), it is one of these Copies, that we have now under his Name.

And writes
several
Books.

This Commentary is upon all the Epistles of St. *Paul*, but that to the *Hebrews*, which notwithstanding he often cites, under the Name of St. *Paul*, probably having regard, as F. *Simon* hath observ'd (*u*), to the Custom of some of the *Latin Churches*, who had not at that time received it as Canonical.

After which
he goes to
Africa.

After the Writing of these Books, *Pelagius* sail'd to *Africa*, in the year 411, and stay'd for some time at *Hippo (x)*: and in the following year, St. *Augustin* says, that he saw him at the Conference betwixt the *Catholics* and *Donatists (y)*.

And from
thence to
Egypt.

From thence he went to *Egypt*, to visit the Monasteries there; at which time, viz. in the Year 413. (*z*), *Demetrius* a Virgin, having taken upon her the Religious Habit, *Pelagius* wrote a Letter to her, in Praise of Virginité, for which he was highly commended by St. *Augustin*. From *Egypt*, *Pelagius* went to *Palestine*, in the year 415, where he was very kindly received, by *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*: But he had not been long there, when he was accuted, by St.

And from
Egypt to
Palestine.

Au-

(m) Vid. Tom 10. Append. 2. Col. 78. (n) Gratian. Decret. Par. 2. Causa 24. Quest. 3. Cap. penult. (o) Mar. Mercator cum Notis Garner. Par. 1673. (p) Jacob. Usser de Eccles. Britan. Antiq. Guil. Cave Hist. Liter. vol. 1. &c. (q) Edw. Stillm. Orig. Britan. (r) Vid. R. P. Anton. Pagi ubi sup. (s) Vid. Cassiod. lib. Div. Lect. cap. 8. (t) Philip Labbe Dissert. de Scrip. Eccles. pag. 441. (u) Hist. Critiq. des principaux Commentateurs du Nouveau Testament, chap. 16. pag. 238. (x) Guil. Cave Hist. Liter. pag. 291. (y) August. de Gest. Palæst. cap. 22. (z) Rev. P. Anton. Pagi, ubi sup.

Augustin Bishop of *Hippo*, of Heresy, for maintaining, that a Man could be without Sin, and that he denied Original Sin, and the necessity of God's Free Grace, in the Actions of Men. This obliged *Pelagius* to write several small Treatises in his own Defence; from which together with his Commentary upon the Epistles of *St. Paul*, I shall give the Reader a short View of his Sentiments, upon these perplexing Debates (a).

He is accus-
ed of Hete-
sy by *St.*
Augustin.

God (according to him) created the first Man, in a state of Innocence, with all the Perfections of Human Nature, and a Free-will capable to do either Good or Evil, and not invincibly determin'd to either: But having offended God, by abusing his Will, he became subject to all the extravagant Motions and Evils, that are the Consequences of sinning. All his Posterity are born in Innocence, with the same Free-will, which when they abuse, they become guilty of *Adam's* Sin, by imitating his Transgression: So that Children, that die unbaptized, are not subject to God's Wrath and Damnation, because of *Adam's* Sin; but capable of Eternal Happiness, tho' not to such a degree, as is promised to those, that are Baptized, who are thereby adopted Children of God, and made Heirs of the Kingdom of Heaven. God likewise, in his infinite Goodness, has granted several Graces to the Sons of Men, to enable them to attain unto Eternal Happiness; such as, that of a Free and Reasonable Soul, the Revelation of his Divine Will, by the Preaching of the Gospel, the Remission of Sins, to such as repent, the Adopting them his Children, by Baptism, the Illumination and Direction of his Holy Spirit, and a Promise of an Eternal Reward, for the Good that they do: So that all Men may be saved, if they will, and if they be not, they can only accuse their own perverse Will, whereby they resist the Call of God: And no Man can either excuse himself, or accuse the Justice of God, because every one receives what he deserves, and every one is rewarded or punished, according to the Good or the Evil that he does, by his Free-will, which co-operates with the Graces of God. The Effect of these Graces is our Love of God; and tho' we cannot love him so perfectly in this Life, as in the next, yet it is not impossible with God, by the Influences of his Graces, to keep a Man from sinning all his Lifetime.

His Senti-
ments con-
cerning
Free-will,
Original
Sin, Grace
and Prede-
stination.

His Principles of Election and Reprobation do exactly agree with his Opinion of Free-will. For, according to him, altho' God has chosen some by others, such as the Apostles, for Reasons best known to himself: Yet he has predestinated none to Eternal Damnation, without any regard to their Future Merits; but as they make a good or an ill Use of their Free-will, so they will be Sav'd or Damn'd.

These Opinions were violently opposed by *St. Augustin*, "a Man (b) of great Extent of Knowledge, great Exactness and Force of Mind: But one who often left the Notions of his Predecessors, to follow a Path wholly new, whether in Expounding the Scriptures, or in Opinions of Divinity: So that it may be said of him, as to Divinity, what *Cicero* said of himself, as to Philosophy, 'That he was *Magnus Opinior*; one that advanced several Opinions, that were only probable, as certain Truths.

*St. Augu-
stin's Cha-
racter.*

Pelagius having to do with a Person of so great Learning and Parts, could not fail of being involved into very great Troubles and Difficulties.

*St. Augustin
causes a
Council to
be call'd, to*

examine
Cælestius one
of Pelagius's
Disciples.
Cælestius's
Character.

The first thing that St. *Augustin* did, was, to cause a Council to be call'd at *Carthage*, in the year 412, to examine *Cælestius*, one of *Pelagius's* Chief Disciples. This *Cælestius* was by Birth an *Italian*, and a Person (c) of Quality, by Profession a Lawyer : But desirous for the Priesthood, he apply'd himself to the Study of the Sacred Scriptures, under *Pelagius*, at *Rome*, and became one of the most Zealous Defenders of his Master's Sentiments, concerning Original Sin, Grace, Free-will and Predestination; and St. *Jerome*, in his Letter to *Cæsiphon*, says, that he was a Person of such a subtil Genius, that he went over the very Thorns of Logic.

The History of this Council is written by *Marius Mercator*, in his Commentary against *Cælestius*; the Title of which discovers the Time, Occasion, and Effect of it, which is this. "A Copy of the Commentary which *Mercator* publish'd in *Greek*, against *Cælestius*, and which he not only gave to the Church of *Constantinople*, and dispos'd to several Persons of Piety; but also presented it to the Emperor *Theodosius*, in the Consulship of *Florentius* and *Dionysius*; and which he afterwards Translated out of the *Greek* into *Latin*. Which Commentary having discovered the Errors of *Cælestius*, was the Cause that *Julian*, and his Companions, who Defended them, were Banish'd from *Constantinople*, as well as *Cælestius*, by the Emperor's Edict; and afterwards Condemned in the Council of *Ephesus*, by the Judgments of 275 Bishops.

In this Commentary, *Mercator* tells us, that *Cælestius*, a Scholar of *Pelagius*, being come from *Rome*, where he had been almost 20 Years, went to *Carthage*; where he was accused, by *Paulinus* a Deacon of St. *Ambrose*, of several Errors, but more particularly of these: I. That *Adam* was Created Mortal, and that he would have Died, whether he had Sin'd or not. II. That the Sin of *Adam*, had done only Ill to himself, and not to all his Posterity. III. That by the Law, the Kingdom of Heaven was obtain'd, as well as by the Gospel. IV. That before the Coming of *Jesus Christ*, Men were without Sin. V. That a Man might easily Obey the Commandments of God, if he would. VI. That Children newly Born are in the same state that *Adam* was in, before his Fall. VII. That Men do no more Die by the Sin and Prevarication of *Adam*, than they Rise again by the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*.

Cælestius gave Answers to all these Articles, but we have only the Fragments of some of them, in the Writings of his greatest Enemies; so that we cannot know what his real Sentiments were: But it is certain, that being a Man of a Cunning and Subtil Temper, he perplex'd them with many Captious Questions; for, in the Question about the necessity of Sinning, he ask'd them, What Sin, in general, was? Whether it be a thing we can evite, or not? If we cannot evite it, (says he) then there is no evil in committing of it; and if a Man can evite it, then he may be without Sin: For neither Reason nor Justice will permit that to be call'd Sin, which we cannot evite any manner of way. And if it be asked, (says he) Whether a Man should be without Sin? Witliout doubt it will be answered, He ought; and if he ought to be without it, then he can be without it: And if a Man should not be without Sin, then he should be a Sinner, and it will be no longer his Fault, if we suppose him necessarily such.

The

The *African* Bishops, not being able to make *Cælestius* alter his Opinion, Excommunicated him : Upon which he was obliged to leave *Afric*, and appeal to the Bishop of *Rome*. The Report of this, coming to *Jerusalem*, where *Pelagius* then was, *John* Bishop of that Place, immediately call'd a Council to examine, if *Pelagius* maintain'd the Errors, condemn'd by the *African* Bishops. *Cælestius* is condemn'd by the Council.

This Council sat down upon the 30. of *July* 415 ; and there were call'd to it three *Latin* Priests, viz. *Avitus*, *Vitalis* and *Orosius*, that they might learn from them, what had been done against *Cælestius*, in the Council of *Carthage*. *Orosius* was then, (as he says himself) (*d*) studying at the Feet of *St. Jerome*, to whom he had been recommended by *St. Augustin* : He, having seen *Cælestius* condemn'd in *Afric*, told them, that the Council of *Carthage* had condemn'd, with great Zeal, *Pelagius* and *Cælestius*, as abominable Hereticks. This *Orosius* was a *Spanish* Priest of *Tarracon*, and one of *St. Augustin* and *St. Jerome*'s Disciples, who had a great Liveliness of Spirit, a wonderful Facility of Speaking, and a fervent Zeal. The Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who was President, desir'd *Orosius* to produce his Instructions for what he had said ; whereupon he told them, that he had a Letter answering all *Pelagius*'s Questions ; which Letter was read, and it was an Answer to a Letter written to *St. Augustin* from *Syracuse*, by one *Hilary* a Lay-man, a great Admirer of *St. Augustin*, and a violent Enemy to *Pelagius*. *Pelagius* is call'd before a Council at *Jerusalem*, Where he is accus'd of Heresy by *Orosius*.

In this Letter, *Hilary* desires *St. Augustin*, to let him know, what he should think, of certain Propositions set forth by some at *Syracuse*, " That it is in Man's Power to keep himself free from all Sin ; That " it is easy for him, if he please, to keep the Commands of God ; That " Men are born without Sin, and by consequence that it is inconsistent " with the Justice of God, that Children dying before Baptism should " perish ; That Rich Men cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, " without renouncing their Riches, and selling all they have, and giving it to the Poor, and that whilst they keep them, all the good " Works they may do, according to God's Law, will profit them nothing ; And lastly, that we ought to swear, in no Case. Then he asks, Whether the Church without spot or wrinkle, spoken of by *St. Paul*, is that to which we now belong, or that which we hope to make up one day, with the Blessed in Heaven ?

Mr. *Du Pin* thinks, that this *Hilary* of *Syracuse* (*e*) is the same with that *Hilary*, who join'd with *St. Prosper*, to Refute the *Semi-Pelagians* : But be that as it will, 'tis certain, that this afforded *St. Augustin* the occasion of treating at large, in his Answer to *Hilary*, of Original Sin, of the Corruption of our Nature, of Justification, and of the Grace of *Jesus Christ* ; and to prove against the *Pelagians*, That (*f*) no Man can be free from Sin in this Life ; That no Man can fulfil the Law without the Grace of *Christ Jesus*, which is obtain'd by Labour and Prayer ; That Grace doth not take away Liberty, because the Will of Man is by so much the more free, as it is the more subject to *Christ*'s Grace, and delivered from the Dominion of Sin ; That we should not think that Free-will is destroyed, because it needeth such Helps, on the contrary it supposes, that it subsists still, when we say that it hath need of Help ; That we learn of *St. Paul*, that

C

(*d*) *Orosius* Apud: de Liber: Arbitri Bibl. P. P. Tom. 6. pag. 448. (*e*) Vid. Mr. *Du Pin* Bib: de Ant: Eccles: Vol: 1. (*f*) *S. Augustin*: Epist: 157. Tom: 2.

that all the Children of *Adam* are Born in Sin, and perish eternally, if they are not sanctified by the Grace of Baptisin.

This is an Abstract of that Letter of St. *Augustin's*, which *Orosius* produced, and which was read before the Council.

And remitted by them to the Bishop of Rome.

He is called before another Council at Diospolis in Palestine,

After which, *Pelagius* was call'd before them, and so much Respect shown him, by *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem* their President, that he caus'd place him amongst the Clergy, altho' he was a Laic : Then *Orosius* accus'd him of believing, That Man might be without Sin. To which the Bishop of *Jerusalem* reply'd, That if he maintained, Man might be free of Sin without God's help, that was indeed impious ; but since he acknowledged, that Man needeth Divine Succour, he could not be blamed ; and asked *Orosius*, Whether he would deny the Assistance of God ? *Orosius* professed, that he did not, and Anathematized all that did it ; but he said, That *Pelagius* was a Heretic, and that they ought to send him to those Judges that understood *Latin* ; and that since the Bishop had declared himself *Pelagius's* Protector, that he could not be his Judge. At length, after several Altercations, it was agreed, That the whole Matter should be referred to *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*.

Towards the latter end of the same Year, another Council was called to Examine *Pelagius*, at *Diospolis* (g), (anciently called *Lydda*) a City of *Palestine*, *Eulogius* Bishop of *Cesarea* was President, and *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem* held the second place. *Heros* and *Lazarus*, two Bishops of *Gaul* who had been obliged to quit, the one the Bishoprick of *Arles*, and the other that of *Aix*, and to retire into the East, for the abominable Crimes they had committed, join'd with *Orosius* to accuse *Pelagius* : And altho' these two deprived Bishops were absent, by reason that one of them had fallen sick by the way ; yet their Petition against *Pelagius* was read. After which he was call'd in before them, and question'd upon the following Heads. I. If he affirmed, that no Man could be without Sin, unless he knew the Law ? To this he answered, that his Meaning only was, that the Law was a Mean for shunning of Sin, but not that the Knowledge of it, was sufficient to keep a Man from Sinning. II. If every Man was directed and governed by his own Will ? This he acknowledg'd, and said, that tho' every Man had a Free-will ; yet in the doing of Good he was assisted by God. III. If at the Day of Judgment, God would not pardon the Wicked ? This he also acknowledg'd to be the Doctrine of the Gospel. IV. If Evil does not so much as enter in our Thoughts ? To this, he said, that he had only affirmed, that Christians ought to endeavour, to have no sinful Thoughts. V. If the Kingdom of Heaven was promised in the Old Testament ? This he acknowledg'd. VI. If Man, if he pleas'd, could be without Sin ? To this he said, that he had affirmed that it was possible for a Man to be without Sin, by God's Assistance ; but that he never taught, that any Man, that ever lived from Infancy to old Age, was free of Sin.

Some other Articles were laid to his Charge, which he absolutely deny'd : Upon which they ask'd him, If he would Anathematize those who maintain'd them ? He said, he was willing to Condemn them as Fools, but not as Heretics, since they were not Articles of Faith. Then they read the Articles Condemn'd by the *African* Bishops, in the Council

cil of Carthage, and ask'd, If he approved of them? He answered, as they Reported them, he Condemn'd them; but that he was not obliged to answer for any Man's Opinion but his own. Whereupon this Council, in which there were 14 Bishops, Absolv'd him, as having sufficiently answered the Charge of his Adversaries.

Before the Acts of this Council were publish'd, *Pelagius* wrote a Letter to one of his Friends, giving him an Account, how that the Council had Absolv'd him, as having sufficiently answer'd his Enemies Accusations. This Letter being publish'd, the *African* Bishops exclaim'd against them, for being impos'd upon by a Heretic; this induced *Pelagius* to write an Apology for them, which he sent to St. *Augustin*. St. *Jerome*, who had been hitherto at some Variance with St. *Augustin*, about their different Interpretations of several difficult Passages in St. *Paul's* Epistles, and having engag'd himself in the Quarrel against *Pelagius*, thought it now high time to be cordially and fully Reconcil'd with St. *Augustin*; whereupon he writes to him, that he was resolv'd for the future "To Love him (b), to Honour him, to Admire him, to Respect him, and to Defend whatever he said, as if he had said it himself. So that now *Pelagius* had for his Enemies, the two greatest Men of that Age, or of any Age of the Church that has been since their time. "For St. *Jerome* was, without doubt (i), the Learn'dest of all the Fathers; for he understood Languages very well, and was well skill'd in Humanity and Philological Learning. He was well vers'd in Ecclesiastical and Profane History, and very skilful in Philosophy. Poets, Historians, Orators, and the *Greek* and *Latin* Philosophers were equally familiar to him; for he thoroughly understood them, and fill'd his Writings with their finest Strokes. But his Genius was hot and vehement; he fell upon his Adversaries with Fierceness, made them Ridiculous by his Jest, trampil'd upon them with Terms of Contempt, and made them Blush with Reproaches. He knew a great deal, but he never argued upon Principles, which made him sometimes Contradict himself; and he often carried his Subject too far, and being transported with his ordinary Heat, he Commended, Condemned and Approved of Things, according to the Impression which they made upon his Imagination.

Pelagius having such a powerful Adversary to deal with, was oblig'd to explain his Sentiments more clearly, than he had hitherto done; whereupon he wrote his Book of Free-will, wherein he maintain'd, and explain'd all his former Doctrines, concerning Predestination, Grace and Free-will: And upon the Illumination of the Spirit he expresses himself thus (k), "I maintain, that Grace consists not only in the Law, but likewise in the Assistance of God, &c. For God assists us, by his Doctrine, and by his Revelation, by opening the Eyes of our Hearts, in showing us things that are to come, to hinder us from being too much taken up with the things that are present, by discovering to us the Stratagems of the Devil, by Illuminating us by the diverse and inefable Gifts of Celestial Grace: And do you think, (says he) that they who speak thus, deny the Grace of God? Do they not rather acknowledge the Grace of God and Free-will both together? Notwithstanding

(b) Mibi decretum est te amare, te suspicere, te colere, te mirari tuque dicta quasi mea defendere. St. Hier. Ep. Bo. Tom: 2. (i) Vid: Nov: Bib: des Aut: Eccl. Tom. 3. (k) Apud August: Lib. 1. de Grat. Christ. Cap: 7.

Upon which
two Coun-
cils are
call'd to exa-
mine it,

And is Ana-
themized
as a Here-
tic by both
the Councils

And by the
Bishop of
Rome.

Upon which
he writes
a Confession
of his Faith,

Which is
approved of
by the Bi-
shop and
Clergy of
Rome.

standing of this, the *African* Bishops resolv'd to proceed against him as a Heretick ; and for that end two Councils were call'd, the one at *Carthage* and the other at *Milevis*. In that of *Carthage*, *Aurelius* Bishop of the Place presid'd, and there were 67 Bishops present ; they had not yet received the Acts of the Council of *Diospolis*, but *Heros* and *Lazarus* had written to them an Account of what pass'd, and sent their Letter by *Orosius*, who had returned from *Palestine* to *Afric* ; and upon their Report they Anathematiz'd *Pelagius* and his Disciple *Caelestius*, and sent their Acts to Pope *Innocent*, to engage him to condemn them likewise. The Council of *Milevis*, where *Sylvian* Primate of *Numidia* was President, and 61 Bishops present, did the same ; and besides the Synodical Letters of those two Councils, Pope *Innocent* received Letters from some Bishops in *Afric*, and especially from St. *Augustin*, desiring him to Condemn *Pelagius*, and to Cite him to *Rome* for that end.

In the beginning of the Year 417. Pope *Innocent* wrote Answers to the two Councils, and to the Bishops that wrote to him (l), wherein he commends them for their Courage, in condemning Error, and for their Respect to the See of *Rome*, in consulting with it, about what they had decided, and which he approved of. From which he takes Occasion to exalt the Authority of the See of *Rome*, affirming that it is of Divine Right to have its Opinion in Ecclesiastical Matters, before any thing be determined in the Provinces concerning them. But as the Learned M. *Du Pin* has observed (m), 'tis probable that the *African* Bishops did not own that Right, since they had definitively judg'd the Case of *Pelagius* and *Caelestius*, before they acquainted him with it, and they did not write to him as a Judge that might disannul what they had done, but only to get his Approbation of their Decisions. In his Letter to the Bishops, he tells them, That he had read *Pelagius's* Book, which they sent him, and that he had found it to be full of Blasphemies, and that he met with nothing in it that pleas'd him.

Pelagius who was all this time at *Jerusalem*, hearing what the *African* Bishops had done, sent a Confession of his Faith to Pope *Innocent*, wherein he acknowledg'd the Necessity of Grace in all our Actions and in each moment of time. This coming to *Rome* after the Death of Pope *Innocent*, who died that Year upon the 12. of *March*, Pope *Zosimus* his Successor caus'd read it before the Clergy, and both he and they approv'd of it. Upon which *Zosimus* wrote a Letter to the *African* Bishops, wherein he very sharply rebuked them for having proceeded so precipitantly against *Pelagius*, and tells them, That he wish'd that they had been present at the Reading of his Confession (n) : " O ! (says he) how great " was the Joy of the Holy Men that were present, all of them were " struck with Admiration, and there was hardly one who could restrain " himself from Weeping. Is it possible that Persons should be defamed " whose Belief is so pure ? Is there any place of their Writings, where " in they have not spoken of the Assistance and of the Grace of God ? Then he condemns *Heros* and *Lazarus* as Persons who were guilty of scandalous and abominable Crimes, "*Erubescenda factis & damnationibus* " *nomina* : And speaks of their other Enemies with a great deal of Contempt.

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(l) *Innocent*, Epist. ad *Aurel* ; Epist. *Carth*. (m) M. *Du Pin* Nov. Bib. Eccl. Vol. 3. (n) *Zosim* ; Epist. 2.

The Bishops of *Afric*, having received *Zosimus's* Letter, assembled about the latter end of the Year 417, to deliberate about what they should do; and it was agreed, that an Answer should be returned to him, wherein they told him, That he was to blame for offering to retract the Cause of *Pelagius*, whom they had judg'd already, and protested against whatsoever he might do in his behalf, without hearing them. This Letter is not extant, but it is mentioned in the Third Letter, which *Zosimus* wrote to them.

About this time, by the Instigation of the *African* Bishops, the Emperours *Honorius* and *Theodosius* published a severe Edict against *Pelagius* (*o*), whereby he was banish'd *Rome*, and all those who maintain'd his Doctrines; every one being Authoriz'd to accuse them, and upon Conviction to confiscate their Goods. Pope *Zosimus* finding the *African* Bishops to have such Power with the Emperours, he durst go no further, and was contented to assert his Authority in a Letter to them, wherein he tells them, "That tho' he had Power to judge all Causes, and none had any Right to reform his Judgments; yet he would do nothing without communicating it to them: That he was surpris'd, that they should write to him as if they had been perswaded that he had given Credit to all that *Pelagius* and *Cælestius* had said to him; That he had not proceeded so fast, because too much Deliberation cannot be used when a Supreme Judgment is to be pronounced. This Letter is of the 9th of *March* 418, and is the 10th in the usual Order of *Zosimus's* Letters.

It appears by this Letter, that the Pope did alter his Mind, for fear of being declar'd Heretic likewise; and this was no sooner perceived by *Cælestius*, who was then at *Rome*; but he left that City; and *Zosimus* having cited *Pelagius* and him to come, and condemn the Doctrines laid to their Charge by the *African* Bishops: They not appearing, *Zosimus* wrote a long Letter to them, wherein he condemn'd *Pelagius* and *Cælestius's* Writings, and gave them a full Account of all his Proceedings with them. This Letter is not extant, but some Fragments of it, produced by St. *Augustin* and M. *Mercator*.

Upon the first of *May* 418, the *African* Bishops met in a Council at *Carthage*, where 8 Canons were made against the *Pelagian* Errors. The First pronounceth an *Anathema* against any who dares affirm, that *Adam* was created Mortal, so that he must have died whether he had sinn'd or not; because his Death was not an effect of Sin, but a Law of Nature. The Second declares an *Anathema* against such as deny, that Children ought to be baptiz'd as soon as they are born, or such as own that they may be baptiz'd, and yet affirm that they are born without Original Sin. In some Places there is a third Canon, which is an Addition to this; wherein those that affirm, That there is a particular Place, where Children dead without Baptism live happily, are condemn'd. And to this Notion is oppos'd what our Saviour saith, "That none can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, except he be regenerat'd of Water and the Holy Spirit. *Pbotius* citeth this Canon in his Collection, and it is found in another MSS. and in the Code of the *Romish* Church, published by F. *Quefnel*. And lastly, St. *Augustin* seems to own it, when he

D

says,

says, That the Difference which the *Pelagians* made betwixt Eternal Life and the Kingdom of Heaven, had been condemn'd in an *African* Council ; yet this Canon is not found in the Ancient Code of the *African* Church. The Third Canon in the common Edition pronounces *Anathema* against all that should say, That the Grace, which justifies Man through *Jesus Christ* our Lord, doth only remit Sins committed; but that it is not given to succour Man, that he may sin no more. The Fourth expounds the Nature of this Grace, by condemning those who should say, That it doth not further help us, than as it gives us the knowledge of what we ought to do; but not by enabling us to fulfil the Commandments, which it gives us the knowledge of. The Fifth is against those that hold, that Grace is only given, that we may do that which is good with less difficulty, because one may absolutely accomplish the Commandments by the Power of his Free-will, without the help of Grace. The Sixth declares, that St. *John* did not say merely out of Humility, "If we say that we have no Sin, we deceive our selves. The contrary Truth is confirmed in the 7th Canon, by these Words of the Lord's Prayer, "Forgive us our Trespases, &c. And they are condemn'd who affirm, That the Righteous do not say this Prayer for themselves, but for others. In the Eighth there is a Condemnation of another way of eluding the Force of these Words, by saying, That the Righteous pray out of Humility, but not truly: It is said, that God would never endure that Man, who in his Prayers would lie, not only to Men, but to God himself, by asking with his Mouth that God would forgive his Sins, and saying in his Heart that he had none.

St. *Augustine's* Sentiments concerning Original Sin, Free-will and Predestination.

Now since I gave an Account before of *Pelagius's* Sentiments, upon these intricate Questions, from his own Writings, it will not be amiss to give here a general View of St. *Augustine's* Sentiments likewise upon them, from his own Works, leaving to the Reader his Free-will of Condemning or Approving of what he pleases ; for the Christian World is not as yet, nor (I'm afraid) ever will be of one Mind about them. God (according to him) created the first Man in a State of Innocence, Holiness and Grace. He was subject neither to the necessity of Dying, nor to Sicknesses, nor Pain, nor the Motions of Lust, nor Ignorance, nor any of the Inconveniencies of Life, nor the Imperfections of Nature, which are the Consequences and Effect of his Sin. His Free-will was entire, and weakned with nothing ; it was perfectly indifferent to do either Good or Evil, though it could not do Good without the help of Grace : But this Grace which God afforded him, was entirely subjected to his Free-will ; it was a Help without which he could not do Good, but it did not make him good. Such was the Condition of the first Man, like that of the Angels before their Sin: Such would have been the Condition of his Posterity, had he continued in that happy State ; but having offended God by his Disobedience, he and all his Posterity are become subject unto Death, Pain, Sicknesses, Punishments, and what is worse, to Ignorance, that is to say, to extravagant Motions which are within us, whether we will or not. But what is more incomprehensible, all his Descendents begotten in the ordinary way, are born in Sin; they all contract the Sin which we call Original, which makes Children the Objects of God's Wrath, and infallibly damns them, except they are Regenerated by

Baptism

Baptism. Baptism doth indeed take away the Stain of Sin, but it doth not remove the Punishment and Consequences of Sin: Concupiscence, Ignorance, Inclination to Sin, Weaknesses, and other Punishments for Sin, abide still during the whole Course of this Mortal Life. Free-will is not extinguish'd, but it hath not so much Strength, and stands in need of powerful Assistance to do Good. The Grace, which it needs to act, is not only that Help, without which it could neither Will nor Do that which is Good, but also such an Assistance as makes it both Will and Do it infallibly. This Grace is necessary, not barely to accomplish intirely what is Good, and to continue therein; but it is even necessary to begin Faith for Prayer, and for the first Motions of Conversion: Yet it bereaves us not of our Liberty, because we do not keep the Commandments, but as far as we are willing. It worketh this Will in us, without Violence or Compulsion; for God constraineth no Man to do either Good or Evil; but to do Good, the Will must be succoured by Grace, which doth not deprive it of its Liberty: And this Grace is not granted to Merit; but is absolutely Free. Since the first Man's Sin, the whole Mass of Mankind is Corrupt, Condemn'd, and subject to Death: God, by Free Grace and Mercy, takes out of this Mass of Corruption whom He pleases, leaving the rest in that condition, out of that Justice which none can find fault with: For what is Man, that he should dispute it with God! Doth the Earthen Vessel say to the Potter that fram'd it, Why hast thou made me thus? However, it may be truly said, that all Men may be Saved if they will; if they be not, they can only accuse their own perverse Will, whereby they resist the Call of God. There are some Graces which He refuseth not to Reprobates, wherewith they might do Good if they would: To some He gives the Knowledge of His Law, and they despise it; He inspires into others a Desire of being Converted, and they reject it; Some He excites to Prayer, but they neglect to do it; He speaks to the Hearts of severals, who harden themselves that they may not harken to His Voice; He overcomes the Hardness of some for a time, Converting them by an effectual Grace, who plunge themselves again into Vice. In a word, how strong and powerful soever the Grace is, which He gives; yet it may be said in some sense, that Man may always resist it, tho' he doth not actually do it. God doth not grant this Grace to all Men, not only because He oweth it to none; but also because some make themselves unworthy of it: For, to say nothing of Children, who die before the use of Reason, who are either Damn'd because of Original Sin, or Sav'd by the Grace of Baptism, the Adult, who have not the Gift of Perseverance, have made themselves unworthy of it, either thro' their own Sins; or by the Contempt which they have cast upon God's Vocation; or by the Opposition they have made to inward Grace; or, lastly, by falling again into the state of Sin, from which God delivered them in His Mercy: And so no Man can either Excuse himself, or Accuse the Justice of God; because every one receiveth what he deserveth; every one is Rewarded or Punished according to the Good or Evil that he hath done by His Will, which co-operates with the most effectual Grace.

The Effect of this Grace, is to make us in love with that which is Good, 'tis a Pleasure which draws our Hearts towards good Things, and ena-

bles us to keep the Commandments: Without this Grace, there is no Action Meritorious. The fear of Punishment, tho' meerly Servile, is good and profitable, because it Regulates the Inward Man, but it does not render us Righteous before God. We shall never perfectly accomplish the Precept of Loving God in this Life, because we shall never Love Him so perfectly as in the next: And tho', thorow God's Grace, a Man may absolutely avoid all Sin in this Life; yet it never did, nor shall ever happen, that a meer Man (excepting the Blessed Virgin, of whom St. *Augustin* would not have us to speak, when Sin is mention'd) passed thorow this Life without Sin: For this Reason, the most Righteous say daily, *Lord, remit us our Debts*; that is, our Sins: But these are not Mortal Sins, which bereave the Soul of Righteousness and Holiness; they are daily Sins, which are indeed against God's Law, but do not utterly destroy Charity.

As to Predestination and Reprobation, both these Decrees, according to him, suppose the Fore-knowledge of Original Sin, and of the Corruption of the whole Mass of Mankind. If God would suffer all Men to remain there, none could complain of that Severity, seeing they are all guilty and doom'd to Damnation, because of the Sin of the first Man: But God resolv'd from all Eternity to deliver some, whom He had chosen, out of pure Mercy, without any regard to their future Merits; and from all Eternity He prepared for them, that were thus Chosen, those Gifts and Graces which are necessary to Save them infallibly; and these He bestows upon them in time. All these therefore, that are of the Number of the Elect, Hear the Gospel, and Believe, and Persevere in the Faith, working out by Love to the end of their Lives. If they chance to Wander from the Right Way, they Return and Repent of their Sins: And it is certain, that they shall all die in the Grace of *Jesus Christ*.

Reprobation is not like Predestination, God doth not cast away positively any Man; he predestineth none to Damnation; he only knows those that are left in the Mass of Perdition, and are not of the happy Number of those whom he will deliver through Mercy. These Wretches are at last condemn'd, either because of Original Sin, which is not remitted to them, and such are the Children that die without receiving Baptism; or for the Sins, which by their Free-will they have added to the first Sin; or, because they wanted Faith and Righteousness; or lastly, because they did not persevere unto the End.

And this is the Abridgment of St. *Augustin*'s Doctrine, as it is summ'd up from his Works by the Learn'd M. *Du Pin* (p), who has given us such a Specimen of his Knowledge in them, that we have no Reason to doubt of the Veracity of his Account.

Pelagius is likewise condemn'd by the three Prefects of the Empire.

The Imperial Edict against *Pelagius* being publish'd over the whole Empire; the three Prefects (or Vice-Roys) of the Empire, enforced the Imperial Law, with particular Edicts of their own against him; one of these we have still extant, by which it is order'd that (q) whoever fell into this Heresy, whether Laic or Ecclesiastic, should be brought before the Judge, and that without having any regard

(p) Nov. Bib. des Aut. Eccles. Vol. 3. (q) Et si sit ille Plebeius ac Clericus, qui in Caliginis hujus obscuritate reciderit, a quocunque tractus ad judicem, sine accusatoris discretionem personæ, facultatum publicatione nudatus irrevocabile patietur exilium. Vid. Cent. Magdeburg. To. V. Col. 849.

gard to the Character of the Accuser, the accused Person should be condemn'd to have his Goods Confiscated, and to perpetual Exile.

Julian Bishop of *Eclane*, whom Archbishop *Ussher* calls Bishop of *Ce-* Julian Bi-
shop of E-
clane writes
in Vindica-
tion of Pела-
gism,
lane (r); but by *M. Mercator* it appears it's *Eclane*, which is a City near the Lake *Ampsanctus*, between *Campania* and *Apulia*, distant from *Beneventum* about twenty Miles: This Bishop, I say, being a great Friend of *Pelagius*, (and if we may believe *Genadius*, one of the most Learn'd Doctors of the Church) hearing what Pope *Zosimus* and the *African* Bishops had done, wrote a Letter to *Zosimus*, some Fragments of which we have in *M. Mercator* (f), wherein he accus'd him of Prevarication, in condemning *Pelagius*; and finding that this had no Influence with him, he wrote a second Letter to him in the Form of a Profession of Faith, publish'd by *F. Garneir*, (t), consisting of four Parts. The First contains the Articles of the Creed explain'd; the Second an Abridgment of his Doctrine about Grace and Free-will; the Third is against several Heretics; and the Fourth against *Pelagius's* Adversaries, whom he accuses of *Manicheism*, or Followers of the Heretic *Manes*, who maintain'd the inevitable Necessity of Sinning and the Corruption of Human Nature. And this Accusation was the more odious, because *St. Augustin* in his younger Years had been a *Manichean*; and when he abjur'd that Heresy, had written against them, upon the same Principles that the *Pelagians* maintain'd, which makes *Julian* expose him and the other *African* Bishops after an odious fashion: "They, saith he, who defend Natural Sin affirm, That the Devil is the Author of Marriages; That Children that are born of them, are Children of the Devil; That all Men are born in his Possession; That the Son of God did not begin to pour down his Graces upon Men, but from the time of his Incarnation; That Sins are not entirely forgiven by Baptism; That the Saints of the Old Testament are dead in a State of Sin; That Man is necessitated to sin; That Sin cannot be avoided, even with Grace; That Men can avoid Sin, without the help of God; That Infants ought not to be Baptiz'd, or that other Terms ought to be used in Baptizing them; That they, who are born of Baptiz'd Parents, have no need of the Grace of Baptism; That Mankind died not by *Adam*, and is not rais'd by *Jesus Christ*. This Letter is subscribed by ten Bishops, and written in the Year 418.

This Letter coming to the hands of one *Valerius* a Count, he sent it to *St. Augustin*, who thought himself oblig'd to answer *Julian's* And is an-
swer'd by
St. Augustin, *Calumnies*, whereupon he wrote, towards the latter end of this Year, his first Book of *Marriage and Concupiscence*, wherein he shows how *Julian* had confounded the *Manichean* and Orthodox Doctrines together, but principally insists upon an Objection of *Pelagius*, which is this: "If Concupiscence, says he, is Evil, and an Effect of Sin, if all Children are born in Sin; how comes Matrimony to be approv'd, which is the Effect and Spring of this Sin? *St. Augustin* handleth this nice Question very cunningly, by showing that though Lust be a Defect and a Consequence of the first Man's Sin, which remaineth even in the Baptiz'd; yet Conjugal Chastity is to be approved, which makes a good Use of an evil Thing.

E

Julian

(r) *Jacob: Usser. de Ecclesi. Britan: Antiq: (f) M. Mercat. lib. Subin. C. 6. N. 10. & Cap: 9. N. 3. (t) In Diss: sup. M. Mer. Diss. 5. Par: 1.*

And reply'd
to by Julian.

Julian made a Reply to St. *Augustin*, wherein he treats him and the other *African* Bishops as seditious Innovators, and says (v), That certainly they could not have reason upon their side, since in all their Procedures, they had threatned and terrified those who opposed them by the Imperial Edicts; and that such Procedures could not persuade Intelligent Persons, but those who were timorous (w): And speaking of the *African* Synods that condemn'd *Pelagius*, he says, That he had not liberty to defend his own Cause, and that Persons, that were full of Hatred, Envy and Revenge, as they were, were not fit Judges.

Pelagius is
condemn'd
by another
Council at
Carthage.

Upon the Twenty third of May 419, a Council was called at *Carthage*, consisting of two Hundred and Seventeen Bishops: *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage* was President, and *Faustinus* the Pope's Legate held the second Place. In this Council, all that had been done, by the *African* Bishops against *Pelagius*, was confirmed and approved of; and indeed *Pelagius* had no reason to expect any other Treatment from them: For as St. *Prosper* says (x),

*An alium in finem posset procedere sanctum
Concilium, cui Dux Aurelius, ingeniumque
Augustinus erat?*

The *Pelagian* Bishops were very loth to subscribe the Acts of this Council, and eighteen of them wrote a Letter to the Bishop of *Thessalonica*, thinking thereby to engage him and the Eastern Bishops to their Party, but all was in vain; for the Emperours wrote a Letter to *Aurelius* the President of the Council, confirming their former Edict, and ordaining (y), that if any one knew, in what Part of the Empire *Pelagius* and *Cælestius* lay conceal'd, and did not discover them, they should be lyable to the same Punishments that were decern'd against these Heretics, and *Aurelius* was authoriz'd to depose such Bishops, as either tacitly favoured the *Pelagians*, by suffering them to dispute with the Orthodox, or did not publicly attack them; so that they were all fore'd to comply with the Decisions of this Council: And the Edicts of the Empire and Circular Letters were written for that effect to all the Provinces under *Aurelius*'s Jurisdiction, and were punctually put in Execution.

Upon which
he retires
from the
World, and
is never
more heard
of.

After this *Pelagius* retir'd himself from the World, and was never more heard of; it being highly probable, that he return'd to his Native Country, which was out of the Dominion of the Empire, and about this time restor'd to its former Monarchy, under the Conduct of *Fergus* the II. And that which makes this Conjecture more probable is, that St. *Prosper* (z) tells us, that *Palladius* a Deacon at *Rome*, in the Year 429, got Pope *Cælestin* to send *Germanus* and *Lupus* to purge *Britain* of the *Pelagian* Heresy: And what these *Britains* were who were infected with that Heresy, we may learn from the same St. *Prosper*, who tells us, That in the Year 431 (a) *Palladius* was ordained a Bishop by Pope *Cælestin*, and was the first that was sent to the *Scots*, that believ'd in

(v) Jacob. Usser. de Eccles. Britan. Antiq. (w) Laborare illam partem rationis inopia, quæ in differendo cum errore furrogat, nullum a prudentibus impetrat, sed cæcum a meticulosis extorquet assensum. Apud August. Con. Julian: Lib: 3. C. 1. (x) Prosp: de Ingrad. (y) Jacob: Usser. de Eccles: Britan: Antiq: Pag: 161. (z) Actione Palladii Diaconi Papa Cælestinus Germanum Antisthiodorensem Episcopum vice sua mittit, & deturbatis Hæreticis, Britannos ad Catholicam fidem dirigit. St. Prosp: Chr. (a) Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Cælestino Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur.

in *Christ*, who could be no other than the *British* or *Albian Scots*, as appears from their being call'd *Britains* and *Scots* believing in *Christ*; for at that time the *Irish* were not Converted to the Christian Faith.

St. *Jerome* represents *Pelagius*, as an Ignorant Calumniating Dog, a Foolish Fellow, who had turn'd monstrously Fat with his *Scots* Pottage (b). *Orosius* says (c), that he was a Fellow that had large broad Shoulders, was Lame, thick Neck'd, of a fat Visage, and wanted an Eye. All the rest of the Ancients have treated him after the same manner, but the Moderns have been more Civil to him. Mr. *Du Pin* says (d), that tho' his Stile is dry, flat and barren, and that he was not Learn'd; yet he was a Man of good Sense, and that his Reflections were Short and Judicious. F. *Simon* says (e), that, laying aside his Errors, he may be ranked amongst the best Commentators that we have upon the Sacred Scriptures; and if his Thoughts concerning Grace, Free-will and Predestination, wherein he differ'd from St. *Augustin*, be thought Heresy, then the most of the Ancient Fathers of the Church were Heretics. He seems to have been no great Exalter of the Episcopal Dignity; for, in his Commentary upon the First Epistle to *Timothy*, where the Apostle speaks of Bishops and Deacons, without mentioning Presbyters, he says; that the reason was, because these two Degrees of Bishops and Presbyters were almost one (f). He was very harshly treated by the *African* Bishops; for he seems to have deny'd the most of the Things that were laid to his Charge, save that of Original Sin: And his Opinion in this has of late been defended, with all the Eloquence imaginable, by one of the Greatest and Learn'dest Prelates (g) that ever was in the *English* Church. But that I may, in a few Words, finish *Pelagius's* Character, it is observed of him, That he was Smart and Quick in his Answers, Wise and Circumspect in his Actions, of a great Capacity, and very successful in Perswading: But there was nothing that he deserved so much to be Prais'd for, as his Innocent and Exemplary Life, which he always led from his Youth, and of which St. *Augustin*, his greatest Enemy, gives a Testimony (h).

I shall now proceed to give the Catalogue of his Works.

(b) Vid. pag. 2. (c) Latos humeros gestantem robustamque cervicem, præferentem etiam in fronte pinguedinem, mutilum & μορφῶδες, Oros. in Apol. de Arbitrii Liber. contra Pelag. (d) Nor. Bib. des Aut. Eccles. Vol. 3. (e) Hist. Critique des Prin. Commen. du Nouv. Testam. Cap. 16. (f) Quæritur cur de Presbyteris nullam fecerit mentionem, sed eos in Episcoporum nomine comprehenderit, quia secundus imo pene unus est gradus. Pelag. in 1 Tim. Cap. 3. v. 8. (g) Jer. Taylor Bishop of Down and Connor, in his *Unum necess.* (h) Vir, ut audio, sanctus, nec parvo profectu Christianus, bonus ac prædicandus Vir. St. Aug. de Peccat. Mer.

THE

Catalogue of *Pelagius's* Works.

- I. *EXpositionum in Epistolas Paulinas, Lib. 14. ante Captam a Gothis Romanam, scripti inter Opera Hieronimi.*
- II. *Epistola ad Demetriadem de Virginitate, Anno 413, scripta ibid.*
- III. *Libellus Fidei ad Innocentium Papam, una cum Literis missus Anno 417, Ext. Concil. Tom. 2. pag. 1563.*

- IV. *Epistolæ Fragmenta apud Augustinum, Lib: de Gratia Christi, Cap: 30, 34, 35.*
- V. *De Peccato Originali, ibid: cap: 17, 18, 19.*
- VI. *De Fide Trinitatis, Lib: 3.*
- VII. *Liber ἑταογίων, sive Honestorum Sermonum.*
- VIII. *De actuali Conversatione, sive Liber Testimoniorum. vid. August: de Gest: Palæst: cap: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.*
- IX. *Epistolæ ad Viduam due, una Consolatoria, altera Exhortatoria. vid: Hier: Lib: 3. contra Pelag: vid: etiam M: Mercator in Commonit: & August: de Gest: Palæst: cap: 6.*
- X. *De Libero Arbitrio, Lib: 4. circa Ann: 416 scripti. vid: August: Lib: de Gratia Christi, cap: 4, 7, 10, 18, 28, 29, 39, 43.*
- XI. *Lib: de Natura. vid: Garner: Append: ad Par: 1. Operum M: Mercat: pag: 379.*
- XII. *Epistola ad Paulinum, & alia ad Constantium. vid: August: de Gratia Christi.*
- XIII. *Epistolæ ad Augustinum due.*
- XIV. *Defensio Fidei sue ad eundem.*
- XV. *Epistola ad Presbyterum quendam amicum de Rebus Diospolitani singulas hæc quatuor Epistolas memorat: idem August: de Gest: Palæstin.*
- Plures conscripsit Ep: quæ interierunt.*

T H E
Life of St. COLUMBANUS,
Abbot of Bobio and Luxevil.

ALL the *Irish* Antiquaries (a) are of opinion, that this Author was Born in *Lagblin* in *Ireland*: But this evidently proceeds upon a Mistake; for the *Irish* Columbanus, who was Born in *Lagblin*, and afterwards made Bishop there, was cotemporary with St. Columba, and died before him, as it appears from *Addamanus* (b), who tells us in the Life of St. Columba, "That when St. Columba was in the "Island of *Fona*, or *Hy*, the Death of his dear Friend, Columbanus Bishop "of *Lagblin*, was revealed to him. Now Columba died in the Year 597, and our Author died not till the Year 615. Others have taken him to be the same with the Columbanus mentioned by Pope *John*, in his Letter to the Church of *Scotland*: But this is another Mistake; for that Columbanus was a Bishop, and our Author was only an Abbot, and dead long before that Letter was written.

He is proved to be an *Al-bian*, or *Brk-ish* Scot.

Now, that our Author was Born amongst the *Scots* in *Britain*, evidently appears from his own Works, wherein he calls himself sometimes a *Britain*, and sometimes a *Scots* Man; and in that Letter, which *Laurentius* wrote to the Church of *Scotland*, (which I have inserted at length in its due place) he is ranked with *Dagamus* the *Scots* Bishop of this Island of *Brituin*.

The Ancient Writers have given us no account of his Parentage, or the time of his Birth; but he had his Education in the Monastery of *Hy*, under one *Congellus* or *Convallanus*, as our Historians call him (c): This *Congellus* is likewise called *Faustus*, by *Notkerus Balbus* (d) an Author of the Ninth Century; which makes *Dempster* and *Cumerarius* (e) take him to be the same with *Faustus* Bishop of *Reis* in *France*: But this is an unpardonable Mistake, since the Bishop of *Reis* was dead long before Columbanus was Born.

His Birth & Education.

Towards the latter end of the Year 589, Columbanus went, accompany'd with 12 Monks, from the Island of *Hy* to *France*, where they retired themselves from the World to the Solitude of *Vosge* near *Besancon*, and founded the Monastery of *Luxevil* and *Fontaines*, which he govern'd for 20 Years.

He goes with Twelve Monks from *Hy* to *France*.

About the Year 598, Columbanus was necessarily engag'd in the Controversy about Easter, by St. Gregory Bishop of *Rome*; "for that Pope "was one (f) who us'd his utmost Endeavours to have the Canons of the Ancient Church inviolably observ'd, in all the Churches of the "World, being perswaded, that in this consisted all the Power and "thority which the Primacy of his See gave him: And finding that St.

He is engag'd in the Controversy about Easter by St. Gregory Bishop of *Rome*.

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(a) Vid: Jacob. Waræ. de Script. Hiber. Lib. 1. (b) Addaman. vit. S. Columb. Lib. 3. (c) Vid. Lesly de Gesh. Scot. Pag. 144. (d) Notker. Balb. in Martyroi. (e) Dempst. Hist. Ecclef. Gent. Scot. Pag. 272. Camier. de Fort. Scot. Pag. 143. (f) Vid. M. du Pin. Nov. Bib. des Aut. Ecclef. Tom. 4. Pag. 103.

Columbanus did celebrate the Feast of Easter, after the Custom of the *Scots* Nation and the Eastern Churches, which differ'd from that of *Rome*, he was sharply Reprehended by him, which oblig'd *St. Columbanus* to write several Letters and Books in his own Defence.

And since this Controversy caus'd great Heats and Divisions amongst the Primitive Christians, and that *St. Columbanus* wrote a large Book upon this Subject, wherein he gave a Historical Deduction of this Controversy, from its first rise till his own time, with the account of all the different Paschals, Cycles, and other Methods that had been taken for solving their Difficulties; and since this Book is lost, and consequently that I can give no Abridgment of it, I hope it will not be unacceptable to the Reader, if I supply this Loss, by giving the History of this Controversy in as few Words as I can, especially since the other Works of *St. Columbanus*, which we have still extant upon that Subject, cannot be otherwise well understood.

The History
of this Con-
troversy.

There were many Annual Feasts amongst the *Jews*, but the most Solemn one was that of Pasch, so called from the *Hebrew* Word *Pesach*, which signifies to Pass-over, from whence it is likewise call'd the Feast of the Passover; the Occasion, Institution and Ceremonies of which Feast, are to be found in the 12 Chapter of *Exodus*.

The *Jews*, upon the Tenth Day of their First Month, called *Abib* or *Nisan*, (which answereth to a part of our Months of *March* and *April*) took an unblemished Lamb (*g*), which they kill'd upon the Fourteenth Day, betwixt Noon and Sun-setting: Before the Building of the Temple, they offered this Lamb in the Tabernacle; but after it was built, they were discharged to do it but at *Jerusalem*; and for this reason (*b*) it is, that our Blessed Lord and Saviour, who was so exprelly Typify'd by this Lamb, says of Himself, that He was to Die at *Jerusalem*. After the killing of this Lamb, they did eat it that Evening with four Herbs, and, because they were commanded to leave none of it, severals of them were oblig'd to assemble together, and without these Assemblies they could not eat the Paschal Lamb: For Seven Days they were commanded to eat no other Bread but unleavened Bread; and therefore they took extraordinary pains to take all Leaven out of their Houses; and so scrupulous were they in this, that they searched all the Corners of the House for it, in case the Rats or Mice had hid any of it; and they would not so much as pronounce the Word *Bread*, for fear of defiling their Mind with the Idea or Thought of it. And to this Custom of the *Jews* it is, that *St. Paul* makes allusion, when he exhorts the *Christians* to purify their Minds, that they may thereby render themselves Partakers of the Body of *Jesus Christ*, who is our true Paschal Lamb, and admonishes them to cleanse themselves of the old Leaven. The Law (as I have said) ordain'd but Seven Days for the unleavened Bread, the First of which was the Fourteenth Day, or the Day of the Passover: But the *Jews*, that they might accomplish the Law more exactly, begun upon the Thirteenth at Night; they took care to visit all their Houses, and the next Morning, the Father of the Family burnt a morsel of Bread to advertise them, that the Days of unleavened Bread were begun; and this was the reason that the Fourteenth Day passed for the First. But those

(*g*) Vid. Introduct. a L'Eccrit. Sainte par Bernard. Lamy, Pret. de l'Orat. Pag. 113. (*b*) Deut. Cap. 16. v. 5, 6.

those who would know all the *Jewish* Ceremonies in the observation of this Feast, may be pleas'd to consult F. Lamy's Book upon Easter, where they are all explain'd at large (i): But I have only insist'd upon these few Things, that what I am to say afterwards, may be more clearly understood.

Our Saviour, having taken the Passover with His Disciples, did at the same time Institute the Blessed Sacrament, in Commemoration of Him who was Typify'd by the Paschal Lamb: But not long after, there arose a Controversy betwixt the Eastern and Western Churches, concerning the Day upon which this Festival should be celebrated: For they having observ'd, That in the Death of the Lamb (k) of God, there were two *Paschs* or Passages, the one from Life to Death, upon the Day of His Crucifixion, and the other from Death to Life, upon the Day of His Resurrection; the Eastern Churches were for observing it upon the Day of His Crucifixion, which they call'd *ΣΤΑΥΡΩΜΟΝ*, being the same Day upon which the *Jews* kept their Passover, and alledg'd that they were taught so, by the Apostle St. *John*. But the Western Churches were for observing the Day of his Resurrection, which they call'd *ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΜΟΝ*; providing it did not fall upon the Fourteenth Day of the Moon, which was the *Jewish* Passover; in which case they referr'd it to the next Sunday, alledging that they had for their Authority, the Tradition of St. *Mark*, who had it from St. *Peter*.

The Institution of the Christian Pasch.

The Eastern and Western Churches are divided about it.

At length, about the middle of the Second Century, the Controversy turn'd so high, that the Western Churches fixed the odious Name of Heretics upon the Eastern, calling them the *Quartadecimani*, from their observing the Fourteenth Day.

The Western Churches give the Name of Heretics to the Eastern.

In the beginning of the Fourth Century, the Emperor *Constantine* the Great call'd the Council of *Nice*, who, amongst the other Affairs of the Church, took this Controversy, concerning Easter, into their consideration, and order'd, That the Feast of Pasch should be celebrated upon the first Sunday after the Fourteenth Day of the Moon of the first Month, providing always, that if this Fourteenth Day of the Moon should fall upon a Sunday, it should be the next Sunday; that is to say, Seven Days after: Declaring, that this first Month, was that upon which the Fourteenth Day of the Moon should fall upon the Vernal Equinox, or immediately after.

The Council of Nice is call'd, & decides in favour of the Western Churches.

By this Canon of the Council of *Nice* it appears, that for the due Celebration of the Pasch, or the Feast of Easter, these Four Things must be known.

First, Upon what Day of the Year the Sun enters into the first Degree of *Aries*; that is to say, on what Day the Vernal Equinox falls. Secondly, On what Day of the Year falls the New Moon, the Fourteenth Day of which falls upon the Vernal Equinox, or immediately after. Thirdly, To find out this Fourteenth Day, or Full Moon. And, Lastly, To find out the Day upon which the Sunday falls, that comes immediately after the Fourteenth Day of the First Month.

The Fathers of this Council finding these Difficulties not easily answer'd, referr'd the Explanation of them to the *Christians* of *Alexandria*, who at that time were esteem'd the most Learned Astronomers in the World. They, having examined them with all the Exactness and Care imaginable, gave in the following Report.

And refers the Explanation of the Difficulties occurring upon their decision to the *Christians* of *Alexandria*.

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That *Alexandria*.

(i) *Traité Hist. de l'Ancienne Paque des Juifs, &c.* a Paris 1692, in 8vo. (k) *Vid. M. Blondel Hist. du Cal. Rom. p. 105, & seq.*

Who establish the Vernal Equinox upon the 21 of March,

That in their Time, *The Day of the Vernal Equinox answer'd to the 12 of the Calends of April*, that is to say, to the 21 of March, which the Church then received as a Certain and Invariable Truth.

As to the Second, They establish'd *the Eighth of the Ides of March, and the Nones of April*, that is to say, the Eighth of March and the Fifth of April inclusively, for the bounds of the New Paschal Moons, or of the First Month; betwixt which, the Fourteenth Day of all such New Moons should fall, either upon the Vernal Equinox or immediately after; whereas the New Moons, that preceded the first of these two Terms, (viz. the Eighth of March) belong to the last Month of the preceeding Year, because the Fourteenth Day of such New Moons falls before the Vernal Equinox; and those that came after the last Term, (viz. the Fifth of April) belonged to the Second Month, because the Fourteenth Day of them is not that which follows immediately the Vernal Equinox, but on the contrary is distant from it, more than the space of a whole Moon.

And the Bounds of the new Paschal Moons upon the 8 of March & the 5 of April.

And that the Full Moon fell upon the 14 Day inclusively from the new Paschal Moon, and the Sunday after was Pasch or Easter Day.

As to the Third Difficulty, they said, that *counting Fourteen Days inclusively, from that of the New Paschal Moon that was the Day of the Full Moon, and that the Sunday immediately after was that of the Celebration of the Feast*. Thus counting Fourteen Days from the Eighth of March inclusively, it falls upon the Twenty First, which is the Day of the Equinox; and if that Day be a Sunday, the Church delay'd to the next Sunday, or the Twenty Eighth, that they might not do it with the Jews and *Quartadecimani* upon the Twenty First: But if it was on a Saturday, then the Feast was the next Day, or the Twenty Second; and so of the rest.

What the Solar Cycle is, and the Dominical Letters.

Lastly, For finding out the Day, upon which the Sunday falls, that comes immediately after the Fourteenth Day of the First Month, the Ingenious Solar Cycle was invented, by which is easily known, thorow the whole Year, the Days upon which the Dominical Letters fall, that is to say, the *Sundays*. By the Word *Cycle* is here understood, a Series of certain Numbers that go successively one after another, in their natural order from the First to the Last, and then returning again to the First; there is by this means a kind of Perpetual Circulation made.

The Seven first Letters of the Alphabet, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, being the same in number with the Days of the Week, are these which the Primitive Christians plac'd in their Calender, under the Name of the *Dominical Letters*, in place of the Eight *Nundinal Letters* of the Roman Calender. The Order of these Seven Letters in the Calender is thus, A, answers to the First of January; B, to the Second; C, to the Third; D, to the Fourth; E, to the Fifth; F, to the Sixth; and G, to the Seventh: Then the Letter A in the same order to the Eighth, B to the Ninth, and so of the rest thro' all the Days of the Year; and that Letter which falls upon the Sunday, is called the Dominical Letter for that Year, as falling upon the Lord's Day.

Now it is to be observ'd, that the Dominical or Sunday Letter is not constantly the same, but is changed once in every common Year, and in every Fourth or Leap Year, twice: And the Reason is, *First*, Because the common Year does not consist of just Weeks, but of Fifty Two Weeks and One Day; so that as the Year begins with A, so it ends with A; and the Year beginning again at A, there will be two A's falling together December 31 and January 1, and if the first of them happen to be Sunday, the other in course must stand for Monday, and then reckon-

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ing onward, *Sunday* must fall upon the first following G, and G will be the Dominical that ensuing Year: Thus the odd Day shifts back the Dominical Letter every Year by one Letter, and this Revolution would be terminated in Seven Years. But, *Secondly*, there comes in another odd Day every Fourth Year, being Leap-year, and in that Year there are consequently two such shifts, the *Sunday* Letter being changed twice, once at the beginning of the Year, and the second time towards the latter end of *February*, by interposition of the Bissextile or Intercalar Day.

For the understanding of this, the Reader must know, that the Dictator *Julius Cæsar*, after the Battel of *Pharsalia*, took care to have the Roman Calender reformed; and for that end he brought from *Alexandria Sossigenes*, the most Famous Astronomer of his time, who declared, that the ordering of Time in the Calender could never be establish'd as Certain and Inmutable, if the Annual Course of the Sun were not principally lookt to, and that, contrary to their former Method, they should subject the Lunar Year to the Motion of the Sun, rather than subject the Course of the Sun to the unequal Laws of the Moon's Motion.

What the
Bissextile is.

And because at that time, it was received as certain among the Astronomers, that the duration of the Annual Course of the Sun, was precisely 365 Days and 6 Hours, he made the 365 Days the Year of the Calender, leaving the Six odd Hours till they made up a Day, which hapned every Fourth Year, and this Day was added to the rest by Intercalation: So that this Fourth Year consisted not of 365 Days, as the Three other Years which they call'd Common Years, but of 366 Days: And as by the first Institution of *Numa Pompilius*, the Intercalation of the Month *Mercedonius* was toward the end of the Month of *February*; so *Sossigenes*, by the Emperor's Order, took the same time for the Intercalation of this Day, which fell upon that which they called *Regifugium*, because on that Day the Romans had expell'd their Kings out of *Rome*, and which followed another Feast call'd *Terminalia*, that is to say, upon the 24 Day of *February*, or as they express'd it, upon the VI of the Calends of *March*: And because this Day was call'd the Second VI Calends, which is *Bissextus* in *Latin*, hence it is that the Year, upon which this Intercalation is made, is called *Bissextile*.

Now, as I said before, there are two Dominical Letters upon the Bissextile, the last of which, in their natural Order, serves from the beginning to the Intercalar Day, that is to say, to the 24 Day of *February*, and the first from that Day to the end; as if the two Letters were DE, the last E is for the beginning of the Year, and the first D for the end.

This Interruption of the Bissextiles, is the reason, that the same Order of the Dominical Letters cannot return but once in 28 Years, which is the only Number in which all the different Positions or Combinations of these Letters meet; because this Number is made from the Multiplication of the two others, to wit, from that of the Dominical Letters, which is 7, and that of the Bissextile Years, in which their natural Order is interrupted, which is 4; for the Product of 7 by 4, is 28: And this is the Rise of this so Famous Cycle of 28 Numbers, with the corresponding Dominical Letters, which is called the *Cycle of the Sun*, or the *Solar Cycle*; because the first Day of the Week is called *Sunday*.

Now this Cycle, amongst the Primitive Christians, was dispos'd in this Form.

The Cycle of the Sun.

Cycle O	Dom. Letter
1	GF
2	E
3	D
4	C
5	BA
6	G
7	F
8	E
9	DG
10	B
11	A
12	G
13	FE
14	D
15	C
16	B
17	AG
18	F
19	E
20	D
21	CB
22	A
23	G
24	F
25	ED
26	C
27	B
28	A

In the first Year of this Cycle, which is suppos'd to be Bissextile, the two Letters G and F are plac'd opposite to the Number 1, which is the first of the Solar Cycle, of which the last, F, serves for the Beginning of the Year, and the first, G, for the End; the Second Number of the Cycle 2, and the Letter E are for the Second Year; for the Third, the Number 3, and the Letter D; for the Fourth, the Number 4, and the Letter C; for the Fifth, which is likewise Bissextile, the two Letters BA; and so of the rest, till you come to the 28, and the Dominical Letter A; and then returning to the beginning of another Cycle, upon the 29 Year, which is likewise Bissextile, you have anew the Number 1, and the two Letters GF; upon the 30, the Number 2, and the Letter E; and so of the rest, continuing the same Circulation in infinitum.

But these were not all the Difficulties; that the Primitive *Christians* labour'd under, about the Celebration of Easter; for they were extremely perplex'd about the Determining, by a certain Order, the Days of the New Moons, in a Course of Years: Diverse Cycles were propos'd for this, but all of them were found by Experience to be defective; so that at length they were oblig'd to take the Cycle of *Meton of Athens*, called the *Golden Number*, or the *Lunar Cycle of Nineteen Years*.

What the Lunar Cycle or the Golden Number is. This Cycle consists of 19 Numbers, which follow successively, and in their Natural Order to one another, from the First to the Last, viz. 1, 19; and then beginning again at 1, you proceed to 2, continuing the same Circulation in infinitum. Each of these Numbers answer to a Year of the Cycle of 19 Years; as if the Number of the First be 1, that of the Second will be 11, of the Third 111, and so of the Rest.

What the Dionysian Era is. Towards the beginning of the Sixth Century, *Dionysius Exiguus* a Monk, who was born in *Scythia*, endeavoured to reconcile the Western and Eastern Churches, by forming a Calender, which, in a few Years after, was universally approv'd and observ'd by all the Christians in the World: And this is the Calender, that the Church made use of till the end of the Fifteenth Century, (when Pope Gregory caus'd it to be amended) and which is still made use of amongst us and the other Nations that have not received the *Gregorian* Reformation, or Correction of the Calender.

This *Dionysius Exiguus* was the first, who introduced the way of Compting the Years from the Incarnation of *Jesus Christ*, and from him Historians call it the *Dionysian Era*; and 'tis that which is still observ'd at the Court of *Rome*, in the Dates of the Pope's Bulls: Which differs from our way of Compting the Years, from the first of *January* that

that follows immediately the Birth of our Saviour. This Monk likewise established, for the first Year of his *Epocha*, the Number 1 for the Lunar Cycle, or Golden Number; and was very desirous to have altered the Solar Cycle and the Dominical Letter; but fearing that this might create some Trouble in the Church, he submitted to the received Custom.

The first Year of *Dionysius Exiguus* having, by his Institution, the Number 1 for the Lunar Cycle, 9 for the Solar Cycle, and C D for Dominical Letters; 'tis plain that the second Year, (which is the first Year of our *Epocha*, computing from the Birth of our Saviour) the Lunar Cycle is 2, the Solar 10, and the Dominical Letter E.

About the same time *Victorius*, an Eminent Chronologer, composed a New Paschal Cycle for 532 Years, from the Lunar and Solar Cycles: For the Numbers of the Solar and Lunar Cycle, 19 and 28, being multiply'd the one by the other, the Product is 532; and all the Changes and Differences, that can happen between the New Moons and Dominical Letters, are contained in the Course of this Period of 532 Years: After which their Combinations return in the same Order, and continue in the same Series.

This Cycle begins at the Year 73, which is the 28 of the Common Account, and ends at the Year 559 of the same *Ara* inclusively.

There was likewise brought in to the Calender, the Cycle of Indiction, the Original of which is very obscure and uncertain among Historians; some attributing it to *Julius Caesar*, and others to *Augustus*, tho there is no mention made of it before the Council of *Nice*, which makes their Opinion more probable, who suppose it to have begun in some of those Years, which intervene'd between the *Quinquennialia* and *Vicennialia*, (two Feasts observ'd at *Nicomedia* by *Constantin* the Great) in the time of the Celebration of the said *Nicene* Council: But whatever be in this, 'tis highly probable that the Christians, for handing down the Memory of the Acts of this Council with the greater Authority, did henceforth make use of this manner of Accompting by Indictions.

Now an Indiction is a Cycle of 15 Numbers, beginning at 1, and proceeding to 15, and returning by a Perpetual Circulation from 15 to 1, which are given to the Years that follow in their Natural Order; so that if the First has 1 for the Cycle of Indiction, the Second shall have 2, the Third 3, the Fifteenth 15; and then the Sixteenth begins new at 1, and so you proceed in infinitum.

And here 'tis to be observed, that the Indiction of *Victorius* preceeds that of *Dionysius Exiguus* three Years, (for *Victorius* placed the Celebration of the Council of *Nice*, in the Year 325 from the Birth of our Lord, whereas the other placed it in the Year 328) but the *Dionysian* Indiction was preferr'd, to a few Years after, to that of *Victorius*; so that, if we would go back to the Years that preceeded the Council of *Nice*, we shall find by a Retrograde Calculation, that the first Year of the Incarnation has for the Indiction 3, and consequently the second, which is the first of the Nativity, the Indiction 4, and from this we find, that the first Year of our *Epocha* we have 2 for the Lunar Cycle, 10 for the Solar Cycle, and 4 for the Cycle of Indiction.

What the
Victorian
Period is.

What the
Indiction is.

In the Year (1) 541 there was a Council called at *Orleans*, where one and fourty Arch-Bishops and Bishops of *France* were present, personally or by their Deputies. By the First Canon of this Council it was ordained, That the Feast of Easter should be Celebrated every Year, according to the Table of *Victorius*; and that the Day of Celebrating it should be declared every Year upon the Day of *Epiphany*.

This Table of *Victorius* consists of 8 Columns; in the First are the Names of the Consuls; in the Second are set down the Numbers of the Years of his Period; in the Third are the Leap-Years; the Fourth shews, upon what Day of the Week the first Day of every Year falls; the Fifth notes, how old the Moon was upon the same Day; the Sixth shews, on what Day Easter-day falls; the Seventh discovers the Age of the Moon upon that Day; and the Last contains the Indictions.

Bucherius a Learn'd Jesuite, who publish'd this Table in *Fol.* at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1634, Corrected it in many Places, and added the Golden Number, and hath marked, in another Table by the Side, the Years of the World, according to *Eusebius*; the Years of the Vulgar *Æra*; the Cycles of the Moon and Sun; the Years of the *Epocha* of the Building of *Rome*, according to *Varro*; the true Order of the Consulships, and the Years of the *Roman* Emperors.

But, notwithstanding of all those Amendments, the Ancient Calender of the Church was still very defective; for they ranked the Lunar Cycle or Golden Number in the Calender, as if the New Moons were to return precisely, upon the same Day and upon the same Hour for ever, at the end of every 19 Years; whereas it came only near to it by an Hour and an half, which they entirely neglected. Now when these of *Alexandria* began to make use of the Golden Number, which was at the time of the Council of *Nice*, they took, for the first Year of the Cycle, the New Paschal Moon that was next to the Vernal Equinox, which hapned upon the 23 Day of *March*; and for that reason, they made the Golden Number for that Day 1, then the same Number to the 21 Day of *April*, being distant from the other 29 days; then the same to the 21 day of *May*, distant 30 Days from the preceeding; then 29 Days after, to the 19 Day of *June*; then 30 Days after, to the 19 of *July*; and so of the rest, (by the alternative Repetition of 29 and 30 Days) to the 17 Day of *August*, the 16 of *September*, the 15 of *October*, the 14 of *November*, and the 13 of *December*. After which, passing in the same Order to the following Year to which the Number 2 belongs, they plac'd it upon the 12 Day of *January*, distant 30 Days from the 13 of *December*; then to the 10 Day of *February*, to the 12 of *March*, to the 10 of *April*, 10 of *May*, 8 of *June*, 8 of *July*, 6 of *August*, 5 of *September*, 4 of *October*, &c. Then passing to the Third Year, the Golden Number of which is 3, they plac'd it upon the 1 of *January* and the 31, the 1 and 31 of *March*, the 29 of *April*, and so of the rest, by continuing, as we have said, the same Series in all the 19 Numbers of the Lunar Cycle, observing perpetually this alternative Disposition of 30 and 29 Days.

And it was in this manner, that the Numbers of the Lunar Cycle were ranked or plac'd to the Days of the Calender, by which it is easily perceiv'd, why the Christians of the East, or those of *Alexandria*, had the

Num

Number 3 for the Golden Number to the first of *January* in their Calender, and not the Number 1, as those of the Western Churches.

Now the Use of the Golden Number in the Calender is, as I hinted before, to show the Days, upon which the New Moons fall, in the Years of which they are the Golden Number, that is to say, that in the Years that have 3 for the Golden Number, the New Moons fall upon the 1 and 31 of *January*, the 1 and 31 of *March*, the 29 of *April*, &c, which are the Days of the Calender, where the Golden Number 3 is placed; so in the Years where the Golden Number is 4, the New Moons fall upon the 20th of *January*, the 18th of *February*, &c. And it is upon this Doctrine that the Calender of the Ancient Church was formed, which I have placed here for the further Illustrating of what I have said.

I have likewise inserted that Famous Division of the Days of the Month, by the *Romans*, into *Calends*, *Nones* and *Ides*, which I shall explain in a few Words, and then proceed to give an Account of the other Writings of St. *Columbanus*.

There are Three very considerable Alterations to be observed in the Motion of the Moon: The First is, when it is entirely obscur'd by the Rays of the Sun; the Second is upon the first Day of its Appearance, when it comes first from under the Sun's Rays, and appears at Night in form of a Crescent; the Third is, when it is in its full Light and Beauty. And from these Three different Appearances it is thought, that *Romulus* took Occasion to divide the Days of the Month, which he always began by the *Calends* (for which Reason it is called the Calender) when the Moon *sub radiis Solis celaretur*, was hidden or conceal'd under the Rays of the Sun; and then giving the Name of *Nonæ* or *Novæ Lunæ* to the first Appearance of the New Moon, and that of *Idus*, when it was at the Full in its greatest Beauty, from the Greek Word *ΕΙΔΟΣ* which signifies the same.

Now tho' this Division of the Days of the Month be very unequal, yet it is easily understood by these two Verses:

*Sex Majus Nonas, October, Julius, & Mars,
Quatuor at Reliqui: dabit Idus quilibet octo.*

That is to say, That these Four Months, *March*, *May*, *July* and *October* have six Days of *Nones*, and that all the others have only 4; but that all the Months of the Year have 8 Days of *Ides*, the meaning of which is, that the first Day of each Month was always called *Calendæ*, the *Calends*, and that the 7th of the 4 Months of *March*, *May*, *July* and *October* is called the *Nones*, and the 15th the *Ides*; but in all the other Months, where the *Nones* have but 4 Days, the 5th is the *Nones*; and the 13th the *Ides*. The other Days are computed by a Gradual Diminution thus, Those that are from the *Calends* to the *Nones*, take the Name of the *Nones* of the Current Month, then of the *Ides*, and after the *Ides*, the Days take their Names from the *Calends* of the following Months.

Thus, in the Months where the *Nones* have six Days, the second Day of the Month is called VI *Nonas*, or the Sixth before the *Nones*; the third Day V *Nonas*, or the Fifth before the *Nones*; and so of the rest, till you come to the Sixth, which is not call'd II *Nonas*, the Second be-

fore the *Nones*, but *Pridie Nonas*, the Day before the *Nones*. In the other Months, where the *Nones* have but four Days, the second Day is call'd IV *Nonas*, the Fourth before the *Nones*; the Fourth, *Pridie Nonas*, the Day before the *Nones*.

By the same Reason, in the four Months where the *Nones* are on the 7th of the Month, the eighth Day is call'd VIII *Idus*, or the eighth before the *Ides*; the Ninth, the seventh before the *Ides*; and so of the rest, till you come to the Fourteenth, which is call'd *Pridie Idus*, the Day before the *Ides*. In the other Months, where the *Nones* are upon the Fifth of the Month, the Sixth is the Eighth of the *Ides*, the Twelfth, *Pride Idus* or the Day before the *Ides*; and so of the rest. Now in all the Months that have 31 Days, and where the *Ides* fall upon the 13th Day, there are 18 Days to the end of the Month, which have their Names from the *Calends* of the next Month; thus for Example, in *January*, the 14th Day is called XIX *Calendas*, the Nineteenth before the *Calends* of *February*; and so of the rest, till you come to the last of the Month, *Prid: Cal:* the Day before the *Calends*.

Columbanus writes a Letter to Pope Gregory about Easter.

Thus having deduc'd the History of this Controversy, from its first Rise to the time of St. Columbanus; I shall now proceed to Columbanus's Letters upon this Subject, the First of which is his Letter to Pope Gregory, written, as I said before, in his own Vindication, wherein he tells him (*m*), That he had the Authority of St. *John*, the Custom of the *Scots* Nation and the Practice of all the *Asiatic* Churches, for Celebrating of the Feast of Easter, by the Twentieth of the Moon in *March*, before the Equinox, and treats the Cycle of *Victorius* with a great deal of Contempt: And then he inveighs, with great Warmness and Zeal, against Pope *Victor's* Opinion, viz. That Easter is not to be kept at the same time with the *Jews*, and exhorts the Pope to alter his Opinion and Practice about that: But to shew his Respect to the Pope, he asks his Opinion about several things, as, Whether he should Communicate with these who are ordain'd Bishops, contrary to the Constitutions and Canons, by Simony, or have committed some Crimes in the time they were Deacons? Then he consults him about what is to be done with Monks, who depart from their Monasteries without their Abbot's leave, renouncing their Vows: Then he tells him, that he would gladly have come to *Rome* to have seen him, and mightily commends his *Pastoral*, and prays him to send him some of his Works, and chiefly those upon *Ezekiel*; for tho' he had perus'd the Six Books of St. *Jerome* upon that Prophet, yet he was not satisfy'd, for he had not Explain'd the half of it.

Whereupon the Pope recommends him to the French Clergy, who call a Council for that end.

The Bishop of *Rome*, finding that he could not prevail with St. Columbanus to alter his Opinion about the Celebration of Easter, recommended it with great Earnestness to the *French* Clergy; for since Columbanus lived among them, there were none so fit to reclaim him as they. Whereupon the *French* Bishops, taking it to their Consideration, call'd a Council in the Year 600, and cited Columbanus to appear before them; but he, not being willing to engage with a Council, knowing his own Temper and Genius to be Hot and Positive, resolv'd to write a Letter to them, in his own Vindication, as being a more prudential way than that of a Personal Debate.

In

The Calender of the Primitive Church.

JANUARY.			FEBRUARY.			MARCH.			APRIL.			MAY.			JUNE.		
Day	Golden Numb.	Do. Let.	Day	Golden Numb.	Do. Let.	Day	Golden Numb.	Do. Let.	Day	Golden Numb.	Do. Let.	Day	Golden Numb.	Do. Let.	Day	Golden Numb.	Do. Let.
1 Cal.	iii	A	1 Cal.	D	1 Cal.	iii	D	1 Cal.	G	1 Cal.	xi	B	1 Cal.	xi	1 Cal.	xi	E
2 iv	xi	B	2 iv	xi	E	2 vi	xi	E	2 iv	xi	A	2 vi	xi	C	2 iv	xix	F
3 iii	x	C	3 iii	xix	F	3 v	x	F	3 iii	x	B	3 v	xix	D	3 iii	viii	G
4 Prid.	xix	D	4 Prid.	viii	G	4 iv	xix	G	4 Prid.	xix	C	4 iv	viii	E	4 Prid.	xvi	A
5 Non.	xix	E	5 Non.	v	A	5 iii	xix	A	5 Non.	viii	D	5 iii	viii	F	5 Non.	v	B
6 viii	viii	F	6 viii	xvi	B	6 Prid.	viii	B	6 viii	xvi	E	6 Prid.	xvi	G	6 viii	xix	C
7 vii	xvi	G	7 vii	v	C	7 Non.	xvi	C	7 vii	v	F	7 Non.	v	A	7 vii	xiii	D
8 vi	xvi	A	8 vi	xiii	D	8 viii	xvi	D	8 vi	v	G	8 viii	v	B	8 vi	ii	E
9 v	v	B	9 v	ii	E	9 vii	v	E	9 v	xiii	A	9 vii	xiii	C	9 v	x	F
10 iv		C	10 iv		F	10 vi		F	10 iv	ii	B	10 vi	ii	D	10 iv		G
11 iii	xiii	D	11 iii		G	11 v	xiii	G	11 iii		C	11 v		E	11 iii		A
12 Prid.	ii	E	12 Prid.	x	A	12 iv	ii	A	12 Prid.	x	D	12 iv	x	F	12 Prid.	xviii	B
13 Id.		F	13 Id.		B	13 iii		B	13 Id.		E	13 iii		G	13 Id.	vi	C
14 xix	x	G	14 xvi	xviii	C	14 Prid.	x	C	14 xix	xviii	F	14 Prid.	xviii	A	14 xix		D
15 xviii		A	15 xv	vii	D	15 Id.		D	15 xvii	vii	G	15 Id.	vii	B	15 xvii	xv	E
16 xvii	xviii	B	16 xiv		E	16 xvii	xviii	E	16 xvi		A	16 xvii		C	16 xvi	iv	F
17 xvi	vii	C	17 xiii	xv	F	17 xvi	vii	F	17 xv	xv	B	17 xvi	xv	D	17 xv		G
18 xv		D	18 xii	iv	G	18 xv		G	18 xiv	iv	C	18 xv	iv	E	18 xiv	xii	A
19 xiv	xv	E	19 xi		A	19 xiv	xv	A	19 xiii		D	19 xiv		F	19 xiii	i	B
20 xiii	iv	F	20 x	xii	B	20 xiii	iv	B	20 xii	xii	E	20 xiii	xii	G	20 xii		C
21 xii		G	21 ix	i	C	21 xii		C	21 xi	i	F	21 xii	i	A	21 xi	ix	D
22 xi	xii	A	22 viii		D	22 xi	xii	D	22 x		G	22 xi		B	22 x		E
23 x	i	B	23 vi	ix	E	23 x	i	E	23 ix	ix	A	23 x	ix	C	23 ix	xvii	F
24 ix		C	24 v		F	24 ix		F	24 viii		B	24 ix		D	24 viii	vi	G
25 viii	ix	D	25 v	xvii	G	25 viii	ix	G	25 vii	xvii	C	25 viii	xvii	E	25 vii		A
26 vii		E	26 iv	vi	A	26 vii		A	26 vi	vi	D	26 vii	vi	F	26 vi	xiv	B
27 vi	xvii	F	27 iii		B	27 vi	xvii	B	27 v		E	27 vi		G	27 v	iii	C
28 v	vi	G	28 Prid.	xiv	C	28 v	vi	C	28 iv	xiv	F	28 v	xiv	A	28 iv		D
29 iv		A				29 iv		D	29 iii	iii	G	29 iv	iii	B	29 iii	xi	E
30 iii	xiv	B				30 iii	xiv	E	30 Prid.		A	30 iii		C	30 Prid.		F
31 Prid.	iii	C				31 Prid.	iii	F				31 Prid.	xi	D			

JULY.			AUGUST.			SEPTEMBER.			OCTOBER.			NOVEMBER.			DECEMBER.		
Day	Golden Numb.	Do. Let.	Day	Golden Numb.	Do. Let.	Day	Golden Numb.	Do. Let.	Day	Golden Numb.	Do. Let.	Day	Golden Numb.	Do. Let.	Day	Golden Numb.	Do. Let.
1 Cal.	xix	G	1 Cal.	viii	C	1 Cal.	xvi	F	1 Cal.	xvi	A	1 Cal.	xiii	D	1 Cal.	xiii	F
2 vi	viii	A	2 iv	xvi	D	2 iv	v	G	2 vi	v	B	2 iv	xiii	E	2 iv	ii	G
3 v		B	3 iii	v	E	3 iii		A	3 v	xiii	C	3 iii	ii	F	3 iii		A
4 iv	xvi	C	4 Prid.		F	4 Prid.	xiii	B	4 iv	ii	D	4 Prid.		G	4 Prid.	x	B
5 iii	v	D	5 Non.	xiii	G	5 Non.	ii	C	5 iii		E	5 Non.	x	A	5 Non.		C
6 Prid.		E	6 viii	ii	A	6 viii		D	6 Prid.	x	F	6 viii		B	6 viii	xvii	D
7 Non.	xiii	F	7 vii		B	7 vii	x	E	7 Non.		G	7 vii	xviii	C	7 vii	vii	E
8 viii	ii	G	8 vi	x	C	8 vi		F	8 viii	xviii	A	8 vi	vii	D	8 vi		F
9 vii		A	9 v		D	9 v	xviii	G	9 v	vii	B	9 v		E	9 v	xv	G
10 vi	x	B	10 iv	xviii	E	10 iv	vii	A	10 vi		C	10 iv	xv	F	10 iv	iv	A
11 v		C	11 iii	vii	F	11 iii		B	11 v	xv	D	11 iii	iv	G	11 iii		B
12 iv	xviii	D	12 Prid.		G	12 Prid.	xv	C	12 iv	iv	E	12 Prid.		A	12 Prid.	xii	C
13 iii	vii	E	13 Id.	xv	A	13 Id.	iv	D	13 iii		F	13 Id.	xii	B	13 Id.	i	D
14 Prid.		F	14 xix	iv	B	14 xix		E	14 Prid.	xii	G	14 xix	i	C	14 xix		E
15 Id.	xv	G	15 xviii		C	15 xvii	xii	F	15 Id.	i	A	15 xvii		D	15 xviii	ix	F
16 xvii	iv	A	16 xvii	xii	D	16 xvi	i	G	16 xvii		B	16 xvi	ix	E	16 xvii		G
17 xvi		B	17 xvi	i	E	17 xv		A	17 xvi	ix	C	17 xv		F	17 xvi	xvii	A
18 xv	xii	C	18 xv		F	18 xiv	ix	B	18 xv		D	18 xiv	xvii	G	18 xv	vi	B
19 xiv	i	D	19 xiv	ix	G	19 xiii		C	19 xiv	xvii	E	19 xiii	vi	A	19 xiv		C
20 xiii		E	20 xiii		A	20 xii	xvii	D	20 xiii	vi	F	20 xii		B	20 xiii	xiv	D
21 xii	ix	F	21 xii	xvii	B	21 xi	vi	E	21 xii		G	21 xi	xiv	C	21 xii	iii	E
22 xi		G	22 xi	vi	C	22 x		F	22 xi	xiv	A	22 x	iii	D	22 xi		F
23 x	xvii	A	23 x		D	23 ix	xiv	G	23 x	iii	B	23 ix		E	23 x	xi	G
24 ix	vi	B	24 ix	xiv	E	24 viii	iii	A	24 ix		C	24 viii	xi	F	24 ix	xix	A
25 viii		C	25 viii	iii	F	25 vii		B	25 viii	xi	D	25 vii	xix	G	25 viii		B
26 vii	xiv	D	26 vii		G	26 vi	xi	C	26 vii	xix	E	26 vi		A	26 vii	viii	C
27 vi	iii	E	27 vi	xi	A	27 v	xix	D	27 vi		F	27 v	viii	B	27 vi		D
28 v		F	28 v	xix	B	28 iv		E	28 v	viii	G	28 iv		C	28 v	xvi	E
29 iv	xi	G	29 iv		C	29 iii	viii	F	29 iv		A	29 iii	xvi	D	29 iv	v	F
30 iii	xix	A	30 iii	viii	D	30 Prid.		G	30 iii	xvi	B	30 Prid.	v	E	30 iii		G
31 Prid.		B	31 Prid.		E				31 Prid.		C				31 Prid.	xiii	A

In this Letter, he thanks them (n) for having met together about his Concerns, and tells them, that he could wish they would meet oftner, and that, according to the Canons, they would hold Councils, once or twice every Year, to put a stop to the Divisions and Disorders of their time: He prays to God that their meeting may be for the Church's Good, that they would not only treat of the Celebration of Easter, but moreover make all necessary Provisions to restore the Discipline to its former state: He earnestly presses their own Duty upon them, and gives them Lessons of Humility and Charitableness. And then coming to the Matter in hand, he sets forth the Difference between the *French* and the *Scots* Bishops, about the time of the Celebration of Easter, where he observes, that the Western Churches were not agreed about the time of Celebrating it, that many alwise kept it from the Fourteenth Day of the Moon to the Twentieth; so that when the Fourteenth fell on a *Saturday*, they kept the Feast of the Resurrection on the very next Day, whereas the *French* and *Italian* Bishops put off the Celebration of it to the *Sunday* following. He says, that he hath justify'd the Custom of the Western Churches, in the Writing he had sent them, in Three other Tracts, directed to Pope *Gregory*, and in a Book sent to *Arigius* one of the Bishops of the Council: But without engaging in that Dispute, he only prays the Bishops to give him leave to observe a Custom, of which he is not the Author, and which is practis'd in *Scotland* from whence he came; and intreats them that they would let him live in Peace and in Silence in his Solitude, near the Bones of Seventeen of his Brethren, as he hath lived these 12 Years, that he may continue Praying for them. He tells them, that it were better done of them, to Comfort Poor Old Men and Strangers, than to Trouble and Molest them. He adds, that he durst not go to the Council, for fear he should be forc'd to engage in the Dispute; but that he could not forbear declaring sincerely to them, that he gives more Credit to the Tradition of his Country, to the Ancient Cycle of Fourscore and Four Years, to that of *Anatolius*, to *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome*, than to *Victorius's* Testimony, a New Author, who hath written very obscurely: Nevertheless, he would not have them to think, that he says this out of a Contentious Spirit, he desires only that every one might keep his own Custom, and follow his own Tradition. Then he exhorts them to the Practice of Humility and Charity, and makes a Comparison betwixt the Monks and Bishops, and says, *St. Jerome* advises the former to Imitate the Holy Fathers, and the latter the Apostles, because Clerks and Monks have very different Practices and Obligations; that every one is to follow his Calling and perform his Duty. He prays to God that, thorow His Free Grace, He would cause His Commandments to be kept by all. And lastly, he does beseech them, to pray to God for him and his Fellows, as they pray for them, and not to look upon them as Strangers, seeing all *Christians* are Members of one Body.

It is not known what a Council this was; but it must have been held towards the Year 600, because it is Twelve Years after *St. Columbanus's* coming to *France*, and a little before *St. Gregory's* Death: Some believe it to be the Council of *Challon*, upon the River *Soane*, held in the Year 603, in which *Arigius* Bishop of *Lyons* presided; but this seems

(n) Vid. Du Pin, ubi supra.

He writes a Letter to them in his own Vindication.

improbable, in regard that that Council was not call'd upon St. *Columbanus's* account, but upon the Business of *Desiderius* Bishop of *Vienna*, whom they very unjustly Depos'd, upon Queen *Brunchauld's* Motion and the earnest Suit of *Arigius* Arch-bishop of *Lyons*: And likewise, the date of this Council is not answerable to St. *Columbanus's* Letter.

St. *Gregory* dying in the Year 604, and *Sabinianus*, who succeeded him, dying the next Year (o), St. *Boniface* the Third was made Bishop of *Rome*; and this Pope being a Person very zealous for maintaining the Privileges of the See of *Rome*, and particularly of their Custom about the Celebration of Easter; upon his Accession to the Papal Dignity in 606, St. *Columbanus* wrote a Letter to him (p), wherein he tells him, that he had written a Letter to Pope *Gregory*, concerning the Difference between the Church of *Scotland* and that of *Rome*, about the Day on which Easter ought to be Celebrated, and intreats *Boniface* to let him keep the Custom he had of Celebrating that Festival, as the Ancients of his Country did, tho' he now lived in *France*: And to mollify the Pope, he proposes to him the Example of St. *Polycarp* and of *Anicetus*, to shew that Men may differ in their Practice about the keeping of Easter, without any breach of Unity and Peace; and annexes the First Canon of the Council of *Constantinople*, whereby it is order'd, That Christian People, living among Barbarous Nations, shall live after their own Customs.

And another to Pope *Boniface* the Third.

The Church of *Rome* endeavours to gain the *Britains* and *Scots* to a Conformity with them in their Rites and Ceremonies.

During the Heat of this Controversy in *France*, the Church of *Rome* endeavoured to gain the *Britains* and *Scots* to a Conformity with them, in their Rites and Ceremonies; and for this end St. *Gregory* had sent some Monks, under the Conduct of one *Austin* their Abbot, to *England*; but he, having come the length of *Provence*, was so terrified with the Difficulties that he found in this Enterprize, that he returned to *Rome*; to represent them to St. *Gregory*, who sent him back with Letters of Recommendation, address'd to *Theodoricus* King of *Burgundy*, *Theodebert* King of *Austrasia*, Queen *Brunchaud* their Aunt, *Aurigius* a Nobleman, and to the Bishops of *Vienna*, *Arles*, *Aix*, and *Aulun*; in which he exhorted them to favour this laudable Undertaking (q):

Austin, being returned to *France*, was ordained Bishop by the Bishops of *Germany*, as St. *Gregory* tells us (r): But *Bede* says, that it was by *Ætberius* Bishop of *Arles*, which is certainly a Mistake; for at that time *Vingilius* was Bishop of *Arles*, and *Ætberius* was Bishop of *Lyons*; yet the Authority of *Bede* made *Baronius* believe, that there was a Fault in St. *Gregory's* Letter (s), and that it should be read *Galliarum*, instead of *Germaniarum*: But 'tis more probable that *Bede* was mistaken, and that *Austin* was ordained by the Bishops of the Provinces upon the *Roan* (t), to which the Name of *Germany* was sometimes given, because they were inhabited by the *Burgundians*, who were originally *Germans*; and we have Examples of this in *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who calls the Kingdom of *Chilperic*, whereof the Capital City was *Lyons*, *Lugdunensem Germaniam* (v); and writing to *Siagrius* who dwelt at *Lyons*, he praises him for understanding the Language of the *Germans*, i. e. of the *Burgundians*, who

(o) Vid. Floucel: Hist. per Joan. de Buslier. è Societ. Jesu. Chron. Princip. Pag. 6. (p) Vid. M. Du Pin ubi sup.
(q) Vid. St. Greg: Epist: Lib: 5. Epist: 52. (r) St. Greg: Epist: Lib: 7. Epist: 30. Ind: 1. Data a me licentia, a Germaniarum Episcopis Episcopus factus. (s) Vid: M. Du Pin Bib: des Aut: Ecclesi: Vol: 5. Pag: 126. (t) Vid: M. Du Pin ubi sup. (v) Sidon: Apol: Epist: Lib: 5. Epist: 7.

who remain'd at Lyons. *Austin* therefore being ordain'd by *Ætherius* Bishop of Lyons, *St. Gregory* might say he was ordain'd by the Bishops of Germany.

After *Austin* was ordain'd, he went with forty Missionaries over to England, where he converted a great many to the Christian Religion, and several to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Rome: But he at length dying, was succeeded by one *Laurentius*, who, pressing the Business of Conformity no less earnestly than his Predecessor, wrote the following Letter to the Bishops of Scotland (x).

Domini Charissimis, Fratribus Episcopis & Abbatibus per universam Scotiam, Laurentius, Mellitus & Justus Episcopi, servi servorum Dei. Dum nos sedes Apostolica, more suo, sicut in universo orbe terrarum, in his occidentis partibus ad predicandum gentibus paganus dirigeret; atque in hanc insulam, quæ Britannia nuncupatur, contigit introisse, antequam cognoscere credentes, quod juxta morem universalis Ecclesie ingrederentur, in magna reverentia sanctitatis tam Britones quam Scotos venerati sumus; sed cognoscentes Britones, Scotos meliores putavimus; Scotos vero per Dagamum Episcopum in hanc quam supra memoravimus insulam, & Columbanum Abbatem in Gallis venientem, nihil discrepare a Britonibus in eorum conversatione didicimus; nam Dagamus Episcopus ad nos veniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in Hospitio quo vescebamur sumere voluit.

A Letter to the Church of Scotland for that effect.

In English thus:

“*Laurence, Mellitus and Justus, Bishops, Servants of all the Servants of God, To our Lords and dearest Brethren the Bishops and Abbots through all Scotland. While as the Apostolic See, according to the Custom it hath observed in the rest of the World, did send us to preach the Gospel to the Heathens of these Western Parts, and that it happened us to come into this Isle which is called Britain, we held in Religious Reverence both the Scots and Britains, believing that they did walk after the Custom of the Universal Church; but after we had known the Britains, we judged the Scots to be better minded; but now we perceive by Dagamus the Scots Bishop in this Island of Britain, and by Columbanus the Abbot in France, that the Scots differ nothing in their Observations from the Britains; for Bishop Dagamus being here, refused not only to eat with us, but even to stay in the same Inn or Lodging.*”

But notwithstanding of the great Opposition that *Columbanus, Dagamus*, and the other Scots Bishops made against the Custom of the Church of Rome, in the Observation of this Feast; yet they at length submitted, which put an end to this Controversy.

Agilulphus King of the *Longobards*, finding that *St. Columbanus* was a Person of great Parts and Learning, engaged him in the Controversy about the *Three Chapters*. For the understanding of which the Reader must know (y),

St. Columbanus is engaged in the Controversy of the Three Chapters.

That about the end of the Year 428, *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, having permitted his Priest *Anastasius*, and a Bishop call'd *Dorotheus*

I

to

(x) Vid: Bod: Hist: Eccles: Lib. 2. C. 4. (y) Vid. M. Du Pin Bib: des Aut: Eccles: Rom: 3. Par. 2. Pag: 285. &c.

The History
of this
Controversy.

to Preach, that the Virgin *Mary* ought not to be call'd the Mother of God; and having himself maintain'd the same Opinion in several of his Sermons, *Eusebius* (who was afterwards Bishop of *Dorycum*) and several others of the Clergy publish'd a Protestation against him, wherein they accus'd him of Heresy: Upon which a great Dispute arose, which spread it self the length of *Egypt*, where it was very warmly entertain'd amongst the Monks. *St. Cyril*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, hearing of this, wrote to them a long Letter, wherein he told them, That it were much better for them not to meddle with such Abstracted Questions, which cannot be of any Advantage; and declares himself against *Nestorius's* Opinion. This Letter coming to *Constantinople*, *Nestorius* was extremely incens'd against *St. Cyril*, and wrote a Letter to him, wherein he told him, That tho' he had acted contrary to the Rules of Brotherly Charity; yet he would forget it, and did by this Letter give him the Tokens of Union and Peace.

St. Cyril, not being satisfy'd with *Nestorius's* Answer, wrote a Letter to him, wherein he tells him, That his Opinion is contrary to the *Nicene Creed*, where 'tis said, *That the only Son of God, begotten of His Father from all Eternity, came down from Heaven, was made Man, Suffered, Rose again from the Dead and Ascended into Heaven*: That he ought to be contented with this Decision, and believe that the Word of God was Incarnate and was made Man: That the Nature of the Word was not changed into Flesh, nor the Flesh into the Nature of the Word; but that the Word was united by the Hypostatic Union to the Manhood, in so much that the same *Jesus Christ* is both the Son of God and Son of Man, yet without any Confusion of the Natures; that it may not be said, that the Virgin hath brought forth a Man to the World, into whom the Godhead has since descended; but that from the instant of his Conception the Godhead was united to the Manhood, in so much that it may be said, that God is born according to the Flesh, and in the same Sense that he hath suffered and is dead, not as tho' the Word hath suffered in him; but because the Body, which he assumed, hath suffered, and was laid in the Sepulchre: 'Tis in this sense that it is said, that the Virgin is the Mother of God, because she brought into the World the Body of *Jesus Christ*, to which the Godhead is Hypostatically united.

Nestorius, being highly offended with this Letter, wrote an Answer to *St. Cyril*, wherein he tells him, That he had put a false Interpretation upon the Words of the *Nicene Creed*, because it does not say, that the Word was born, suffered or is dead; but it says this of our Lord *Jesus Christ the only Son of God*, Words which equally agree to the Humanity and the Divinity: He commends *St. Cyril* for acknowledging the Distinction of the Two Natures in *Jesus Christ*; but he accuses him of Destroying this Truth consequentially, and making the Godhead Passible and Mortal: He owns the Union of the Two Natures; but he holds, that, upon the account of that Union, we may not attribute to any of them, the Qualities that belong to the other only; and he affirms, that as often as the Scripture speaks of the Death and Passion of *Jesus Christ*, it appropriates them to the Humane and never to the Divine Nature: And lastly he upbraids *St. Cyril* with several Errors and Irregularities, for which he had been deposed in a Synod.

The

The Noise of this Dispute betwixt St. *Cyril* and *Nestorius* coming to *Rome*, *Nestorius* thought fit, for preventing all Mistakes, to write a Letter to Pope *Celestine* about it; and that he might do it the more handsomly, he took an Occasion to write to him about four *Pelagian* Bishops, *Julian*, *Florus*, *Orontius* and *Fabius*, whom he had entertained civilly, till he was informed of the Things laid to their Charge; but that if they were endeavouring to make a new Sect, they deserved no manner of Pity. Then he tells him, that, having found at *Constantinople* some Persons who corrupted the Orthodox Faith, he laboured to recover them by Gentle Means, altho their Heresy came very near to that of *Arius* and *Apolinaris*; for they confounded and mixt the Two Natures in *Jesus Christ*, making the Divine Nature to be born of *Mary*, and the Flesh of *Jesus Christ* to be changed into his Godhead; and that upon this Ground they gave the Virgin, the Mother of *Christ*, the Title of the Mother of God: That this Term, altho' it be improper, might be endured, upon the account of the Union of the Word with the Manhood, if it be not understood of the Divine Nature, and if we do not suppose that the Virgin *Mary* is the Mother of the Word of God, which is intolerable.

For examining this Assertion of *Nestorius*, the first Council of *Ephe-sus* was call'd, wherein *Nestorius* was condemned as a Heretic; and, in the Council of *Constantinople* or the 5th General Council, both he and *Origen* were declar'd Heretics. *Theodorus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, who was a great Friend of *Origen*, and consequently an Enemy to the Council of *Constantinople*, finding that the Emperor *Justinian* was preparing an Edict for putting the Decrees of that Council in Execution, to avoid this Blow, and to be reveng'd for what was done against *Origen*, represented to *Justinian*, that it was needless to make an Edict against them, assuring him, that they would all re-unite, and approve of the Council of *Constantinople*, if he would give Order, First, for Anathematizing *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mopsuestia* and his Writings: This *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia* was one of *Origen's* greatest Enemies, and by his Writings seem'd to be of their Opinion, who maintain'd that two Persons were in *Jesus Christ*. Secondly, to condemn the Person and Writings of *Theodoret*, Bishop of *Cyrus* in *Syria* in the Province of *Euphratesia*, for writing in favours of *Nestorius* against St. *Cyril* Bishop of *Alexandria*. Thirdly, to condemn the Letter of *Ibas* Bishop of *Edeffa*, to *Maris* of *Perfis*, written upon the Occasion of these Differences.

Theodorus, Bishop of *Cæsarea*, had two Designs in making this Proposal to the Emperor; the First was to be reveng'd on those who had procured the Condemnation of *Origen*; the Second was to weaken the Authority of the Council of *Constantinople*, by causing these Persons and Writings to be condemn'd, which they had approv'd.

The Emperor, who did not penetrate into the Depth of these Designs, imagining that he might do much Good to the Church in Procuring the Reconciliation of many Persons, by condemning three dead Writers, whose Reputation was very doubtful, made no Scruple to promise *Theodorus* what he desired: But he, fearing that the Emperor, who was Naturally inconstant, should change his Resolution, when he should foresee the Scandal that this Undertaking would produce, did cunningly engage him to publish an Edict, containing a Condemnation
of

of the Three Articles we have just now mentioned, which were afterwards so Famous by the Name of the *Three Chapters*; and which divided the Eastern and Western Churches.

Agilulphus King of the *Longobards*, being one of those who protected the Defenders of the *Three Chapters*, and finding *Columbanus*, as I have said, a Man of good Parts, wrote a Letter to him, wherein he tells him, that there were good Reasons to suspect, that the Church of *Rome* was guilty of very gross Errors concerning the Divinity of our Saviour, and that the Pope himself was either a Protector or Permitter of them; That Pope *Vigilius* died a Heretic; and that the Council of *Constantinople* ought to be rejected as a Heretical Council. It seems that the Reasons of this Prince prevail'd with St. *Columbanus*, for he immediately after wrote a Letter to Pope *Boniface*, wherein he exhorts him to watch over his Flock, and condemns *Vigilius* as a Heretic, and wonders they should put his Name in the List of the Catholic Bishops: Then he exhorts the Pope, with great Vehemency, to clear both himself and his Church from the Suspicion of Heresy, by calling a Council to make an exact Exposition of the Catholic Faith, and to condemn all those that swerved from it: Then he tells him, that at his coming into *Italy*, they inform'd him, that the Church of *Rome* was infected with the *Nestorian* Heresy; and concludes with an Exhortation to the Pope, that he might endeavour all that was in him to suppress the Schism and Division that was in *Italy*, about the Business of the *Three Chapters*, by tolerating those that defended them.

By this Letter it appears, that it was written by St. *Columbanus* after his going to *Italy*, the Occasion of which was this: St. *Columbanus*, having reproached King *Theodoric* and his Queen for their vicious Lives, was banish'd *France*, after he had governed the Monastery of *Luxeuil* and *Fontaines* twenty Years. After which he retired to *Switzerland*, then belonging to the Kingdom of *Theodebert*, where he preach'd the Gospel to the Pagans of that Country, with such admirable Success, that he converted several Hundreds of them to the Christian Religion: But *Theodore*t being overcome and taken Prisoner by *Theodoric*, he was forc'd to fly into *Italy*, where he was kindly receiv'd and entertain'd by King *Agilulphus*, who permitted him to found the Monastery of *Bobio*.

Besides these Works of St. *Columbanus* which we have mention'd, there are still extant his Rule for the Monks of his Monastery, his Penitential, a Treatise of Spiritual Instructions, a small Tract of eight Principal Vices and his Poetical Works; the 1st of which is a Letter to *Hunaldus*, upon the shortness of Life and the Vanity of Worldly Goods, the Preface of which begins with the Letters of the Name of St. *Columbanus*, and of him he writes to, so that taking the first Letters of each Verse, one finds *Columbanus Hunaldo*; the 2d is a Letter to *Sedolius*; the 3d is an Epigram upon Women; and the last is a Poem in Hexameters, entitl'd *Monasticon*, containing several Precepts of Morality. These are all his Works that are extant; but we have lost his Commentary upon the Psalms, which he wrote when he was young, his Letters to King *Theodoric*, a Letter to *Clotharius*, a Book against the *Arians*, his great Treatise of Easter, two Letters to St. *Gregory*, and his Writings to *Arigius* upon the same Subject.

After that St. Columbanus had Govern'd the Monastery of Bobio for some time, he Died upon the Ninth of the Calends of December, in the Year 615, being very Old, as it appears from his Letter to Sedolius, where he says, that he was come to the Eighteenth Olympiad, that's to say, to the Seventy two Year of his Age at least.

*Hæc tibi dictam morbis oppressus acerbis
Corpore quos fragili patior, tristisque senecta ;
Nam dum præcipiti labuntur tempora cursu
Nunc ad Olympiadis ter senos venimus annos;*

All that I have said of St. Columbanus is mostly to be found in his own Works ; for I have purposely omitted the Fabulous Stories, that are told of him by Jonas, or rather by Surius in his Life.

Sigibert of Gemblours says, That St. Columbanus was a great Student, and a Witty Man, and that the Commentary, which he compos'd in his Youth, was written with great Elegancy. It appears from his Rule and Penitential, that he was very Devout and a strict Disciplinarian ; for there he orders his Monks to meet together Three times in the Night, and Three times in the Day to Pray ; and that in the Office of the Day, at each Hour, they should say Three Psalms and some other Prayers ; That from October to February, they must say in the ordinary Office of the Night Thirty six Psalms and Twelve Anthems, at Three several times ; and in the rest of the Year Twenty four Psalms only and Eight Anthems ; But for the Saturdays and Sundays Nights, their Office was made up of Seventy five Psalms and Twenty five Anthems ; and if any of them smil'd in time of Divine Service, they were punish'd with Fifty Lashes of a Whip. He was very well seen in Chronology and Ecclesiastic History ; but was too Humoursome and Austere, and excessively Head-strong, and Obstinate in Maintaining his Opinions. He had a competent Skill in Poetry, and was a zealous Defender of the Rites and Ceremonies of his Country.

THE

Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *Regula Monachalis Monasteriis a se institutis præscripta, & in Concilio Matisconensi Anno 627 approbata, prodit ab Hend: Cunif. Primi edita Antiq. Lection: Tom: 1. in Append: Pag. 3.*
- II. *Præfatione Columbani auctam dedit. Car: Stangelius in Corona Lucida August. Vendel: 1621. 8vo.*
- III. *Pœnitentiale, seu Regula Cœnobialis, quæ habetur una cum opusculo præcedente, in Collectione Regularum Holstenii Paris: 1663. Pag. 88. & 90.*
- IV. *Pœmata & Epistolæ aliquot, quæ aut apud Canis: Antiq. Lection: Tom: 1. & 5 aut apud Sirmond: aut Usserium.*

V. *Sermones seu Institutiones Spirituales* 17.

VI. *Homilias quidem Columbani 13 in Monasterio Bobiensi extitisse memorat Messingamus, non tamen eas edidit, uti male habet Waræus de Script: Hiber: Lib: 1, Pag: 18. ex iis enim quintam solummodo divulgavit. Omnia S. Columbani Opera supra enumerata in unum collegit Patricius Flynngius Hibernus Minorita, atque edi curavit Lovanii 1667. in Fol: exinde habentur in Bibliothec: P. P. Tom. 12. Pag. 1.*

VII. *Scriptis præterea S. Columbanus, adhuc Adolescens, Librum Psalmorum eliminato Sermone a Sigiberto memoratum ac laudatum, de Script: Eccles: Cap: 60. Alia adhuc Waræus ex Vita illius a Jona Discipulo conscripta enumerat, viz.*

VIII. *Commentarium in Psalterium,*

XI. *Librum contra Arianos; queque in Gallia adhuc extare ab oculato teste accepit Waræus.*

THE
Life of St. BONIFACE,
Arch-Bishop of Mentz.

ALL the *English* Writers (a), and some other Authors of good Note (b), are of the Opinion, that this Bishop was Born in *Devonshire* in *England*, and descended from the Royal Family: But this is grounded upon the Authority of his Life said to be written by St. *Willibuld* his Nephew, which is found to be a Supposititious Work and of no Credit, as appears from *Christophorus Brouerus* and *F. Mabilion* (c): It seems to have been written by *Surius*, who is known very frequently to Father his own Productions upon the Ancients; and Dr. *Cave* was so much convinc'd of this, when he wrote his *Chartophylax Ecclesiasticus*, that he has marked it as a Doubtful Work (d). But that which destroys this Opinion, beyond all Controversy, is his own Epistles, the Epistles of Pope *Gregory* the II, Pope *Gregory* the III. (e) and Pope *Zachary*'s written to him; where tho' he be not expressly call'd, yet it is plainly insinuated that he was a *Scots* Man, as the Reader will find when I come to give an account of these Epistles. 'Tis from this, that a great number of Authors, of unquestionable Veracity, have acknowledg'd him to be a *Scots* Man, such as, *Trithemius* (f), *Marianus Scotus* (g), *Metellus Tegerensis* (h), *Hieronymus Platus* (i), *Arnoldus* (k), *Eucharis Sangius* (l), *Thomas a Jesu* (m) and several others mention'd by *Dempster* (n), in a Book written upon this Subject.

He was Born in the Year 675; and in the Fifth Year of his Age, he was sent by his Parents to a *Benedictine* Monastery in *England* (o), where he had his Education: And, having finish'd his Studies, he enter'd into Holy Orders, in the Year 700, being the Thirtieth Year of his Age. In the Year 715 he went from *England* to *Friseland*, with a Design to Preach the Gospel to the Infidels there; but at that time, that Country being involv'd in War, he was oblig'd to return to *England* the next Year. Not long after this, he went to *Rome*, whence in the Year 718 he was sent, by Pope *Gregory* the II, to Preach the Gospel to the Infidels in *Germany*, and in a small compass of time he Converted several Thousands of Souls to the Christian Religion, in *Thuringia*, *Hassia*, *East-Friseland* and *Saxony* (p).

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Having

(a) *Guid. Cave Hist. Literar.* Vol. 1. Pag. 481. (b) *Bellar. de Scriptor. Ecclef.* Philip. Labbe *Dissert. de Scriptor. Ecclef.* (c) *Christ. Brouer. Not. ad Vit. S. Greg.* Pag. 19. P. *Mabil. Sæc. Benedict.* 1. (d) *Chartoph. Ecclef.* Pag. 142. (e) *Vid. etiam Marian. Scot. in Chro.* Pag. 421, 424 & 425. (f) *De Scriptor. Ecclef. Bonifacius* (inquit) *ex Monacho prius Archiepiscopus Moguntinus Natione Scelus, &c.* (g) *In Chronico Lib. 2. ad Annum 715.* *Gregorius* (inquit) *Nonus post Petrum sedit Annos 16 Menses 8, qui Bonifacium Scotum ordinavit Episcopum Moguntinensem & per eam Germania verbum Salutis audivit.* (h) *In Quirinalibus. Data tibi quondam Bonifacie, Scote, Afartyr.* (i) *Lib. 2. de bono statu Religiosi, Cap. 30* (k) *In Theatro Conversionis Gentium.* (l) *Orat. de Transl. B. Macarii.* (m) *In Conversione Gentium.* (n) *Dissert. de S. Bonifacii Patria Bon. 1617.* (o) *Bonifacius ex Monacho prius Archiepiscopus Moguntinus Natione Scelus adhuc 5 Annorum in Cenobio Angliæ nostri ordinis quod Muschella dicitur a Parentibus Domino servituras oblatas est. Trithem. de Viris illustribus ordinis S. Benedicti Lib. 2. Cap. 24. & Hieron. Platus Lib. 2. de bono statu Religiosi Cap. 30. Hic Patria (de S. Bonifacio loquitur) Scelus ætate adhuc quinquennis esset a Parentibus ipsis oblatas, dum vitam in sacris Claustis sanctissime egisset a Gregorio secundo Pontifice in Germaniam missus, Thuringiam, Frisiam, Hassiam Christo adjuvit.* (p) *Vid. M. du Pin, Tom. 6. Pag. 91 and 94.*

He goes from England to Rome and from thence to Germany, & returns to Rome, where he is Consecrated Bishop.

He returns to Germany, and writes a Letter about his Mission to the Pope.

Having planted the Christian Religion in these Provinces, he made a second Journey to *Rome*, where he was Consecrated Bishop, in the Year 723, by Pope *Gregory* the II, who sent him back again with Instructions and Letters of Recommendation, directed to all Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Lords, Earls, and in general to all Christians. Being returned, he continu'd to Preach the Gospel in *Thuringia*, *Hassia* and *Bavaria*.

Whilst *St. Boniface* was thus employ'd in Converting these People, several Things occur'd in relation to his Mission, which oblig'd him to write a long Letter to the Pope, wherein he asks his Opinion about them; the Sum of which I shall give here, with the Pope's Answer. The I. Question is about the Degrees of Consanguinity, within which it is forbidden to Marry. To this the Pope answers, That it were to be wish't, that no Persons nearly related would contract Marriage: But, to yield a little to the Barbarity of that Nation, he must prohibit Marriages between Persons related in the Fourth Degree. The II. is, If a Husband, who is Married to a Wife that is not able to perform Conjugal Duty, may Marry another? It is answer'd, He may. The III. is, What a Priest should do, who is accus'd of a great Crime, and where there are no Witnesses to prove it? 'Tis answer'd, That he should clear himself by his Oath. The IV. is, If Confirmation, perform'd by a Bishop, may be repeated? 'Tis answer'd, No. The V. is, What number of Chalices should be upon the Altar, at the Celebration of the Mass? 'Tis answer'd, Only One. The VI. is, If Meats offer'd to Idols may be eaten? 'Tis answer'd, They may. The VII. is, If Children, whose Kindred have put them into Monasteries before Fourteen Years of Age, may go out of them, and lead a Secular Life? 'Tis answer'd, No. The VIII. is, If one, who is Baptiz'd by a wicked Priest, should be Re-baptiz'd? 'Tis answer'd, No. The IX. is, What should be done with those Children, that can give no clear Proof of their Baptism? 'Tis answer'd, They should be Baptiz'd. The X. is, If one, who is infected with the Leprosy, should be depriv'd of the Communion? 'Tis answer'd, No. The XI. is, If it be lawful for Church-men, to fly from their Churches and Monasteries, in time of the Plague? 'Tis answer'd, That it is not lawful. The Last is, If he should Talk or Eat with disorderly Bishops and Priests? 'Tis answer'd, That he should Eat and Talk with them, but that he should Reprove them severely. This Letter is dated the Tenth Year of the Emperor *Leo*, the Tenth Indiction, which is *Anno* 726 of the Vulgar *Æra* or Common Account.

He receives the Pall from Pope Gregory the III.

Pope *Gregory* the II. dying, *Gregory*, the III. of that Name, was chosen Bishop in his place in the Year 731. The News of this coming to *Germany*, *Boniface* wrote a Letter to him, congratulating his Accession to the Popedome, and asking his Opinion about several Things. The Pope in his Answer Complements him upon his happy Success, in Converting so many Infidels to the Christian Religion; and grants him the Right of bearing the Archiepiscopal Pall: Then he answers *Boniface's* Questions. The I. of which is, What should be done with those who were Baptiz'd by the Heathens? 'Tis answer'd, That they should be Re-baptiz'd. The II. is, If the Flesh of a wild Horse may be eaten? 'Tis answer'd, No. The III. is, If the Sacrifice of the Mass should be offer'd for all, that have died in the Orthodox Faith? 'Tis answer'd, That it should be offer'd. The IV. is, What shall be done with those, who

who have been Baptiz'd by a Priest that hath Sacrificed to *Jupiter*? 'Tis answer'd, That they ought to be Re-baptiz'd. The V. is, In what Degree of Consanguinity it is lawful to Marry? 'Tis answer'd, That none should be permitted to Marry till the Seventh Generation. The VI. is, How often a Man should Marry? 'Tis answer'd, That none should Marry above twice. The VII. is, What should be done with them who have Murder'd their Father, Mother, Brother or Sister? 'Tis answer'd, That their Penance should be, during their whole Life, to abstain from Wine and Flesh-meats, and to Fast Three Days in the Week. The VIII. is, If it be lawful to sell Slaves to the *Heathens*? 'Tis answer'd, That it is not lawful. The IX. is, What number of Bishops should be present at an Ordination? 'Tis answer'd, That there should be Three with himself, or Two at least.

Some time after this, *Boniface* made a Third Voyage to *Rome*, where he staid not long, but return'd soon to *Germany*; where he made it his main Business to establish a firm Custom in the Churches which he had planted, to Reform Discipline and Manners, to Abolish Superstitions, to Erect Episcopal Sees where it was necessary, and to hold Councils.

He makes a Third Voyage to *Rome*, and soon after returns to *Germany*.

In the Year 739, he wrote another Letter to Pope *Gregory*, wherein he told him, that he had divided *Bavaria* into Four Bishoprics: This was approv'd of by the Pope, who exhorted him to proceed vigorously, and as he found the number of the Christians to augment, so to augment the number of the Episcopal Sees.

In the Year 741, Pope *Zachary* being rais'd to the See of *Rome* upon the Death of Pope *Gregory* the III, St. *Boniface*, who suffered no occasion to slip, whereby he might testify his Zeal for the Church of *Rome*, immediately wrote a Letter to Pope *Zachary* upon several Matters of Discipline, which I shall narrate here with the Pope's Answers.

They both begin with Complements. *Boniface* tells the Pope, how great Veneration he had for the Holy See; and the Pope assures him, that he was extremely glad at the receipt of his Letters, by which he was informed, that the Church of *Jesus Christ* was every Day increased by his Preaching. *Boniface* tells him, that he had Ordain'd Three Bishops in *Germany*, and divided the Province into Three Diocesses; that he had plac'd one Bishop in the Castle of *Wirtemberg*, another in the City of *Buraburg*, and the third at *Erford*; and prays him to Confirm what he had done, and to make these three Places Bishops Sees. *Zachary* approves of what *Boniface* had done, and did accordingly make these three Places Bishoprics. In the Second Article, *Boniface* informs the Pope, that *Carloman*, a *French* Duke, had desir'd him to hold a Council in his Kingdom, to restore the Discipline which was almost lost; because there had not been a Synod in *France* for above Four-score Years; and that the Bishoprics and Arch-Bishoprics, by that means, were fallen into the Hands of Lay-men, whose Lives were Scandalous and Disorderly. The Pope grants him the Liberty of calling the Council. In the Third Article, he desires to know, what he should do with those Bishops, Priests and Deacons, who liv'd Debauch'd Lives. *Zachary* tells him, that he ought not to suffer them to perform the Functions and Offices that belong to their Orders and Degrees. In the Fourth Article, *Boniface* desires the Pope to appoint him a Successor, or to give him leave to choose himself one. The Pope denieth him this, it be-

ing contrary to the Canons of the Church, to appoint a Succellor to a Bishop, while he is alive; yet he grants him the Power to Nominate one at the Point of Death. As for all the other Articles, they are upon Matters of little or no moment. This Letter is dated on the 11th Indiction, or in the beginning of the Year 742.

Where he is
President at
a Council.

In the same Year, by the Order of *Carloman* the *French* Prince mention'd in this Letter, a Council was call'd, but the number of the Bishops and the Place are unknown. The Canons of this Council are set down in the Capitularies, under the Name of *Carloman*. *Boniface* was President; and the First Canon declares, That *Carloman*, following the Advice of his Bishops, Monks and Lords, and *Boniface* Legate of the Holy See, hath order'd a Synod to be kept every Year in his Presence, to Re-establish the Church's Rights, and to Reform Manners and Discipline; That he hath caused Church Lands, that had been invaded, to be restor'd; That he hath depriv'd Wicked Priests, Deacons and Clerks, guilty of Fornication, of the Ecclesiastical Revenues, degraded them and put them to Penance. The Second imports, That he hath forbidden Clerks to bear Arms or to go to the Army, except those that have been chosen to celebrate Divine Service there, and to carry the Relicks of Saints, that is one or two Bishops, with two Chaplains and two Priests for the Prince; and for the Lord, one Priest only to hear Confessions and impose Penances; the Chair or Pulpit is likewise forbidden to the Clerks. By the Third Canon, he enjoins Parsons to be subject to their Bishop, To give him an Account once a Year, in Lent, of their Ministry, To receive him when he is Visiting, To go every Year to fetch new Chrism on *Holy Thursday* before *Easter*, That the Bishop may be a Witness of the Chastity, Life, Faith and Doctrine of his Presbyters. The Fourth prohibits admitting, into the Presbyterial or Episcopal Functions, unknown Priests or Bishops, before they be Examined in a Synod. The Fifth orders Bishops, with the Help of Magistrates, to purge their Diocesses from *Pagan* Superstitions. The Sixth ordains, that he or she that falls hence forward into the Crime of Fornication shall be Imprison'd, and shall do Penance there with Bread and Water; and if he be a Priest that hath committed this Crime, he shall be shut up for two Years, having been Whipt till the Blood comes, and then the Bishop shall lay on him what Penance he pleases; and if it be a simple Clerk or Monk, he shall be Whipt three times, and then shut up for one Year; that the Nuns that have received the Vail, shall be used after the same manner and shav'd. The Seventh and Last forbids Presbyters and Deacons to wear close Coats as Laics do, and ordains that they shall use long Cassocks; it forbids them to have Women in their Houses with them, and enjoins all Monks and Nuns under their Jurisdiction, to follow exactly *St. Benedict's* Rule.

The next Year Pope *Zachary* wrote a Letter to *Boniface*, by which he gives the Pall to the Three Metropolitans he had instituted, and approves of the Sentence which *Boniface* had pass'd against Two *French* Men, who had liv'd a Prophan and Disorderly Life.

He is made
President of
the Council
at *Leffines*.

The same Year likewise, *Boniface* prevail'd with the *French* Prince *Carloman* to assemble a Council at *Leffines*, near *Cumbray*, where *Boniface* held the First Place, and the Canons were publish'd under *Carloman's* Name. By the First Canon it is declared, that the Bishops, Nobles

bles and Governours of Provinces here assembled, have Confirm'd all the Canons of the foregoing Council, and promise to observe them punctually. By the Second, He ordains, by the Advice of his Clergy and People, that the Laity shall enjoy the Church-lands, which they hold as Tenents at will, upon condition that they shall pay a Penny for every House; and that when he that enjoys them comes to die, they shall return to the Church, yet so that if it be needful still for the good of the State, or if the Prince orders it so, they shall renew their Leases, provided nevertheless, that the Churches or Monasteries, whose Lands are held by such a Title, are not extreme Poor. In the Third Canon, Adulteries, Incests and Illegitimate Marriages are prohibited, and the Selling of *Christian* Slaves to *Pagans*. In the Fourth, *Carloman* renews his Father's Decree against them that observe *Pagan* Superstitions, condemning them to a Fifteen Pence Fine. These Canons, in an Ancient Collection, are join'd with an Abjuration in the *Tudesk* Tongue, a List of the most ordinary Superstitions, and an Instruction about prohibited Marriages, and about the Prohibition of keeping the Sabbath Day: All which hath so much relation to the Canons of this Council, that 'tis believ'd to have been part of it.

In the Year 744, *Boniface* caus'd *Pipin*, Prince and Duke of *France*, to call a Council at *Soissons*, which sat down upon the Second Day of *March*. *Boniface* held the First Place, and it was compos'd of Twenty Eight Bishops and of some Priests and Lords. The Canons were publish'd in *Pipin* and the Assembly's Name. By the First, they own the Faith establish'd in the *Nicene* Council, and the Authority of the Canons of other Councils that they had publish'd in *France*, for Re-establishing the Discipline of the Church there. It is ordain'd in the Second, that there shall be a Synod kept every Year, to procure the Salvation of the People, and to prevent Heresies, such as that of *Adalbert*, who was Condemn'd by Twenty Three Bishops and several Priests, with the Prince and People's Consent. In the Third he declares, that by the Advice of the Bishops and Great Ones, he hath put Legitimate Bishops in the Towns of *France*, and hath given them for Arch-Bishops over them, *Abel* Arch-Bishop of *Rheims*, and *Ardorbert* Arch-Bishop of *Sens*, that both the Bishops and People might have recourse to their Judgments, when it should be needful, to the end that the Monasteries may be Regular and Orderly, that Monks and Nuns may peaceably enjoy their Revenues, and the Clerks be not debauch'd, nor wearing Secular Habits or going a Hunting. By the Fourth, he forbids the Laity to commit Fornication, Perjury and bear False Witnes; he enjoins Parish Priests to be subject to their Bishop, to give him yearly, in Lent, an Account of their Management; to demand the Holy Oyl and the Chrism of him, and to receive him when he is upon his Visit. The Fifth, forbids receiving Foreign Clerks and Priests, before they be Approv'd by the Bishop of the Diocess. The Sixth, charges Bishops to endeavour the utter Extirpation of *Paganism*. The Seventh, orders the Crosses set up by *Adalbert* to be burnt. The Eighth, forbids Clerks to have Women in their Houses, except their Mother's Sister or their Niece. The Ninth, forbids the Laity to have in their Houses Women devoted to God, and also to Marry another Man's Wife during the Life of her Husband, because Husbands ought not to forsake their Wives, but in case

And of the
Council of
Soissons.

they have catch'd them in Adultery. The Last ordains, that whoever shall violate these Laws, made by Twenty Three Bishops Servants of God with the Consent of the Prince and the Grandees of *France*, shall be judged by the Prince, or by the Bishops, or by the Counts.

He complains to a Council at Rome against *Adalbert* and *Clement* two Heretical Bishops.

The next Year Pope *Zachary* call'd a Council at *Rome*, to which *Boniface* sent a long Letter by one *Dencardus* a Presbyter, wherein he tells them, that he had call'd a Synod in *France*, in which *Clement* and *Adalbert*, two False Schismatical and Heretical Bishops, had been Depos'd, and then put in Prison by the Prince's Order ; but that they would not obey this Sentence, keeping their Dignity still, and continuing to Seduce the People. Then he gives an Account of these two Bishops and their Doctrines : He says that *Adalbert* was a *French* Man, and known to have been an Hypocrite from his Youth ; that he made the People believe that an Angel from Heaven had brought him some Relicts, and by them he could obtain whatever he desir'd of God ; That afterward he had, by Money, got himself Ordain'd by some Ignorant Bishops ; That at last he equal'd himself to the Apostles ; That he said it was not lawful to Consecrate Churches to the Honour of the Apostles or Martyrs ; That he condemn'd those who went Pilgrims to *Rome* to visit the Sepulchres of the Apostles ; That he had Consecrated Altars in his own Name ; That he had set up little Crosses and Chapels in the Country where he kept his Assemblies ; That the People crowded thither and forsook the Churches ; That some had been so Impudent as to say, St. *Adalbert's* Merits shall help us ; That he had the Impudence to give some of his own Nails and Hair, to be honour'd and carry'd with St. *Peter's* Relicts ; That, to the People who flock'd to him to Confess their Sins at his Feet, he said, that there was no need for them to do it, for he knew all they had done ; That their Sins were forgiven them, and that they might be assured of it ; That he said that it was lawful to Marry the elder Brother's Wife, according to the Custom of the *Jews* ; And that *Jesus Christ* when He went down into Hell did release the Wicked as well as the Godly.

As for *Clement*, who was his Countryman and had come from *Scotland* sometime ago, he says, That he did reject the Authority of Councils ; That he would not receive the Writings of the Fathers, and maintain'd that he could continue Bishop after having two Bastards ; That he said it was lawful for a Man to Marry his Brother's Wife ; That he affirmed, that when *Christ* descended into Hell, He deliver'd all those that were there, whether Believers or Unbelievers, *Jews* or *Pagans*, Worshipers of the True God or Idolaters. After this the Council read the Life of *Adalbert*, and a Letter which he affirm'd had falln from Heaven, and was found by St. *Michael*, who deliver'd it to another Angel, who gave it to him at *Rome*.

Tho' these Accusations provok'd the Indignation of the Council against these two Bishops, yet the Pope delay'd the Judging in this Matter till the next Meeting ; at which time they read a Prayer of *Adalbert's* making, wherein he invoc'd the Assistance of the Angels *Uriel*, *Raguel*, *Iubuel*, *Michael*, *Incar*, *Iubicas*, *Sabauc* and *Sinniel* : The Council after the reading of this Prayer declar'd, That all these pretended Angels, except St. *Michael*, were Dæmons ; that they know the Names but of Three Angels, *Michael*, *Raphael* and *Gabriel* : Then they desir'd *Adalbert's* Writings

ings to be burnt, but the Pope judg'd it better to secure them in the Library of the *Roman Church*. After which they pronounc'd a Sentence of Deposition and Penance, against *Adalbert* and *Clement*. Upon which they are Depos'd.

In the Year 746, Pope *Zachary* acquainted St. *Boniface* of the Proceedings of the Synod of *Rome* against *Adalbert* and *Clement*, and Confirms him in the Right of a Metropolitan; making Five Bishops Sees subject to him, viz. *Tongres*, *Cologne*, *Worms*, *Spire* and *Utrecht*, and the Bithoprics newly erected or those that depend upon *Worms*, viz. *Straßburg*, *Ausburg*, *Wirtemberg*, *Buraburg*, *Erford*, *Eichstadt*, *Constance* and *Coira*. He is made a Metropolitan Bishop.

In the Year 748, *Zachary* wrote a Letter to *Boniface*, about one *Samson* a Scots Man and a Presbyter, who maintain'd several Errors, but particularly, that a Man might be made a Christian without being Baptiz'd in the Name of the Trinity, only by the Bishop's imposition of Hands; and then exhorts him to reclaim his Countryman, and from thence takes occasion highly to Extol *Boniface* for a Book that he had written, about the Unity of Faith and the Apostolic Doctrine. A few Years after this, *Boniface* laid down his Dignity of Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*, in favours of *Lullus* his Scholar, whom he put in his place, with the Consent of *Pipin*, the Bishops, Clergy and Lords of the Province; having first obtain'd leave of the Pope to do it: After which he went to *Utrecht* to Preach the Gospel to the unconverted *Frislanders*, where he was barbarously Murder'd by the *Heathens*, in the Place where he was come to Confirm a great Multitude of Persons newly Baptiz'd, and was Buried in the Abby of *Fulda*, which was Founded by himself: He was Murder'd upon the Fifth Day of *June* in the Year 754, in the Eighty fourth Year of his Age. Now, before I give this Bishop's Character, I must give an Account of several of his Letters, that I have had no occasion to speak of. He demits his Bishopric in favours of Lullus his Scholar, and goes to Utrecht, where he is barbarously Murder'd by the Heathens.

The First is a Letter to one of his Friends called *Nithardus*, where he takes the Name of *Winfrid*; 'tis an Exhortation to Godliness. The Second is to an Abbess, to Comfort her in her Afflictions. The Third is to a Bishop call'd *Daniel*, wherein he complains of the Debaucheries of some Clergy Men, who admitted into the Priesthood Persons guilty of Murder and Adultery; and that which troubled him most was, that he could not wholly separate from them, because they were in great Reputation at *Pipin's* Court, of whom he stood in need; but that he did avoid all Communion with them in Holy Mysteries. The Fourth Letter is written when he was a Deacon, desiring some Books. The Fifth is a Circular Letter to all Christians, begging their Prayers for him to God, that he might succeed in his Labour of Converting the Gentiles. The Sixth is to an Abbess to the same effect. The Seventh is to *Egbert* Bishop of *Tork*, wherein he sends him a Writing to *Eitelwald* King of the *Mercians*, against some Errors he maintain'd, and some of St. *Gregory's* Letters to the Bishop, and desires him to send him some of *Bede's* Works. The Eighth is to an Abbot call'd *Huetbert*, upon the same Subject. The Ninth is, in his own Name and the Name of Eight Bishops, to a Priest, desiring him to present the Memoir he had sent the King of the *Mercians*. A great many others are upon Matters of Complement and Exhortations to Piety; so that I shall not trouble the Reader with an Account of them, but only take notice of those that are upon very remarkable Subjects.

In his Letter to *Petbelmus* or *Pelcbelmus* Bishop of *Galloway* in *Scotland*, he consults him about the Customs of *France* and *Italy*, by which, it was forbidden to Marry her to whose Child he had been God-father; where-upon he says, that till then he thought there had been no harm in it, having never found that it was forbidden by the Canons or Decrees of the Holy Bishops; and desires to know, if he has met with any thing about it in Ecclesiastic History.

In his Letter to *Eatburg* an Abbess, he gives an account of a Person of his acquaintance, who in a Vision imagin'd that he was taken up into Heaven, where he saw all that was done in this World and in the other; he heard the Angels and Devils disputing about the state of the Souls, which were come out of the World; That the Sins which they had committed stood up to accuse them, but the few Virtues they had practis'd appear'd in their Defence; That he saw Pits of Fire, in the bottom of which were the Souls condemn'd to Eternal Flames, and at the Mouths were those who should one Day be delivered from their Punishments; That he saw Paradise, and the Way that the Souls of Just Men go thither when they depart out of the World; That some fall into a River of Fire as they pass, which thorowly purges them who have smaller Sins to expiate; Lastly, That he saw the Storms which the Devils raised upon the Earth, and the Sins into which they plunged Men.

In his Letter to Pope *Stephen*, he desires to know his Opinion concerning the Controversy between the Bishop of *Utrecht* and the Bishop of *Cologne*. St. *Wilbrod* was ordain'd Bishop by Pope *Sergius*, and appointed to Preach the Gospel in *Frisia*, where, having Converted many Infidels to the Christian Religion, he erected his See at *Utrecht* by the Order of *Carloman*: But the Bishop of *Cologne* pretended, that that City belonged to his Bishopric, because from the time of *Dagobert*, that Castle had been annex'd to the Bishopric of *Cologne*, upon the account of Preaching the Gospel to the *Frisians*; he adds, that this Bishop, not having perform'd the Condition, had forfeited his Right, and that this City ought to be a Bishop's Seat, dependent upon the See of *Rome*.

In his Letter to *Cuthbert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, he tells him that the German Churches, under his Jurisdiction, had made a Confession of their Faith, own'd an Union and Subjection to the *Roman* Church, and are always to yield Obedience to St. *Peter* and his Vicar; and that they have ordain'd, That Synods should be call'd every Year; That they should require the Palls for Metropolitans, from the Bishop of *Rome*; That Metropolitans, who have receiv'd the Pall, are to take care, that the Bishops keep neither Hunting Dogs nor Hawks; That the Priests should Visit all their Charge in Lent, and give the Bishop an Account of their Conversation; That Bishops are to Visit their Diocesses every Year; That Clergy-men are not to wear the same Habit that Lay-men do, nor bear Arms; That Metropolitans are to Judge their Suffragan Bishops in their Synod, and the Bishops are to bring to this Synod, all Persons which they cannot Reform, who shall be subject to their Metropolitans, and they to the Bishop of *Rome*. Then he exhorts all Metropolitans to discharge the Functions of their Ministry with Vigilance, and rather to Die, than to do any thing contrary to the Sacred Laws of the Church. Then he tells *Cuthbert*, that he ought to restrain the Women and Virgins of *England*, from going in such Numbers to *Rome*, because the
greatest

greatest part of them were Debauch'd, and caus'd great Scandal in the whole Church ; for there is scarce a City (saith he) in *Lombardy* or *France*, where there are not some *English* Women of a wicked Life.

Serarius publish'd at *Mentz*, in the Year 1605, a Collection of *Boniface's* Letters, together with these of *Lullus*, *Adulmus* and several other of his Scholars, Friends, Princes and Popes that wrote to him, which were Re-printed at the same Place, in the Year 1629; and Bishop *Usher* has Printed some of them in his *Ep. Hiber. Syll.* Some attribute to him the Life of St. *Livinus*, but Father *Mabilion* has prov'd, that it belongs to a more Ancient Author. His Treatise of the Unity of the Faith is lost. *F. Dacherius* has publish'd in the Tenth Volume of his *Specilegium*, a Piece entitl'd, *The Statutes of Boniface of Mentz*, which contains several Rules for Managing the Functions and Life of Priests, with a Catalogue of the Festivals: But this likewise cannot be written by St. *Boniface*; for the Author addresses himself to the Emperor, whereas in *Boniface's* time there was no Emperor in *Germany*.

This Bishop had a Bold and Undertaking Genius, and what he resolv'd once upon, he quickly put in execution: He had much Sincerity and ardent Zeal for the Reformation of Manners, especially of the Clergy, and the Conversion of Infidels to the Christian Religion: He was very well acquainted with Church Discipline; and tho' his Stile was Harsh and Barbarous, yet what he wrote was very good Sense: He was wholly devoted to the See of *Rome*, and the present Grandeur of the Popedom had the first Rise from him; for thè *French* having consulted him and Pope *Zachary*, whether they should acknowledge *Pipin* for their lawful King, who had already all the Authority and was enstated in the Government, or *Childeric*, who was indeed their lawful King? They answer'd in favours of *Pipin*; and St. *Boniface* Anointed him King; and poor *Childeric* was thrust into a Monastery: For which good Service, *Pipin* was the First and Main Instrument of raising the Popedom to its present Grandeur. And how this was brought about, is worth the Reader's knowing, and is no improper Digression here, since our Author had so great a Hand in it (q).

The City of *Rome*, *Italy* and all the other Provinces of the Western Empire, were under the Dominion of *Constantine* and the Emperors that succeeded him, and we learn from History, that they sent their Governors there; that the City of *Rome* depended upon their Laws and their Power; and the Magistrates, they establish'd, made such Changes in the Government as they pleas'd; and, in one Word, that they were as much Masters of *Rome*, as of any other City in the World. Afterwards, when the *Barbarians* had Conquer'd *Italy*, they sent the Generals of their Armies to Defend the City of *Rome*, as belonging of Right to them; but in spite of all their Efforts, *Theodoric* King of the *Ostrogoths*, having Subdu'd *Italy*, made it Tributary to him, and Govern'd the City of *Rome* with as Absolute a Power as the *Roman* Emperors had done before him. His Successors *Athalaric* and *Theodat* maintain'd their Power, till they were Expell'd by *Belisarius*, *Justinian's* Lieutenant-General, who took the City of *Rome* by Force, in the Year 536 (r). A

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(q) Vjd. M. du Pin de Antiq. Ecclesiæ Disciplina Dissertationes Historic. Par. 168. & Bib. Nov. des Aut. Ecclesiæ Vol. 2. Pag. 21. (r) Dion. Petav. Ration. Temp. Par. Prim. Lib. 7. Pag. 329.

little time after, all *Italy* was Deliver'd from the Tyranny of the *Barbarians* by Count *Narfates*, and put under the Dominion of the *Grecian* Emperors, to whom it had formerly belonged.

His Successor *Longin* divided all *Italy* into small Principalities, and plac'd in the principal Cities Dukes or Governours, reserving the Sovereignty over them to the Emperor under whom he Govern'd, and was the first that assumed to himself the Title of Exarch, which is equal to that of a Vice-Roy. For several Years after this, the Emperors sent their Exarchs to *Italy*, who for the most part had their Residence in the City of *Ravenna*; but this Government in process of time, dwindled into nothing, and was entirely extinguish'd when the *Lombards* made themselves Masters of *Italy*. During all this time, the Popes were so far from being Sovereign Masters of *Rome* and *Italy*, that to the contrary, they were frequent Instances of the Absolute Power that the Emperors and Exarchs had over them; thus Pope *Liberius* was Imprison'd by the Emperor *Constance*, and put out of the City of *Rome* by the Governour *Leontius*; and it was by the power of *Maximus*, the Governour of *Rome*, that the Schism was quell'd which arose between Pope *Damasus* and *Ursin*; and the Bishops made their Address to the Emperor, as having the sole Power for Commanding *Ursin* to leave the City of *Rome*.

The like Instance we have in the Schism that hapned between *Eulalius* and *Boniface*, which was appeas'd by the Emperor's Order, and afterwards by King *Theodoric*, when he made himself Master of *Italy*. This Prince exerc'd the Power he had over the Bishop and Church of *Rome*, with such Rigour, that he appointed a Visitor for that Church, and sent poor Pope *John* to the *Grecian* Emperor, to obtain a Revocation of the Edict that he had publish'd against the *Arians*; which that Pope not being able to procure, *Theodoric* Imprison'd him at *Ravenna*, where he died in Misery. In the same manner *Theodat* sent Pope *Agnepetus* to *Justinian*, who, having render'd himself Master of *Italy*, treated the Popes as harshly as any of his Predecessors; for he exacted of them great Sums of Money for Confirming their Ordination, and having brought the Popes *Sylvester* and *Vigilius* to *Constantinople*, he compell'd them to Approve of the Restitution of *Antbimius* to that Patriarchal See. Pope *Martin* the First was Banish'd, to the Province of *Pontus*, by the Exarch of *Ravenna*, according to the Emperor's Order. *Justinian* the Younger Banish'd likewise Pope *Sergius*. And the Emperor *Leo Isaurius* design'd to have kill'd Pope *Gregory* the Second; but the *Italians* being weary of the *Grecian* Emperors, who were not able to Protect them from their Enemies, were resolv'd to shake off their Yoke, and to acknowledge their own Dukes for their Sovereign Lords and Masters. This Pope did all that he could to oppose this Design, as it appears from his Letter to *Ursus* Duke of *Venice*, wherein he acknowledgès the *Grecian* Emperors for their Masters: But the *Lombards* becoming Masters of *Italy*, and they having no expectation of any Succour from the *Grecian* Emperor, who was then involv'd in other Wars, the Popes *Gregory* and *Zachary* were obliged to have recourse to *Charles Martel*, Controller of the *French* King's Household; who by his Threatnings oblig'd *Luitprand*, King of the *Lombards* and his Successor *Rachisus*, to restore the Exarchship of *Ravenna* to the Exarchs, who depended upon the *Grecian* Emperors: But at length *Astolphus*, *Rachisus*'s Brother, made himself Absolute

solute Master of *Ravenna*, and oblig'd *Eutychius*, the last Exarch of *Ravenna*, to retire into the East.

Pope *Stephen* the Second, Pope *Constantine*'s Son, fearing that the City of *Rome* might have the like Fate with that of *Ravenna*, sent Deputies to him with Presents, and concluded a Peace with him, in the Name of the *Roman* Republic, for Forty Years ; but *Astulphus* Four Months after broke this Peace, and came with a great Army to Besiege *Rome* : Upon which the Pope sent some Religious Persons to Pacify him ; but he had no regard to their Entreaties or Arguments. In this Conjunction *John*, the chief Silentiary of the Emperor of *Greece*, came to *Rome*, with some Letters from the Emperor to the Pope, and to King *Astulphus*, exhorting him to restore the Places he had usurped : But *Astulphus* slighted the Emperor's Letter, and sent the Silentiary back again, without any favourable Answer. Upon which the Pope, seeing the Danger he was in, sent some Deputies to the Emperor, to let him know that it was high time for him to come with an Army, to Defend the Provinces he had yet in *Italy*, if he had a mind to Preserve them ; and that, for his part, he imploy'd Public Prayers to obtain from God the Peace of *Italy*, and endeavour'd with Entreaties to appease the Anger of *Astulphus*. But the Pope, finding that there was no hope left of any Assistance from the *Greek* Emperor, applied himself to *Pipin* King of *France*, who did voluntarily offer his Assistance to the Pope and the *Romans*. Upon this the Pope went to *France*, where he was very kindly receiv'd by *Pipin*, who promis'd to him, to force the *Lombards* to restore him the Exarchy of *Ravenna*, and all the Territories belonging to the *Romans*. *Astulphus*, to avert this Storm, sent *Carloman* *Pipin*'s Brother, who was a Monk in Mount *Cassin*, to dissuade his Brother from espousing the Pope's Quarrel, otherwise he threaten'd to be reveng'd upon him and the Monks of Mount *Cassin*. *Carloman*, not being able to dissuade his Brother, was oblig'd to retire, under his Protection, into a Monastery in *France* ; upon which *Pipin* immediately sent Ambassadors to *Astulphus*, desiring him to restore to the *Romans* all the Towns and Lands he had taken from them. The Pope likewise urg'd him by Letters, but all in vain : Whereupon *Pipin* came with a strong Army to give him Battle. *Astulphus*, being advertis'd of this, endeavour'd to force *Pipin*'s Troops in a Passage of the *Alps* ; but was routed, put to flight, and forc'd to fly into *Pavia*, which was presently Besieg'd by *Pipin*'s Army. *Astulphus* was forc'd to sue for Peace, which was granted him, upon condition he should restore the Exarchy of *Ravenna*, and what other Lands and Towns he had taken from the *Romans* : But instead of performing this Treaty, as soon as he was deliver'd, he marched towards *Rome* with his Army. *Pipin*, being advertis'd of this, returned again with his Army, Besieg'd *Astulphus*, and oblig'd him to perform the Articles of the Treaty. The *Greek* Emperor's Envoy re-demanded the Exarchy of *Ravenna*, and what other Lands and Cities he had taken : But *Pipin* looking upon that Country as an Estate which he had acquir'd by the Right of Arms, gave it to the Church of *Rome* ; and sent *Fulradus*, Abbot of St. *Denys*, to receive the Towns of *Pantopolis* and *Æmilia*, which the *Lombards* were oblig'd to restore. After *Astulphus*'s Death, *Desiderius*, who had possess'd himself of the Kingdom of the *Lombards*, confirm'd this Treaty, and render'd to the Pope all the Places agreed upon.

All this was done under *Stephen* the Second's Pontificate, which lasted Five Years, and who died in the Year 757, upon the 24 Day of *April*. But the *Greek* Emperor was still Master of *Sicily*, *Apulia*, *Calabria* and all the Extremities of *Italy*; and he had a Governour in the City of *Naples*.

Stephen the Second being dead, the People were divided about his Successor; for one Party was for his Brother *Paul*, and another for *Theophylactus* the Arch-Deacon; but *Paul's* Party being the stronger, he was preferr'd to the Popedom.

This Pope, having discover'd a secret League between the Governour of *Naples* and *Desiderius* King of the *Lombards*, for re-possessing themselves in the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, wrote immediatly to *Pipin* his Protector; which oblig'd *Desiderius* to give over his Design, (being very much afraid of *Pipin's* Power) and to grant the Pope whatever he desir'd. *Paul* the First being at the Point of Death, *Toton* Duke of *Nepi*, who dwelt at *Rome*, brought many Armed Men thither, who took *Constantine* his Brother, at that time a Lay-man, put him in possession of the Pope's Palace, the next Day caus'd him to be Ordain'd Sub-Deacon and Deacon, and the *Sunday* after, to be Consecrated Bishop of *Rome* by Three Bishops. Upon this *Sergius* and *Christopher*, two of the chief Officers of the *Roman* Church, fled to the King of the *Lombards*, who sent them back with a Band of Armed Men; and they, having got in to the Town, gave Battle to *Toton*, kill'd him upon the Place, and routed his whole Party. After which, they turn'd out *Constantine*, and one named *Philip*, a Priest and Monk, was chosen in his Place; but *Christopher*, who was Secretary to the *Roman* Church, and who had been Head of this Enterprize, forced this Poor Monk to withdraw into his Monastery, and, in *August* 768, procured the unanimous Election of one *Stephen*, who came from *Sicily* to *Rome* in the Pontificate of Pope *Gregory* the Third, and from that time had been much esteem'd in the Church of *Rome*. After his Election, *Constantine* was shamefully Deposed, and those of his Party were very cruelly us'd, yea they carried their Fury so far, that they went to the Monastery where *Constantine* was shut up, and pull'd out his Eyes.

After these Cruelties, *Waldipert* a Presbyter, who had brought the *Lombards* to *Rome* to expel *Constantine*, had a Design also to have apprehended *Christopher* the Secretary, and the chief Citizens of *Rome*, and by that means to have made *Desiderius* Master of the City; but they, getting early notice of it, sent a strong Party against him, who took him Prisoner and put out his Eyes. In the time of these Troubles, Pope *Stephen* sent *Sergius* to *France* with Letters to *Pipin*, earnestly desiring him, to send some Bishops to *Rome* for settling the Affairs of the Church. *Sergius* found *Pipin* dead, and deliver'd his Letters to his Sons *Charles* and *Carloman*, who sent Twelve *French* Bishops alongst with him. Upon their arrival at *Rome*, they and the *Italian* Bishops call'd a Council, and brought *Constantine* before them Blind as he was: The first Day he begg'd that the Council might forgive him, and, to excuse himself, told them that the People had forc'd him; but the next Day he vindicated himself, affirming, that it was no new thing for Laics to be rais'd to the Episcopal Dignity; that *Sergius* was made Bishop of *Ravenna* from a Lay-man, and *Stephen* Bishop of *Naples*. The Bishops being provok'd by this Defence, caus'd him to be beaten and turn'd out of the Church.

Then

Then Pope *Stephen*, together with the Bishops and People, who had Communicated with him, fell prostrate with Tears before them, and acknowledged their Fault. Thereafter the Acts of the Council that had Confirm'd *Constantine* were burnt.

Some time after this Council, *Sergius* Arch-Bishop of *Ravenna* died ; and *Desiderius*, King of the *Lombards*, put one named *Michael* in his Place : Upon which a New Rupture ensued between Pope *Stephen* and *Desiderius* ; for *Stephen* would needs have *Michael* Depriv'd as an Intruder, which *Desiderius* would not permit : But the King of *France* espousing the Pope's part, he was oblig'd to Depose him, and send him to *Rome*. *Desiderius*, in revenge, caus'd *Sergius* and *Christopher*'s Eyes to be pull'd out, for summoning him in the Pope's Name.

Hadrian being consecrated Bishop of *Rome* in the Year 772, *Desiderius* sought his Friendship ; but, seeing that King had fail'd in his Word all along, he would not at first give Ear to his Ambassadors : At last he was prevail'd with by their Oaths, and sent Deputies to him ; but they were hardly got out of *Rome*, when News was brought, that *Desiderius* had invaded the Dukedom of *Ferraria* and the Exarchate of *Ravenna*. The Pope having sent to him, to demand those Countries back again, he promis'd to Restore them, if he would come to him ; but *Hadrian* would not put himself into his Hands, and therefore declar'd, that he would not go to him, till he had restor'd what he had taken from the Church.

Desiderius, finding that he could do nothing with the Pope by Fraud and Cunning, attacked him openly, and prepar'd himself to Besiege the City of *Rome*. In this Extremity, the Pope apply'd himself to *Charles* King of *France*, and sent to intreat him to help the *Romans*, after the Example of his Father *Pipin*. To prevent this, *Desiderius* sent the French King Word by his Envoys, that he had restored all to the Church of *Rome*, when in the mean time he was marching with his Army to the Siege. King *Charles*, being inform'd of this, march'd immediately into *Italy* with his Army, and sent several Messages to *Desiderius*, desiring him to restore the Church of *Rome* to her Rights ; otherwise he might expect the Fate of *Wur*. *Desiderius* on the other hand was obstinate in refusing. At length, when they were resolv'd to try the Hazard of a Battle, *Desiderius*'s Men were, all of a sudden, taken with such a Panic Fear, that he was forc'd to withdraw himself into *Pavia*, and his Son *Adalgisus* to *Verona*. During this time, the Pope recover'd the Dukedom of *Spoleto*, and a great part of the Country which the *Lombards* had taken from him. On the other side, King *Charles* Besieg'd the Cities of *Verona* and *Pavia* ; the first yielded presently, and he left his Army before the other and went to *Rome*, where he was receiv'd by the Pope and the *Romans*, in a manner suitable to so signal a Service as they had received from him. He Confirmed at this time to the See of *Rome* the Donation, his Father had made, of all the Towns and Territories taken by the *Lombards*. In consideration of this, Pope *Hadrian*, as Head of the *Roman* Republic, with the Consent of the *Romans*, conferr'd upon him the Patrician Dignity ; by which, he had the Sovereignty over the City of *Rome* and the whole Republic : So that the whole People and the Bishop himself swore Fidelity to him. After this, nothing was wanting to compleat that King's Greatness, but the Title of Emperor,

which at length he received in the Year 800, being first Proclaim'd Emperor by the *Romans*, and then Consecrated and Crowned by the Pope.

After this, the Emperor *Charles*, or *Charlemagne*, ruled all *Italy*; he permitted the *Lombards* to live in Peace under his Dominion; he gave the Name of *Romagna* to the Exarchate of *Ravenna*; and he parted all *Italy* with the *Grecian* Emperor, upon condition, that all on this side of *Naples* should belong to him, and that all on the other side of *Naples*, with the City, should belong to the *Grecian* Emperor.

The Successors of *Charlemagne*, for several Years, were Kings of *Italy* and Sovereigns of *Rome*, tho' the Popes were Temporal Lords, and had Possession of the Ancient Exarchate of *Ravenna*, with several other Cities and Lands. In the time of *Lewis the Godly*, *Charlemagne's* Son, the *Romans*, having made an Insurrection, were quell'd by one *Bernard*, whom he sent to *Rome* for that purpose. Upon another Insurrection, *Lotharius*, the *French* King, went to *Rome* himself to punish the Rebels; and ordain'd for the future, that all the Magistrates of *Rome* should be made by the Emperors: But *Charles the Bald* quit this Noble Privilege; and gave the Right of Sovereignty to the *Romans*, re-establishing them as it were in their Ancient Liberty.

During the time that the *Romans* had this Sovereign Power in their own Hands, the Popes laid the Ground-work of their present Greatness and Sovereignty; for tho' the whole Power was lodged in the People, who choos'd the Magistrates of *Rome* and the neighbouring Cities; yet the Popes, who were now become very Rich and Powerful, used all their Efforts to make the People's Power only a Shadow of Sovereignty, but they had still two Consuls, one Pretor and a Governour of the City, who were chosen by them; and often times they freed themselves of the Servile Yoke that the Popes would have impos'd upon them, which caused most Bloody Wars between the Popes, the principal Citizens of *Rome*, and the Emperors of *Germany*: But at length the Popes prevail'd, and became sole Sovereigns of *Rome* and the adjacent Territories. From all which it appears, that the present Greatness of the Popedom had its first Rise, as I said before, from *Pipin* and his Successors, who never could forget the Kindness that was done to them by Pope *Zachary* and St. *Boniface*, in acknowledging *Pipin* to be lawful King.

Now I shall give the Catalogue of St. *Boniface's* Works.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *Scripta Vitam S. Livini & Epistolas.*
- II. *Plures quas primum in Lucem eruit Nic. Serarius, & cum Notis edidit Moguntiae 1605 in Fol. recusas ibid. 1629. Epistolae quaedam hinc inde habentur Concil: Tom: 6. omnes vero in Biblioth: Patrum, Tom. 13. Pag. 70. Vit: S. Livini Ext: etiam apud Mabillon: Sec: Benedictin: 2. pag: 449 ab eo seniori cuidam Bonifacio qui superiore saeculo floruisse dicitur ascripta.*
- III. *Statuta quaedam S. Bonifacii edidit Lucas Dacberius specileg: Tom: 9. Pag: 63. Plura alia scripsisse fertur Bonifacius quae sigillatim enumerant Balæus & Dempsterus.*

THE

Life of *JOHN SCOT* of *Air*.

THIS Author is call'd *Joannes Scotus Erigena* or *Eringen*a from the Place of his Birth, which some suppose to be the City of *Air* in the West (a); and others the Country of *Strathern*: Of his Country and the Place of his Birth. But be that as it will, 'tis certain that he was Born in *Scotland*; for he was call'd a *Scots* Man by all those Writers who were Co-temporary with him, such as *Hincmarus* (b), *Anastasius* the Library-Keeper (c), Pope *Nicholas* (d) and several others.

We know nothing concerning his Parents or the time of his Birth; Of his Education. but, if we may believe our Historians, he went, when he was very young, to *Athens* (e), where he study'd the Greek, *Chaldaic* and *Arabic* Languages; and that which makes this the more probable is, that he had these Languages to greater perfection, than any of that Age he Lived in. But whatever truth be in this, all Historians are agreed, that he came to *France* in the beginning of the Reign of King *Charles* the Great (f); about which time, the Controversy concerning Grace and Predestination, which had been lying Dormant since *Pelagius's* Time, was renewed with great Vehemency and Heat; and *John Scot*, by this time being very famous for his extraordinary Knowledge in Philosophy, Theology and the Oriental Languages, was consulted upon this intricate Question, by *Hincmarus* Arch-Bishop of *Rheims*, and *Pardulus* Bishop of *Laon*; whereupon he wrote his Treatise of Predestination, which he begins with this Position, That every Question may be resolved by four general Rules of Philosophy, *viz.* Division, Definition, Demonstration and Analysis. Where he is engaged in the Controversy of Predestination; by Hincmarus Arch-Bishop of Rheims, and writes a Book upon that Subject. By these Rules he endeavours to prove, that there cannot be a double Predestination, or one to Glory and another to Damnation; and that Predestination doth not impose any Necessity, but that Man is absolutely free; and that altho' he cannot do Good without the Grace of *Jesus Christ*, yet he doth it, without being constrain'd or forc'd to it by the will of God, by his own Free Choice. He says that Sin and the Consequence of it, and the Punishments with which it is rewarded, are meer Privations, that are neither foreseen nor Predestinated by God; and that Predestination hath no Place, but in those things which God hath preordain'd in order to Eternal Happiness; for our Predestination ariseth, from the Foresight of the good Use of our Free will. Then he endeavours to prove in his Logical way, that the Torments of the Damn'd are meer Privations of Happiness, or the trouble of being deprived of it, so that, according to him, Material Fire is no part of the Torments of the Damn'd; that there is no other Fire prepared for them but the Fourth Element, through which the Bodies of all Men must pass; but that the Bodies of

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(a) Vid. Dempst: Histot: Eccles: Gent: Scot. Lib. 1. Pag. 42. Spotiswood's History of the Church of Scot. Lib. 2. Pag. 26. (b) Lib. 1: de Prædest. Cap. 31. Auctor iactatur a multis Joannes Scotigena. (c) In Ep. ad Car. Cal. Joannem innuo Scotigenam. (d) Ep. ad Car. Calv. Quidam Joannes genere Scotus. (e) Vid. Spotil. ubi sup. Hæst. Bæth. Lib. 10. Joan. Lest. Lib. 5. &c. (f) Vid. M. du Pin, Nov. Bib. des Aut. Eccles. Tom. 7. Pag. 77.

the Elect are chang'd into an Ætherial Nature, and are not subject to the power of Fire ; whereas on the contrary the Bodies of the Wicked are changed into Air, and suffer Torments by the Fire, because of their contrary Qualities. And for this Reason 'tis, that the Dæmons, who had a Body of an Ætherial Nature, were Masked with a Body of Air, that they might feel the Fire.

Wemlo or *Ganelo* Arch-Bishop of *Sens*, having read this Work, gather'd out of it several Propositions, which he put under 19 Heads according to the Number and Order of the Chapters of *Scotus's* Work, and sent them to *Prudentius* Bishop of *Troyes* ; who, having read them, found, as he thought, not only the Errors of *Pelagius* in them, but also the Impiety of the *Collyridians* ; whereupon he wrote an Answer to them. The same Extracts being sent to the Church of *Lyons*, they imploy'd one of their Deacons, named *Florus*, to write against him ; which he accordingly did : But we know not if ever our Author wrote a Reply to them, there being nothing more of his extant upon this Controversy.

Which is
answer'd by
the Bishop
of *Troyes*
and *Florus*
Deacon of
Lyons.

After this he
is engag'd
by *Charles*
the Bald in
the Contro-
versy about
the Eucha-
rist.

The first
Rise of this
Controversy.

Paschasius's
Book upon
the Eucha-
rist.

Not long after this, he was engag'd by *Charles the Bald*, in the Controversy about the Eucharist, which had its first rise at this time, and was occasioned by *Paschasius Radbertus's* Book concerning the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*. This *Paschasius* was a Native of *Soissons*, and brought up by the Charity of the Nuns of that Place, and became a Monk of the Monastery of *Corbey*, and was chosen afterwards their Abbot in the Year 844. This Monk, being a Person of good Learning, and finding that the *Saxons* had not such a due Reverence to the Mysteries of the Christian Religion as they ought, especially to that of the Sacrament of our Lord's Body, wrote for their Instruction his Book concerning the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ* ; wherein he first prepares their Minds for believing the great Mystery of the Eucharist, by demonstrating, that God, by his Omnipotency, may bring to pass many things Supernatural, and to us Incomprehensible. Then he says, That no Man ought to doubt of its being the Body of *Jesus Christ*, and that His Flesh and Blood is really there ; That none should be ignorant of so great a Mystery, which is daily Celebrated in the Church, and ought to be received by all the Faithful, which they cannot do Worthily and Effectually, unless they can discern the Excellency of the Mystical Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*, from what they perceive by the Taste ; That it is called a *Sacrament*, either because, under the Species of a visible Sign, God is pleas'd to work some secret thing, or because the Holy Ghost does Consecrate the visible Sign, and, under the Vail of outward Signs, does work some Mystical thing for the Salvation of the Faithful ; That all Sacraments in general may be defin'd, to be an Earnest or a Pledge of Salvation, by which, under a visible Representation, the Holy Ghost works in an invisible manner ; That the Sacraments of Baptism, Chrism and that of the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*, are in the Church, and are call'd Sacraments, because under the visible Species, the Flesh is Consecrated by a Secret and Divine Vertue, so that they are in effect inwardly, what they are thought to be outwardly by Faith ; That in Baptism, we are Regenerated by the Holy Ghost, and afterwards, by the Power of *Jesus Christ*, Nourish'd with his Body and Blood, and that we ought not to wonder, that the Holy Ghost, who has formed our Saviour's Body in the Virgin's Womb, should by an invisible Power change the Bread and

Wine

Wine, tho' there appear no visible Change, because it is done Spiritually and Invisibly; That, by the Consecration of this Mystery, the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are truly Created, Produced and Sacrificed in a Mystical manner; That it is not to be deny'd, but that there is some Figure in this Mystery, seeing 'tis a Mystery, but that the Figure does not hinder the Reality; That what appears outwardly is a Figure, but the inward is Reality, because the Body and Blood of our Saviour are made of the Substance of the Bread and Wine, so that this Mystery is both Figure and Verity, a Figure of the Hidden Truth, and a Verity, not perceivable indeed by the Senses, but believed by Faith; That the Ancient Figures differ'd vastly from this, they being but a Shadow and Image of what we really enjoy by receiving this Mystery, the real Flesh and real Blood of Christ our Saviour; That these, who do not dwell in Christ, that is, who remain in Sin, take the Sacramental Elements out of the Priest's Hand, but do not Eat and Drink Spiritually the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; That the Church is the Body of Christ; That all the Faithful are Members of His Body; That the Eucharist is daily Consecrated to be the Body of Christ, but that these only, who are His Mystical Members, are allowed to receive it; That from this Food, some receive Life and others Death, it being Life to such as are Members of Jesus Christ, and Death to such as are Members of the Devil; That we must raise our Mind to God, and believe that, after the Words of Consecration, 'tis the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, that very Flesh which was born of the Virgin, and died upon the Cross; That Christ Himself is upon the Altar, offering, as High Priest, our Vows and Supplications to the Lord; That the Angels are present at this Sacrifice, in which our Saviour, once Sacrific'd upon the Cross for the Salvation of Mankind, is daily offered in a Mystical manner for the Atonement of the Sins we daily commit, to discriminate the Good from the Wicked, to dwell Corporally in such as have received Baptism, that they may dwell in Him, and to Nourish the Faithful; That therefore he is called *Bread*, because as the Bread Nourishes the Body, so the Body of Jesus Christ Nourishes the Soul of the Faithful; That He is also called *Wine*, because as the Wine is made of the Juice of several Grapes, so we are Justify'd by the Graces and Spiritual Influences which flow from Him, who is the True Vine of which the Faithful are but Branches; That it is the very Blood that ran out of His Side at His Death and Passion, and for that Reason it is, that we mingle Water with the Wine, because out of His Side there came both Blood and Water; That others say that Water is mingled with the Wine to join together the Water of Baptism, and the Blood which was the Price of our Salvation; That, whether the Consecrating Priest be a Good or Bad Man, we ought to believe when we receive the Eucharist from his Hands, that we equally receive the Truth of the Mystery, because the Consecration is not made by the Merit of him that Consecrates, but by the Power of the Creator and the Vertue of the Holy Ghost; That it is Jesus Christ who Baptizes, as it is He, by whom, through the vertue of the Holy Ghost, the Eucharist becomes His Flesh and Blood; That the Priest is not the Creator of Christ's Body, but that he Prays to God the Father by His Son; That He offers Gifts unto Him before the Consecration, and Prays Him to Accept of them, and that He makes this Offering in

the Name of the Church and of the Faithful ; That altho' this Sacrament has neither the Taste, nor the Colour of Flesh and Blood, yet, by the Strength of Faith and Reason, our Soul receives them as such, and that as we have receiv'd, in Baptism, the Image of our Saviour's Death, so we receive, in this Sacrament, the Likeness of His Flesh, so there is Truth in this Mystery, and yet the *Heathens* cannot Reproach us, that we Drink the Blood or Eat the Flesh of a Dead Man ; That the Consecration of this Sacrament is made, by the Energy of the Words of Jesus Christ ; That howsoever this Mystery be the Flesh and Blood of Christ, it may nevertheless be call'd Bread and Wine, by reason of the Effects they produce, for as the Terrestrial Bread is a Support to our Temporal Life, so this Spiritual Bread yields unto us a Spiritual and Heavenly Life, and as Wine doth rejoice the Heart of Man, so doth this Heavenly Drink rejoice the inward Man ; That, by receiving the Flesh of Christ, we receive His Divinity, and that we receive both his Body and Blood, because they cannot be separated ; That, tho' our Saviour did Administer this Sacrament to His Apostles after Supper, for some Mystical Reasons, it was nevertheless the Custom of the Catholic Church to receive it Fasting ; That it is not requisite to forbear Eating till the Eucharist be digested, according to the Injunctions of some Apocryphal Books ; That, tho' this Sacrament Nourishes our Bodies, we ought chiefly to consider the Spiritual Effects of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, as Nourishing our Souls in a Spiritual manner, so that it is frivolous to fear, that this Sacrament goes into the Draught as our Terrestrial Food, or that it mingles it self and is digested with it ; That we ought not to believe, that Christ is to Drink Wine during his Reign of a Thousand Years, as some have imagined ; And lastly, that tho' Good and Bad Men receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, yet we must believe, that this Sacrament is Salvation to the First, and Damnation to the Last.

This Book of *Paschasius* was no sooner Publish'd, but several Expressions in it afforded Matter of great Dispute, about the manner of our Saviour's Presence in the Eucharist ; for tho' all the Christians, in the preceding Ages, were fully convinc'd of the Presence of our Saviour in the Eucharist, yet never any of them, before *Paschasius*, asserted, that the same Body, which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, was there ; and this is the Judgment of *F. Mabilion*, one of the Learn'dest Persons of the *Romish* Communion, which he expresses in these Words ; *Quippe, ante Paschasii Librum de Corpore & Sanguine Domini, confitebantur Catholici omnes, Christi Domini verum Corpus verumque Sanguinem revera existere in Eucharistia, itemque Panem & Vinum in illa converti ; at nemo, Paschasii tempore, illud Corpus esse idem quod ex Maria Virgine natum est tam directe asserere auditus fuerat* (g). And the same Author tells us, that this was the Reason why so many Eminent and Learned Men opposed his Opinion, *Quapropter cum Paschasius in Libro suo tam fidenter & asseveranter illud docuisset, hujus rei novitate, ut sibi videbatur, commoti sunt quidam Viri docti haud incelebres, qui scriptis editis hanc ejus sententiam acriter impugnarunt* (h).

Which is
answer'd by
our Author.

Amongst these was our Author, who wrote a Book upon this Subject, by the Command of *Charles the Bald* : This Book was first Printed at *Cologne* in the Year 1532, under the Name of *Bertramus*, and afterward

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at *Basil* in 1550; but it seeming to oppose the Doctrin^e of *Transubstantia-
tion*, they who were employ'd in the Censure of Books, in execution of
a Decree of the Council of *Trent*, did put it amongst the Prohibited Books. Afterward *Sixtus Senensis*, *Despensæus* and *Genebrardus Santo-*
nenfis endeavour'd to prove it a Supposititious Work, forg'd by *Oecolam-*
padius in favour of the *Protestants*. This Opinion was embrac'd by Pope
Clement the VIII, *Bellarmino*, *Quirogo*, *Sandaval* and *Alanus*; but the
Divines of *Lovain*, making an *Index Expurgatorius* for *Flanders* in 1671,
were of the Opinion, that it was a Genuine Work, and therefore they
did not absolutely Prohibit it, but only till it were Corrected: *Possévin*,
Cardinal *Peron* and several others were of this Opinion. In the Year
1657 Monsieur de *Marca* wrote a Letter, which F. *Dacherius* publish'd
in the Second Volume of his *Specilegium*, wherein he endeavours to prove,
that this Book was not written by *Bertram* or *Ratram*, but by *John Scot* our
Author. This was Defended by F. *Paris*, in a Dissertation at the end
of the First Part of his Book of Perpetuity &c. In the Year 1680. F.
Mabilion, in his Preface to the Second Volume of the *Fourth Age of the
Benedictine Writers*, answer'd F. *Paris* and M. de *Marca*. And F. *Har-*
douin, in his Book of the Sacrament of the Altar Printed in 1689, an-
swer'd F. *Mabilion*. If the Reader be desirous to see all the Arguments,
that are brought by the Learned Men above Cited, for proving this
Book to be written either by *Ratram* or our Author, he may find them
in M. *Du Pin*'s History of the Ninth Century. It is sufficient for our
purpose, that so many Learn'd Men are of the Opinion, that this Book
was wrote by *John Scot*; and as being a Genuine Work of his, I shall
give the Reader here an Abstract of it.

The two Questions, upon which *Charles* the *Bald* asks his Opinion, are
thus stated by him; "While (says he) amongst the Faithful some say, there
" is no Vail or Figure in the Mystery of the Body and Blood of *Jesus*
" *Christ*, which is daily Celebrated in the Church, but that it is done by
" a plain Manifestation of Naked Verity; and others on the contrary
" maintain, that the Body and Blood of our Saviour are contain'd therein,
" under the Figure of the Mystery, and that what appears to our Bodily
" Senses differs from what our Faith perceives in it, the Church is divided
" by these different Opinions, and a way made to a kind of Schism.
" The other Question is, whether that very same Body we receive, be that
" which was Born of the Virgin *Mary*, which Suffer'd and was put to
" Death, which was buried and rose again from the Dead, then Ascended
" into Heaven, and now sits on the Right Hand of the Father everlasting?

To these two Questions, our Author answers distinctly in the two
Parts of his Book; and that his Opinion of the State of the Question
may be the better understood, he gives first the Definitions of what he
calls a Figure and a Verity; " A Figure (says he) is when there is
" some Obscurity, and that under some certain Vails another thing is
" exhibited; a Verity on the contrary, is a manifest Demonstration
" of the thing, without the covering of any Image or Figure. This be-
" ing granted, he maintains, That, if the Mystery of the Body and
" Blood of our Saviour were made without any Figure, it could not
" be properly call'd a Mystery, because that cannot be call'd a Mystery
" wherein there is nothing hidden, nothing but what is perceived by
" our outward Senses, nothing covered with any Vail; That that Bread,
" which

“ which is made the Body of Christ by the Ministry of the Priest, seems
 “ outwardly one thing to the Senses, and at the same time insinuates in-
 “ to the Minds of the Faithful, that there is another thing inwardly;
 “ outwardly it appears to be Bread as it was before, we perceive its
 “ Form, the Colour and Taste, but we believe that inwardly it is some-
 “ thing much more precious and excellent, because it is a Divine and
 “ Heavenly thing, that is to say, the Body of our Saviour, which is
 “ exhibited therein, which does not fall under our outward Senses, but
 “ is by the Eyes of our Souls seen, receiv’d and eaten. The same he
 says of the Wine and of our Saviour’s Blood, and concludes, that the Bread,
 and Wine are, by a Figure, the Body and Blood of Christ, that is to
 say “ That we do not see any Flesh and Blood but Bread and Wine,
 “ tho’, after the Mystical Consecration, it is no more call’d Bread and
 “ Wine, but the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; and if there were no
 “ Figure, as some maintain, the whole Truth would be plainly seen,
 “ and there would be no room for Faith; and then it would be no
 “ Mystery, because there is nothing in it that is Secret.

Then he shews, that the Change, that is made in the Eucharist, is
 not made visibly and to our outward Senses; “ For (says he) it is not
 “ the change of a thing that was not, into a thing that is, seeing the
 “ Bread and Wine were, before they were changed into the Body and
 “ Blood of our Saviour; nor is it the change of a thing that is, into one
 “ that is not, seeing the Form of the Bread and Wine appears the same
 “ to our Eyes; Nor lastly, the change of one thing into another, by a
 “ change of Qualities, the Qualities of the Bread and Wine remaining
 “ still the same: Whence he concludes, that these, who believe no Fi-
 “ gure in the Eucharist, cannot explain that Change, and must own
 “ that there is nothing in it, which was not before; for says he, we
 “ know by our Senses, that this Change is not an outward Change, and
 “ therefore, they must acknowledge it to be an inward and Spiritual
 “ Change, or Deny it to be the Body and Blood of our Saviour, *quod*
 “ *nefas est non solum dicere, sed etiam cogitare*, the very thought of which
 is Criminal.

After this, he comes to the second Question, *viz.* If that Body of Jesus
 Christ, which is in the Eucharist, be the same Body that was born of
 the Virgin Mary? To this he says, That what we receive Corporally,
 that is, what we touch with our Teeth, swallow down and goes into the
 Belly, is not the Body of our Lord, but that which feeds the Soul, and
 is only perceived by Faith. Then he starts this Objection, “ These (says
 “ he) who are not of my Opinion, do object and say, That what we see
 “ is the very Body of our Saviour, and that which we drink is his Blood,
 “ and that we ought not to enquire how it comes to pass, but that it is
 “ our Duty to believe it to be so. To which he makes this Answer, “ That
 “ this Opinion is reasonable, and that we ought firmly to believe, that it is
 “ the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, but that therefore we believe it
 “ because we do not see it; for could we see it, we should not say I be-
 “ lieve it, but I see it; that it is not the Eye of the Body, but Faith
 “ that perceives it, and that what is seen is not *in Specie*, but in
 “ Operation and Effect the Body and Blood of Christ, that is to say,
 “ that the Body of Christ does not appear in it under a Human Shape;
 “ therefore St. *Ambrose* says, that we ought not to mind the Course
 “ of

“ of Nature, but the Power of Christ who changes what seemeth good
 “ unto Him; and in what manner He pleases, who Created these things
 “ which were not, and Changes what He has Created into what it was
 “ not before; to be virtually the Body of Christ, according to our Au-
 thor, is to be so really but not visibly, because under another Form or
 Appearance.

This Controversy, concerning the manner of our Saviour's Presence in the Eucharist, engag'd our Author in two other Controversies, that should not have been so much as nam'd amongst Christians. The First was, Whether any part of the Eucharist be evacuated as our other Food? *John Scot*, *Rabanus Maurus* Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*, and several others maintain'd it was; for which cause they had the odious Name of *Stercoranists* given them, by *Erigerus*, *Guitmondus*, *Algerus* and others, who maintain'd, that the Bread and Wine, after the receiving of it, was not subject to the same Laws and Contingencies with our common Food; but was immediately annihilated by the Divine Power.

The other Controversy was about the manner, in which the Virgin *Mary* brought forth Christ; for *Paschasius* and others said, that it was prejudicial to the Blessed Virgin's perpetual Virginity to think, that she had brought forth our Saviour to the World in the same manner as other Women bring forth Children, *aperta scilicet vulva*; but that He came into the World *per vulvam clausam*, as He came into the Place where His Disciples were met, thorow the Door, and not thorow the Wall, yet without opening the Door. Our Author, *Ratramus* and others said, that this Opinion was very dangerous; for it plainly followed from thence, that Christ was not truly Born, but issued from the Virgin, *quod non est nasci, sed erumpi*. I shall conclude the Account of this Controversy with the Judgment of *Erigerus*, concerning the Question of *Stercoranism*, That it was a Scandalous thing to Propose such a Question, more Scandalous to Debate it, and most Scandalous to Divulge it in their Writings as they did.

Not long after this, *John Scot* Translated from Greek into Latin, and Dedicated to *Charles the Bald*, the Works commonly Father'd upon St. *Denys* the *Arcopagite*. Now there being several Obscure and Metaphysical Questions in these Books, concerning the Nature of God and His Attributes; and Pope *Nicholas* the I. being highly incens'd against him for his Opinions concerning the *Eucharist*, took occasion from this to write a Letter to *Charles the Bald*; wherein he tells him (i), “ That
 “ one call'd *John*, of the *Scots* Nation, had Translated the Work which
 “ *Dionysius* the *Arcopagite* did write, of the Names of God or of the Hea-
 “ venly Orders, into the *Latin* Tongue; which Book he said ought to
 have been sent to him, and to have been Approv'd of by his Judgment, especially since the said *John*, tho' a Man of excellent Learning, was suspected not to be very Orthodox; and therefore entreats him to send the Author and the Book to *Rome*, or to Banish him the University of *Pavia*.

This Prince, who was a great Patronizer of all Learned Men, not being willing to offend the Pope, or that *John Scot*, whom he had a singular Kindness for, should fall into his Hands, advis'd him to return to his Native Country, which he accordingly did in the Year 864; where

(i) Vid. Spotisf. Ch. Hist. B. 2. Pag. 26.

he died about the Year 874: For *Anastasius* the Library-keeper, in a Letter to *Charles the Bald*, which is dated the Tenth of the Calends of *April Anno* 875, speaks of him as of a dead Man. All the *English* Antiquaries say, that after he came from *France*, he Taught Astronomy and Geometry at *Oxford*; and this is founded upon a Passage in the Annals of the New Convent of *Winchester*, cited by *Cambden* and *Hurpsfield*, which is thus: "In the Year of Redemption 886, being the Second Year after St. *Grimbald's* coming to *England*, the University began at *Oxford*; in which the first Regents and Readers of Divinity were the Abbots, *Neob* a Learned Man, and St. *Grimbald*, a Man of excellent Understanding in the knowledge of Scripture: The Monk *Affer*, a famous Linguist, was Humanity Professor: *John*, a Monk of the Church of St. *David's*, Professor of Logic, Music and Arithmetic. *John Erigena* a Monk, Companion to St. *Grimbald*, a Penetrating Wit, and Universal Scholar, first Taught Geometry and Astronomy, in the Presence of the ever Glorious and Invincible King *Alfred*, whose Memory will ever last Precious among the Clergy and Laity of his Kingdom, where this most Prudent King *Alfred* publish'd a Decree, to this effect, That his Nobles should cause their Sons, or if they had no Sons, then their Servants, who were of ingenious Dispositions, to apply themselves to Learning.

The fore-mention'd Historians and many others say (*k*), that, after he had Taught about Three Years at *Oxford*, he retir'd to *Malmesbury* Abby, to avoid the Discord arisen between *Grimbald* and his Companions whom he brought thither, and the old Scholars whom he found there; where, says *William of Malmesbury*, he died of Wounds he receiv'd from his Scholars; and is there esteem'd a Martyr, and has a Tomb, on the left side of the Altar, with this Inscription,

*Clauditur hoc Tumulo Sanctus Sophista Joannes,
Qui ditatus erat, jam vivens, Dogmate miro,
Martyrio tandem Christi conscendere Regnum
Quo meruit, Sancti regnant per secula cuncti.*

All this, which is said by the *English* Historians, our Modern Critics have found (*l*) to proceed upon a Mistake, by blending three distinct Persons of this Name into one; the First is our Author, to whom the Epithet of *Sophista* does properly agree, the Second is the Abbot of *Ebeling*, who was stabb'd, by some Assassins imploy'd by his Monks, upon the 4th of the Ides of *November*, the Day on which another *John Scot*, who was Bishop of *Meckelburgh*, was Martyr'd in the Year 1060. From all which they have made but one *John Scot*, *Sophist*, Abbot and Martyr; and this more evidently appears from the following Arguments. First our Author Died in the Year 874, as it appears from the above cited Letter of *Anastasius* to *Charles the Bald*, and a Copy of Verses written in Greek and Latin by our Author; wherein he speaks of Pope *John*, who was not advanced to the Papal See till towards the end of the Year 872; and King *Alfred* did not begin to addict himself to Learning till after the Year 880. Secondly, The Abbot of *Ebeling* was an East Saxon, whereas our Author was a Scots Man. Thirdly, The Abbot of *Ebeling* was call'd to *England* by King *Alfred*, and came with *Grimbaldus* after

Our Author
prov'd to be
a different
Person from
the Abbot of
Ebeling.

after the Year 880, which is after our Author's Death. Fourthly, The Abbot of *Etheling* was both Priest and Monk, whereas our Author, as it appears from his Works, was none of them, but lived at Court. And lastly, The Abbot of *Etheling* was Assassinated in his Abby-Church, towards the Year 895, being then a strong Man and one that could defend himself, as *Afferus* avers, who relates his Death, and says, That he stood in his own Defence *quod bellicose Artis non expert esset*; whereas our Author was Dead long before; and tho' he had been living then, he could not have been Capable of making any Defence.

Besides the Works of *John Scot* that we have had occasion to mention in the History of his Life, he wrote likewise Five Books about the Division of Natures by way of Dialogue. The Natures he divides into Four kinds; one that Creates and is Uncreated; another that Creates and is Created; a Third that does not Create and is Created; and a Fourth which neither Creates nor is Created. In the Three first Books, he treats of the three first kinds of Nature, and in the Fourth and Fifth, he explains the Return of the Created Natures into the Nature Uncreated. In the Second Book, he handles the Controversy, betwixt the Greek and Latin Churches, about the Procession of the Holy Ghost; he tells us, that God has Created, in His Son, from all Eternity the Primogenial Causes of all things, the Goodness by it self, Essence by it self &c. that the World was Created after Man had Sinn'd; and that if Man and Angels had not Sinn'd, God would have Created no sensible and Material World: He asserts, That our Saviour's Manhood was perfectly Changed into His Godhead after His Resurrection; That the Malice and Punishments of the Infernal Spirits shall cease one Day, and come to a Period; That after their Fall, they were Clothed with Aerial Bodies; That the Damn'd shall enjoy all Natural Comforts; That all Creatures whatsoever shall be at last Transformed into the Human Nature; That our Bodies shall be turn'd into our Souls at the Day of Resurrection; And lastly, that all things shall be Converted into their Primogenial Causes, and return into God, so that, as before the World was Created, there was no Being but God, and the Causes of all things in God, so, after the end of the World, there will be no Being but God, and the Causes of all Things in Him.

John Scot wrote likewise a Book upon the *Vision of God*, which *F. Mabillon* saw in MSS, in a Monastery near *Somer*. He Translated some Comments of *Maximus* upon *St. Denys*, which were Printed at *Oxford*. Besides all these which are extant, *Trithemius* makes mention of a Commentary upon *St. Matthew's Gospel*, and of a Book of Offices. *Bale* and *Dempster* say, that he Translated *Aristotle's Morals*, concerning the Secrets of Secrets, or the Right Government of Princes, out of Greek, into Chaldaic, Arabic and Latin; That he wrote of the Immaculate Mysteries of our Faith, against the Barbarians; Paraphrastical Tomes for the Instruction of Youth, The Opinions of Philosophers Verses, Epistles and Homilies: But the Truth of this may be very justly call'd in question. Bishop *Usser*, with more Probability, attributes to him the *Excerpta (m)* among the Writings of *Macrobius*, touching the Difference and Agreement of the Greek and Latin Syntax.

Anastasius the Library-keeper at *Rome*, in the forecited Letter to ^{His Character.} *Charles the Bald*, says, That *John Scot* was a Person of great Sanctity, and

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and ascribes his Translation of St. *Denys's* Works to the special Influence of the Spirit of God, thinking it almost impossible, that such a Work could be done by a *Barbarian*, as he calls him, living in so remote a Corner of the World as *Scotland*, without the special Assistance of God's Spirit. His Words are; *Mirandum est quomodo Vir ille Barbarus (qui in finibus Mundi positus, quanto ab Hominum conversatione, tanto credi potuit alterius Linguae dictione longinquus) talia (viz. Dionysii Opera) intellectu capere, in aliamque Linguam transferre voluerit, Joannem innuo Scotigenam, Virum quem auditu comperi per omnia sanctum. Sed hoc operatus est ille Artifex Spiritus, qui hunc ardentem pariter & loquentem fecit. Nisi enim ex gratia ipsius igne Charitatis flagrasset, nequaquam donum Linguis loquendi procul dubio suscepisset.* M. du Pin says, That he was a Man of Parts and Learning, a good Peripatetic Philosopher, and well skill'd in the Greek Language, which few People were then well acquainted with in these Parts; and that, by his Learning, he came to be the most Famous Man in the University of *Paris*, and was accordingly regarded by the King, who had a particular Respect for Learned Men: But that on the other side he had a Thwarting Disposition, was a weak Arguer and a sorry Divine; but I am afraid, that this last part of the Character has too much in it of the Spirit of a Party, yet it must be acknowledg'd, that he had many Extravagant and Whimsical Notions in Divinity, as it appears from the Abstract, we have given, of his Book of the Division of Natures.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *DE Divisione Naturæ seu de Rerum Naturis Lib. 5.*
- II. *Ambigua S. Maximi seu Scholia ejus in difficiles locos S. Gregorii Nazianzeni Latine versa prodierunt simul bina ista Opera Typis impressa Oxon. 1681 in Fol.*
- III. *De Prædestinatione Dei contra Gotisbaltum Liber a Gilberto Mauguin editus Vindic. Prædestin. & Gratia, Tom. 1. Pag. 103.*
- IV. *Opera S. Dionysii Areopagitæ quatuor (viz. De Cælesti Hierarchia, de Divinis Nominibus, de Mystica Theologia, de Ecclesiastica Hierarchia) in Latinam Linguam conversa, prodierunt ex his aliqua in Editione Operum S. Dionysii, Colon. 1536. Omnia vero Teste Labbeo (Differ. de Scrip. Eccles. Tom. 1. Pag. 67.) in Bibliotheca Collegii Societatis Jesu Bituricensis MSS habentur. Præfationem versionis istius duplicem ad Carolum Calvum metricam alteram Breviorem, alteram Prosaicam Prolixiorem edidit Cl. Usserius in Epistolarum Hibernicarum sylloge Pag. 57.*
- V. *Excerpta de Differentiis & Societatibus Græci Latinique verbi quæ inter Macrobi scripta feruntur.*
- VI. *Liber de Corpore & Sanguine Domini 1558, 1560, 1653, & Lond. 1686 in 8vo.*
- VII. *De Visione Dei, ex MSS.*
- VIII. *Aristotelis Moralia de secretis secretorum sive de recto Principum Regimine, e Græco in Chaldaicam, Arabicam & Latinam convertit, Nauclero Autore apud Gilbertum Genebrardum Chronologicæ Pag. 544.*

T H E
Life of St. *MACARIUS*,
Abbot of Wirtzburg.

WE are told by *F. Mabillon*, that the Famous *Ratramus* or *Bertram* a Monk of *Corbey*, who flourish'd in the beginning of the Ninth Century, wrote a Book against *Macarius* a Scots Man (a); and that this Book is still extant in Manuscript, in the Monastery of St. *Eligius* near *Noyon*; so that we have no reason to doubt of this Author's being a Scots Man, since he is call'd so by *Bertram*, who was Cotemporary with him. He is proven to be a Scots Man.

We know nothing of his Birth, Parentage or Education, unless we believe *Dempster*, who says (b), That he was descended from the *Mac-kachermiks* in *Argile* Shire.

It is probable that he was induc'd to leave his Native Country, and to go to *France* for the great Encouragement, that all Learn'd Men received at that time from *Charles the Bald*, especially those of the Scots Nation; for *Hericus* or *Ericus*, a Benedictine Monk of the Abby of St. *Germans* in the City of *Auxerre* who flourish'd at that time, in his Dedication of the Life of *Cæsarius* to that Prince, complementing him upon the Number of Learn'd Men who resorted to his Court from *Scotland*, says (c), "Why do I speak of *Scotland*? That whole Nation almost, despising the Danger of the Sea, resort to our Coasts with a numerous Train of Philosophers, of whom the more Famous, abdicating their Native Soil, account themselves Happy under your Favour, as the Servants of the Wise *Solomon*." He goes to France.

During his abode in *France*, he revived and wrote in Defence of the Opinion of *Faustus* Bishop of *Ries*, who affirm'd, "That our Souls as well as our Bodies were Material, and that God was only Incorporeal. The Fathers of the Church, who thought that this Opinion was of a dangerous consequence, have been very diligent, in causing all the Books to be destroy'd that were writ upon this Subject; so that we have nothing but the Fragments of some of their Reasonings, in *Claudianus Mamertus's* Books of the Nature of the Soul against *Faustus*, and of *Bertram's* against *Macarius*; and since that of *Bertram's* is still in Manuscript, I shall here give the Reader an Abridgment of *Mamertus's* Book, wherein he will not only find the Principles upon which *Faustus* and *Macarius* built their Opinion, but likewise such Principles and Reasonings, as were made use of by the Famous Monsieur *Des Cartes* in his Meditations, for proving the Spirituality and Immortality of the Soul. And writ a Book in Defence of the Materiality of the Soul.

In this Book, which is Publish'd in the Sixth Volume of the Bibliothec of the Fathers, *Mamertus* proves (d) the Soul to be Incorporeal from

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(a) Mab. Sac. Benedict. IV. Vid. etiam M. du Pin Nov. Bib. des Aut. Eccles. Vol. 7. Pag. 77. (b) Demp. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 12. Pag. 447. in 8vo. (c) Printed at Paris 1543. (d) Vid. M. du Pin Nov. Bib. des Aut. Eccles. Tom. 3. Par. 2. Pag. 224.

An Account
of *Macarius's*
Book
upon this
Subject.

its being the Image of God; he confesses that all Things that are Invisible are not Spiritual, and gives, for an Example of it, the Judgment of the Senses which is Invisible; but he asserts, that the Bodily Sense is of the same Nature with the Elements; whereas the Soul doth not depend upon them, nor was formed out of them, but enlivens the Matter. Then, in answer to *Faustus's* Objections, he says, That every thing which is Incorporeal is not Uncreated; That the Angels have Bodies really, but they have also a Spirit and a Soul. He maintains that St. *Jerome*, and the Philosophers likewise were of the same Opinion, when they held, that Men, after the Resurrection, would be exactly like the Angels, because they would have Bodies as Thin and Subtile as theirs, and a Soul like theirs. He wonders that any Christians should be so very dull as to imagine, that they shall see God with their Bodily Eyes. After this, he comes to the great Difficulty; The Soul (says *Faustus*) is in the Body, and consequently in a Place, therefore it is extended, and consequently Corporeal. He demands of his Adversary, in what part of the Body it is? If it be in the whole or every part? If it be in all the Body (says he) why doth it exercise its Thoughts in one place only? And if it may be divided into parts, why doth it not lose its Strength when any Member is cut off? This he says to intangle his Adversary. But for Answering of the Difficulty, he distinguishes Motion into three sorts, Stable, Local, and that which is perform'd in no Place: The first agrees to God only; and the Second to Corporeal Creatures, and the Last is that which is proper to Spiritual Creatures. God wills always the same thing, this is a Stable Motion. A Body moves from one place to another, this is a Local Motion. The Soul chooses a thing and again refuses it, sometimes Loves sometimes Hates, is sometimes Humble sometimes Proud, sometimes Merry sometimes Sad, &c. These are the Motions of a Creature which are not Local, the Effects are perceiv'd in a Place, but they are not done in a Place; as for Example, if a Man thinks upon a Mathematical Figure, and to write some Name, his Soul contemplates the immutable Ideas of these things, his Arm and Hand write them on the Paper by a Local Motion; 'tis not his Soul that is Locally moved, but without it, his Arm could not perform so regular Motions. You will say perhaps, that it is that part of the Soul, which is in the Arm, that is Locally moved, if that be so, then the Soul is Divisible: Now that can't be, for all things that can be divided may be handled by Parts, and act according to their Parts: Now the Soul acts altogether in all its Motions; It has neither Length, nor Breadth, nor Height; It is neither moved Upwards, nor Downwards, nor in a Circle; It hath neither Inward nor Outward Parts; It Thinks, Perceives and Imagines in all its Substance; It is all Understanding, Sense and Imagination; And in a Word we may name the Quality of the Soul, but no Man knows how to express the Quantity of it, wherefore 'tis neither Extended nor in a Place.

Having thus settled the Nature of the Soul of Man, he shews, how it differs from the Soul of Beasts and Plants; and the main Difference, according to him, is this, That these last have no Knowledge, the Beasts may have the Images of Bodies impressed on their Brain, but they know them not, nor know the Things themselves; whereas the Soul of Man knows Things Corporeal by the Body, and Spiritual with-
out

out a Body ; sometimes it doth not apply it self to Things, which make an Impression upon its Body : I Read, another Hears me and Understands what I Read, but I my self, if my Mind be elsewhere, know not what I have read ; my Soul is present to make me perceive the Letters, but not to make me understand what I read. But say they, the Substance of the Soul is one thing, and its Operation is another; and it is a Mistake to confound the Thoughts of the Soul with the Substance of the Soul, for the Soul is sometimes without Thoughts. Besides, when the Soul thinks, 'tis in the Body, and by the Body that it thinks; they are the Corporeal Images of Objects that make it Think, and it would never Remember any thing, if these Images were not impressed upon the Brain. This is as far as the difficulty can be urged. To which *Mamertus* returns this Answer, The Soul, saith he, is not different from the Thoughts, altho' the Things, upon which the Soul thinks, are different from the Soul it self: It is not true, that the Soul is at any time without Thoughts, it can very easily change its Thoughts, but to be without Thought is impossible; and it is wholly there where its Thoughts are fixed, because it is all Thought : And it is a Mistake to distinguish the Powers of the Soul from the Soul it self; for tho' it be accidental to it to Think upon this or that Object, yet its Essence is, That it is a Thinking Substance. The same is to be said of the Will, it is by accident that it chooses This or That, but its Substance is to Will: The Soul is all Thought, all Will, all Love. 'Tis said of God that he is Love, but He is Essentially Love, Essentially loving that which is Good. The Soul is also Love, but such a Love as can incline it self to God, or the Creatures to Good or Evil : But upon whatsoever Object it is fixed, it is always truly said, that the Soul is all Love; no such thing can be found in the Body. Now to prove that the Thoughts of the Soul do not depend on the Body, and are not Corporeal, our Author makes use of some Examples in Geometry ; we conceive what a Point, Line, Circle and perfect Triangle are; Can the Corporeal Figures of these things be represented? They never have been nor never will be, yet the Soul conceives them, and knows the Properties of them ; the Soul knows its Thoughts, its Desires, its Love : Is this done (says he) by any Corporeal Image? No certainly, it is the inward Truth, which speaks to it, that makes it understand: And lastly, The Soul inquires after God and knows Him, yet it has no Image of the Divine Nature but it self.

In the Second and Third Book he confirms all that he had said in the First, and then sums up all in the Ten following Principles. I. God is Incorporeal : The Soul of Man is the Image of God, which it could not be if it were not likewise Incorporeal. II. Whatsoever is not in a Place is Incorporeal : The Soul is the Life of the Body, this Life is equally in all and every part of the Body : Therefore the Soul is in no place. III. The Soul Thinks and its Nature is to Think; Thinking is an Incorporeal Thing, and is in no Place : Therefore the Soul is Incorporeal. IV. The Will is of the Substance of the Soul, all the Soul Wills, it is all Will : The Will is not a Body: Therefore the Soul is not a Body. V. The Memory is not in a Place, it is not extended ; the great number of Things which it remembers does not make it bigger, nor the small number lessen it ; it remembers Corporeal Things after an Incorporeal manner :

The whole Soul Remembers, 'tis all Memory: Therefore it is not a Body. VI. The Body cannot be smitten, but in that Place only that is affected: The Soul feels all at once when any part of the Body is touch'd: Therefore this Sensation is in no Place, and consequently is Spiritual as well as the Soul that feels. VII. The Body neither draws near to, nor departs from God, it approaches to, and removes from other Bodies: Now the Soul draws near to, or departs from God, it comes not near or goes far from Bodies locally: Therefore it is not a Body. VIII. The Body moves in a Place, and changes its Place: The Soul moves not it self after that manner: Therefore it is not a Body. IX. Bodies are extended in Length, Breadth and Thickness: The Soul hath none of these Properties: Therefore 'tis Incorporeal. X. All Bodies have several Sides, the Right Side, the Left Side, the Upper Side, the Under Side, the Fore Side, the Back Side: None of which does agree to the Soul: Therefore it is an Incorporeal Substance.

Tho' this Book be written with a great deal of Elegancy and Strength of Reason, yet our Author, St. *Macarius*, oppos'd it with all his might, and was so Successful, that he gain'd several Profelytes to his Opinion about the beginning of the Ninth Century; and amongst these was one of the Monks of *Corbey*. *Ratramus*, who was a Monk of the same Monastery, hearing of this, wrote a long Letter to him against *Macarius* and his Opinion: But that Monk wrote an Answer to him, wherein he vindicated *Macarius* with great Warmness and Zeal. *Odo* Bishop of *Beauvais*, who had been for sometime Abbot of that Monastery, fearing that the rest of the Monks might fall into the same Error, wrote a Letter to *Ratramus*, earnestly exhorting him to confute *Macarius's* Book; which *Ratramus* accordingly did. None of these Treatises are extant; but F. *Mabilion* (e), from whom we have this Information, saw them (as we said before), in the Monastery of St. *Eligius* near *Noyon*.

Ratramus a Monk of *Corbey* writes a Letter against *Macarius*, who is Vindicated by another Monk of the same Monastery.

He is made Abbot of *Wirtzburg*,

Trithemius and *Possivin* say (f), that our Author was the first Abbot of *Wirtzburg*; and *Dempster* and *Camerarius* (g), finding that they make him flourish in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, whereas they ought to have plac'd him in the latter end of the Eighth and the beginning of the Ninth Century, as the most of our Historians have done (h), have from this Mistake taken the occasion of making two different Authors of this Name; the one who flourished in the Twelfth Century, and was Abbot of *Wirtzburg*; and the other who flourished in the Eighth, and was Bishop of *Aberdeen*, whereas the Bishopric of *Aberdeen* was not founded till the Twelfth Century (i): Yet all our Historians say, That he was a Bishop, and that the Cathedral Church of *Aberdeen* was Dedicated to him; so that it is very probable, that he was one of those Bishops, that lived in *Scotland* or the adjacent Isles, before the Distribution of the Kingdom into Diocesses.

And afterwards a Bishop.

His Death and Character.

The time of his Death is thought to have been about the middle of the Ninth Century. We can give no Character of him, as to his Learning, since we have none of his Works extant; but, if we give Credit to *Dempster* and *Camerarius* (k), he was a Person of such Sanctity, that he performed several Miracles, which the Reader, if he pleases, may see

(e) Ubi sup. (f) Vid. Trith. in Chron. Monast. S. Jacobi Possiv. in Apparat. Sacr. Pag. 370. (g) Vid. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 12. Pag. 446. & 448. Camer. De Scot. Fort. & Piet. Pag. 202. & 197. (h) Hest. Boet. Lib. 9. Hist. Scot. in Fine. Lessy. &c. (i) See. Spotisw. Hist. Book. 2. Pag. 101. (k) Ubi sup.

see in their Works; and *Dempster* says, that he lyes Buried in the Abby Church of *Wirtzburg*, with this Inscription upon his Tomb.

Hic jacet Macarius Primus Abbas hujus Ecclesie, per quem Deus Aquam in Vinum convertit. That's to say,
Here lyes *Macarius* the First Abböt of this Church, by whom God turn'd Water into Wine.

He says likewise, That this Abböt wrote a Book in praise of Martyrs, mentioned by *Eusebius*; a Book of the *Scots* Monasteries in *Germany*; several Epistles to Pope *Eugenius* the III. And that *Macarius* the Bishop wrote a Book directed to his Country-Men, and another concerning the Extirpation of the *Picts*. But I am mightily deceived, if ever there were any such Books written or extant in the World.

The Catalogue of his Works.

*S*cripsit de Statu Animæ, Ext. Fragment. in MSS. in Monast. S. Eligii.

THE

LIFE of ALBIN,

Founder of the University of Pavia.

ALL our Historians (a) have taken this Author to be the same with *Alcuin*, *Charles* the Great's Master: But this cannot be; for *Alcuin* in one of his Epistles tells us, that he was Born and brought up at *Tork*; whereas *Albin*, the Companion of *Clement*, was a *Scots* Man, as we learn from *Nothkerus Balbus*, an Author co-temporary with them both, who tells us in the Life of *Charles* the Great, "That (b) the great Creator of all Things, who disposeth of Times and Kingdoms, having broken to pieces the Iron, or Earthy Feet of that strange Statue among the *Romans*, (*Dan.* Ch. 2.) raised the Golden Head of one no less wonderful among the *Franks*, by the Illustrious *Charles*; in the beginning of whose Reign, Learning being at a low Ebb, and almost quite lost in these Western Parts, it hapned that two *Scots* Men landed, with some *British* Merchants, on the Coast of *France*, incomparably skill'd in Human and Divine Literature; about whom when the People flocked, expecting to Purchase somewhat, they told them, That if any were desirous of Wisdom, they might buy it of them, for they had it to sell gratis: But perceiving the People to undervalue what they might have without Money or Price, they provok'd them to buy it at any Rate they pleas'd. At length, the Noise of

Alcuin and *Albin* are proven two different Persons.

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" this

(a) Vid. *Lesly*, de Reb. Gest. Scöt. Lib. 3. Pag. 173. *Spotisw.* Book 1, Pag. 22. *Bösch.* in *Arch. Eccl.* &c.
(b) Apud. *Hen. Canis.* Antiquæ. Læctiones. Ingolst. 1601.

"this coming to the Ears of King *Charles*, a great and ardent Lover of
 "Wisdom, he caus'd them to be brought before him, and ask'd of
 "them, If what was said of them was a Truth? They told him, that
 "they had Wisdom, and were ready, in God's Name, to impart the
 "same to as many as were worthy of it. Then the King enquir'd of
 "them, What they ask'd for Teaching it? They answer'd, we look for
 "nothing more than a convenient Apartment, and ingenious Souls, with
 "Meat and Cloathing, without which they could not live. At which
 "the King being very glad, first entertain'd them as Domesticks, but af-
 "terwards being imploy'd in Warlike Expeditions Abroad, command-
 "ed the one, named *Clement*, to reside in *France*, and the other he sent
 "to *Italy*. To *Clement*'s Care the Youth of all Ranks was committed;
 "and on the other he bestowed the Monastery of St. *Augustin* near the
 "City of *Pavia*, that he might instruct as many as resorted thither to
 "hear him. *Alcuin*, an *English* Man, being informed how graciously
 "the most Religious King *Charles* entertain'd Wise Men, took Ship and
 "came to him.

Of *Albin*'s
 Name, Birth
 and Educa-
 tion.

By the Words of this Ancient Author we find, that *Alcuin* was a dif-
 ferent Person from *Clement*'s Companion or Colleague, whom not only our
 Historians, but a great number of Learned Men of all Nations (c) call
 promiscuously *Albin* or *Alcuin*; and 'tis highly probable, that he had the
 Name of *Albinus Scotus* given him from his being an *Albian Scot*; for it
 evidently appears from the above-cited Passage, that he was brought o-
 ver to *France* by the *British* Merchants.

He becomes
 a Monk and
 goes to
France.

We know nothing concerning his Parentage, or the particular time of
 his Birth; but we find that he had his Education in his Native Country;
 and, if we may believe *Polydore Virgil* (d), he was a Monk, and came
 over to *France* in the Year 792.

Where he is
 engaged in
 the Contro-
 versy about
 Image-
 Worship.

About this Time, the Controversy about Image-Worship was very
 warmly Debated in *France*; and the Second Council of *Nice* having De-
 cided in Favours of Image-Worship, *Charles the Great* caused some of
 his Bishops Examine the Acts of that Council, and ordered *Albin*, who
 was at this time his Domestic Servant, to Write a Treatise, under his
 Name, against the Proceedings of the Council (e). But, before we give
 an Account of this Book, it is necessary for us to give a short History of
 this Controversy (f). In the Three First Centuries, and in the begin-
 ning of the Fourth, there were scarcely to be found any Images amongst
 the Christians; but in the end of the Fourth they began, especially in
 the East, to make Pictures and Images, and they grew very common in
 the Fifth. By these Pictures they represented the Conflicts of Martyrs,
 and Sacred Histories, to instruct the Ignorant who could not Read, and
 to stir them up to imitate the Constancy, and other Vertues of these re-
 presented in those Pictures: These of the Simpler and Weaker sort, be-
 ing extremely moved with these Representations, cou'd not forbear ex-
 pressing by outward Signs, the Esteem and Veneration they bore for them:
 On the other hand the Clergy, to lighten the People's Devotion, began
 to ascribe certain Miracles to them; so that at length, severals of the
 Vulgar thought that there was within them what was Represented by
 them,

The History
 of this Con-
 troversy.

(d) Polyd. Virg. Hist. Ang. Lib. 5. (e) Vid. Rog. Hovden. Annal. Francof. 1601. & Matth. Paris ad An.
 793. (f) Vid. M. Du. Pin, Nov. Bib. des Aut. Ecclef. Vol. 6, 7, 8, &c.

them, and accordingly gave them an Idolatrous Respect. *Leo Isaurus*, Emperor of the East, finding this, was resolved to have them abolish'd altogether; and for that end he wrote a Letter to Pope *Gregory* the II. about the Year 725, wherein he tells him, That if he did not comply with him in Abolishing of Images, he would come to *Rome*, break down *St. Peter's* Image, and carry himself away Prisoner, as the Emperor *Constantine* had formerly done to Pope *Martin*. The Pope, in his Answer, says very modestly, That he could not comply with his Design: Then, as to what he threatned, he says, That the Bishops of *Rome* did always endeavour to maintain the Peace between the East and the West, and that he would follow their Example; but if he came to insult over him and maltreat him, he would not Fight him, but he would withdraw 24 Furlongs from *Rome* into *Campania*, and then he would let him do what he pleas'd. This Letter did not alter *Leo Isaurus's* Mind; but on the contrary, he caused them every where to be taken down and broken to pieces; and told the Pope in another Letter, That he did it not only as Emperor, but as Chief Bishop, *Imperator sum & Sacerdos*. The Pope, in his Reply, tells him, That it was true, the Emperor's Predecessors shewed themselves both Emperors and Chief Bishops by their Deeds, defending Religion jointly with the Bishops; but that he could not pretend to this Dignity, seeing he Devested the Church of its Ornaments, which did equally Instruct and Edify the People; and that as Bishops had no Right to meddle with State-Affairs, so the Emperor had no Right to Govern Church-Affairs, to make Elections in the Clergy, to Consecrate and to Administer the Sacraments, no, nor to receive them but from the Bishops Hands. But all this did not hinder the Emperor from going on in his Enterprize; for, upon the Seventh of *January* in the Year 730, he caus'd an Edict to be publish'd, whereby he order'd Images to be remov'd out of Churches and Sacred Places, and to be thrown into the Fire, inflicting severe Penalties upon these that would not obey this Order.

Constantine Copronymus, *Leo's* Son, followed his Father's Steps, and, for the better establishing the Discipline he had a mind to introduce, call'd a Council, in the Year 754, at *Constantinople*, which consisted of 338 Bishops: It began in *February* and ended in *August*. In this Council, there was made a Decree against the Use and Worship of Images, which was not only submitted to by all the Eastern Church, but by several Bishops of the Western.

Things continued in this State till the time of the Empress *Irene*, who was Married to *Leo* the Fourth, Brother to *Constantine Copronymus*. This Lady coming to the Government of the Empire, by reason of her Son *Constantine's* Minority; the first thing she endeavoured to do, was to Re-establish Images; and that she might succeed in her Enterprize, she resolved to call a New Council, and wrote to Pope *Adrian*, in her own and her Son's Name, shewing him, That the Princes her Predecessors had destroyed Images in the East, and had drawn the People and all the Eastern Churches to their Perswasion; that to Reform this Abuse, they judg'd it fit to Assemble a Council, and desired him to be there without fail, to hold the Place of the First Bishop of the World; and, if he could not come himself, to send some Legates in his Place, that there might be no Schism in the Apostolic and Catholic Church, of which

Christ is the Head. This Letter was sent by *Constantine* Bishop of *Jerome* in *Sicily*, with another written by *Tarasius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*. This *Tarasius*, tho' he was but a Lay-Man and an Officer of the Crown, yet, by the Influence of the Emperor and Empress, was chosen Patriarch, and acknowledged as such by Pope *Adrian*, who sent for his Legates two Priests, *Petrus Vicedomus* and *Petrus Hugumens*. After their Arrival, the Emperor's Officers would have the Council to sit at *Constantinople*; but this became impracticable, because many of them that had approved of the Destruction of Images, would have no more Synods call'd about that Affair, which they thought to be already Decided. As they were Discoursing these Matters in their private Meetings, the Emperor sent them Word, That it was not lawful for them to meet without the Consent of the Bishop of *Constantinople*. Notwithstanding of this, the Council Assembled and sat down upon the First Day of *August*, in the Year 786: They were no sooner set, but the Soldiers of *Constantinople* rose in Arms, and laid Siege to the Place where they were Sitting, Threatning to Kill every one that should Vote in favours of Images, so they were forced to separate. The Emperor and Empress, finding this, caused all the Soldiers march to the Army, under pretence that the *Agarenians* had made Incursions into the Empire.

After this, the Council was Assembled at *Nice*, and sat down about the end of the Year 787: The Pope's Legates held the first Place, *Tarasius* Patriarch of *Constantinople* the Second, the Deputies of the Eastern Bishops the Third, after them *Agapetus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, *John* Bishop of *Ephesus*, *Constantine* Metropolitan of *Cyprus*, with 250 Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, and above 100 Presbyters and Monks, and two Commissioners from the Emperor and Empress.

In this Council, the Doctrine of Image-Worship was re-established: After which the Patriarch of *Constantinople* and several of the Bishops went and acquainted the Emperor and Empress of what they had done: Upon which both of them came to the Council, and the Empress, having seated her self and the Emperor upon a Throne, caus'd read the Definitive Sentence of the Council, and asked the Bishops, Whether it had been made by the unanimous Consent of them all? They answer'd, It was; and then there was a general Acclamation: After which, the Patriarch presented it to the Empress, who Subscribed it with the Emperor her Son; then there was another general Acclamation, wishing the Empress and the Emperor a long Life. Afterwards was read the chief Testimonies alledg'd in behalf of Images, and the Bishops, Lords and People broke up the Assembly with Acclamations.

The Acts of this Council being brought to *Rome*, and from thence sent to *France*, where the Practice was different, the Emperor *Charles* the Great commanded our Author, as we have said, to write a Treatise against the Proceedings of this Council under his Name, which is now so well known under the Title of the *Caroline Books*. In the Preface to these Books 'tis observ'd (g), That the Church is Redeem'd with the Precious Blood of Jesus Christ her Spouse, Wash'd with the Saving Water of Baptism, Fed with the Precious Blood of our Saviour, and Anointed with the Holy Oyl; yet this Church is sometimes Assaulted by Heretics and Infidels, and sometimes vexed by the Quarrels of the Schismatics

An Account
of Albin's
Book upon
this Contro-
versy.

matics and the Proud, that she is an Ark containing those that are to be saved, figur'd by that of *Noah*, which undergoes the Storms of the Deluge of this World, without any Danger of Shipwrack ; which does not yield to the deep and deadly Whirl-pools of this World, and which cannot be overthrown by the Hostile Powers wherewith she is surrounded, by reason Christ doth continually Fight for her ; so that she doth still withstand her Enemies. After this *Encomium* upon the Church, 'tis said in the Emperor's Name, That, seeing he hath taken the Reins of his Kingdom in his Hands, being in the Bosom of this Church, he is obliged to endeavour her Vindication and Prosperity; That not only the Princes, but the Bishops also of the East, puffed up with sinful Pride, had swerved from the Holy Doctrine and the Apostolic Tradition, and do cry up Imprudent and Ridiculous Synods, to make themselves Famous to Posterity ; That some Years ago, they had held in *Greece* a certain Synod full of Imprudence and Indiscretion, in which they went about to Abolish the Use of Images, which the Ancients have introduced as an Ornament and a Remembrance of Things past, and to attribute to Images what God hath said of Idols, tho' it cannot be said that all Images are Idols ; for 'tis plain there is a Difference between an Image and an Idol, because Images are made for Ornament and Remembrance, but Idols for the Destroying of Mens Souls, by an Impious Adoration and Vain Superstition ; That the Bishops of this Council had been so blind, as to Anathematize all those who had Images in Churches, and so boast that their Emperor *Constantine* had freed them from Idols ; That besides this, there was another Synod held about 3 Years after, compos'd of the Successors of the former Council, yea and of those that had assisted at it, which was no less Erroneous and Faulty than the former, tho' it took a contrary way ; That the Bishops of this Synod order Images to be Ador'd, which those of the former would not permit to be had or seen, and that whenever these find Images to be spoken of, whether in the Scripture or the Writings of the Fathers, they conclude from thence, that they ought to be Worshipped ; That thus they both fall into contrary Absurdities, those in Confounding the Use and Adoration of Images, and the other in Believing Idols and Images to be one and the same : " As for us, says he, " being content with what we find in the Gospels, and the Apostles " Writings, and being instructed by the Works of the Fathers, who " have not swerved from Him who is the Way and the Truth, we receive the first Six Councils, and reject all the Novelties both of the " First and of the Second Synod ; and as to the Acts of this latter, which " are destitute of Eloquence and common Sense, being come to us, we " thought our selves bound to write against their Errors, to the end that, " if their Writing should defile the Hands of those that shall hold it, or " the Ears of those that shall hear it, the Poison, which it might instil, " may be expell'd by our Treatise, supported by the Authority of the " Scripture ; and that this weak Enemy, which is come from the East, " may be subdued in the West by the Sentiments of the Holy Fathers " which we have produced : In fine, we have undertaken this Work, " with the Consent of the Bishops of the Kingdom, which God hath " given us, not out of any ambitious Design, but animated with the " Zeal of God's House and the Love of Truth, because as it is a Holy " Thing to pursue good Things, so it is a great Sin to consent to Evil.

This is the Substance of the Preface, and the Design of the Four following Books, where he Confutes all the Authorities brought, by the Council, from the Scriptures and Ancient Fathers, for establishing of Image-Worship.

These Books were brought to *Rome*, and presented to the Pope by *Faust Gilbert* the Emperor *Charles's* Ambassador. The Pope thought himself obliged to Answer them; which he accordingly did in a Writing directed to *Charles the Great*: But that did neither alter the Sentiments of the Emperor, nor of the *Gallican Churches*; for in the Synod of *Francfort*, held in the Year 794, where the Question was again debated, they rejected the Opinion of the *Greeks*, and condemn'd all manner of Adoration, or Worship of Images.

In the East, tho' the Decision of the *Nicene Council* had restored Images in several Places, yet it was not equally observ'd every where; and *Constantine* himself came at length to abrogate it. *Leo* the V. his Successor, re-establish'd the Decree of the Council of *Constantinople*, so that the East was altogether divided in the Point of Images. *Michael Balbus*, succeeding *Leo* in the Year 820, and being desirous to settle Peace in the Church, assembled a Council, in which they follow'd the Sentiments of the *Gallican Church*. Some of those, who were most zealous for Image-Worship, came to *Rome* to complain of this Council; which forced *Michael Balbus* to send Deputies thither, whom he directed first to *Lewis the Meek*, that he might help them with his Credit. This Emperor, finding such a fair Opportunity to procure Peace to the Church, sent *Freculphus* and *Adegarius* to *Rome*, with the Deputies of the *Greek Emperor*, to Treat of this Affair: But *Lewis's* Envoys not finding the *Romans* complying, desir'd the Pope's Consent, that their Master might Discuss the Matter with his Bishops. Having obtain'd this, they came back again to *France*; and, in the Year 824, a Council is call'd of the Ablest Bishops of the Kingdom at *Paris*.

This Council, having Examined the Question to the Bottom, decided in favour of the Practice of the *Gallican Church*: Upon which, *Lewis the Meek* sent the Acts of this Council to Pope *Eugenius*, by *Jeremiab* Arch-Bishop of *Sens*, and *Jonas* Bishop of *Orleans*, and desired them to be very serious with the Pope to make him quite his Opinion, but to give him no Cause of Jealousy. 'Tis very probable, that the Pope and the *French* did not agree about this Matter; however the *French King* sent *Halgarius* Bishop of *Cambray*, and *Aufridus* Abbot of *Nonantula* to the Emperor *Michael*, who received them very kindly: Nevertheless it doth not appear, that their Negotiation had any good effect; for things remained almost in the same state in *Greece* as long as *Michael Balbus* lived. After his Death, his Son *Theophilus* used the Image-Worshippers with great Severity; but the Empress *Theodora*, the Wife of *Theophilus*, becoming Mistress of the Empire (in the Minority of her Son *Michael*) after the Death of her Husband, which hapned in 842, call'd a Council at *Constantinople*, in which the Worship of Images was again restor'd, and *Methodius* made Patriarch of *Constantinople*, in the room of *John* who was of the opposite Party. Thus the Controversy of Image-Worship was ended in the East; yet the *French*, *Germans*, *Scots* and *English* continu'd for many Years in their old Practice, without any regard to the Practice of the East and the *Italians*, equally rejecting the

Opi-

Opinion of those that were for abolishing of Images altogether, and of those that were for paying Worship to them; but at last they yielded, and Image-Worship was brought likewise in amongst them, which continu'd till they were Abolished again by the Reformation.

Besides this Book against the Council of *Nice*, which is ascrib'd by a great many Learned Men to our Author, F. *Chiffletius* publish'd, at *Divion*, a long Confession of Faith, divided into Four Parts, drawn out of the Fathers. This was taken to be *Alcuin's* for a long time, but the Author of the *Office for the Holy Sacrament* propos'd several Arguments, by which the Critics were convinc'd that it was not *Alcuin's*; and his Conjectures were confirmed and strengthened by the Learn'd *Dallæus*: But at length F. *Mabilion* cleared the whole Controversy, by telling us (i), That the MSS. has the Characters of *Charlemagne's* time, and that the Title of the Manuscript is, *Albini Confessio Fidei*: By which it evidently appears, that it was written by our Author.

After he had staid for a considerable time in *France*, he was sent by *Charlemagne* to *Pavia*, as we learn from *Notkerus Balbus* in the above-cited Passage: And here it was, that he Taught a Public School for several Years; for which Cause he is deservedly reckon'd the First Founder of that University. At length, after he had attain'd to a good Age, *Nicholaus Crusenius* tells us, that he died in St. *Augustin's* Monastery at *Pavia* (k).

'Tis observ'd of this Author (l), That he was deeply tinctur'd with the *Pelagian* Heresy; for all the *Pelagian* Tenets are to be found in his Confession of Faith. His Stile is not always Pure and Correct, but very Quick and Lively; and if the *Caroline* Books were written by him, he deserves the Character of being one of the best Authors of that Age.

(i) *Analecta Vetera*, Tom. 1. Pag. 178. (k) *Monast. August. Par. 2. Cap. 13.* (l) *Vid. du Pin, ubi sup.*

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *Scriptis Lib. IV. Carolinos dictos, de Cultu Imaginum adversus secundam Synodum Nicenam a Joh. Litio Meldensi Episcopo primum publici Juris factos. Par. 1549. in 8vo.*
- II. *Confessio Fidei per Chifflet. Edit. An. 1656. Divion. in 8vo.*

THE LIFE of CLEMENT, The First Founder of the University of Paris.

WE know nothing concerning the Parentage or particular time of this Author's Birth; but it is certain, from the indisputable Authority of *Notkerus Balbus* (a), who was contemporary with him, that he was Born and had his Education in *Scotland*; and, if we may believe *Polydore Virgil*, he was brought

(a) *Ubi sup. in Vita Albini.*

And be-
comes a
Monk.

He goes to
France in
the begin-
ning of the
Reign of
Charles the
Great.

He is
brought be-
fore the
Emperor,

Who makes
him one of
his Dome-
stic Ser-
vants.

up in a Religious Life, and became a Monk (b). After which he went over to *France*, says he, in the Year 792: But this seems to be a Mistake; for, if his Collegue and Companion *Albin* was Author of the *Caroline* Books against the Council of *Nice*, they must have come to *France* much sooner; for the Council of *Nice* sat down in the latter end of the Year 787, and the *Caroline* Books were Publish'd about Three Years after, that's to say, in the latter end of the Year 790, or the beginning of the Year 791. And that which makes their coming to *France* sooner the more probable is, that all our Learned Men are suppos'd to have come to *France*, about the same time, and in the same Fleet; yet severals of them were very Famous at the Court before that time.

Sometime after his Arrival in *France*, he was brought before the Emperor, who, being inform'd of his great Knowledge in Divinity and Philosophy, ask'd him, What he would take for Teaching them? And he requiring no more than the Necessaries of Human Life, that Prince, who was a great Lover of Learning and Protector of Learned Men, immediately made him one of his Domestic Servants. After this, *Camerarius* and several other Learned Men say (c), that he was made Bishop of *Auxerre*; and, in the Year 1542, there was Publish'd at *Paris*, and afterwards inserted into the Bibliothec of the Fathers, a Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*, under this Title, *Claudii Altissiodorensis, vel, ut certior conjectura est, Taurinensis, Alcuini quondam sub venerabili Beda, tum in fundatione Academiæ Parisiensis Collegæ, in Epistolam D. Pauli ad Galatas doctissima enarratio*. And *Possovin* says (d), "That *Claud's* Commentary upon St. *Paul's* Epistles was extant in MSS. at *Cassinon*, under the Name of *Claud* Bishop of *Auxerre*, in the Character of the *Longo-bards*, in the Fifth Press, upon the left: But all these Commentaries, or most of them, being now Publish'd, are found to be written by *Claudius Clement* Bishop of *Turin*; and the most of our Modern Critics are of Opinion, that there was never a Bishop of *Auxerre* of that Name; yet *Dcmplster* says (e), that there was, and cites *Johannes Gualterius* for his Authority (f), and says, that he came from *Scotland* to *France* in the Year 674, and wrote several Spiritual Treatises. The same *Dcmplster* (g) and Arch-Bishop *Usher* (h) make our Author to be the same with *Claudius Clement* Bishop of *Turin*: But this is as great a Mistake as any of the former, for he himself (i), in his Commentaries upon the *New Testament*, tells us, that he was a *Spaniard* by Birth. So that, by all that ever I could find, it would appear, that our Author was never in any other Station than a Professor of Divinity and Philosophy, tho' Arch-Bishop *Spotiswood* upon *Bale's* Authority, as I suppose, says (k), That after *Clement* had taught for sometime in the University of *Paris*, he was made Abbot of *Fulden*; but that, upon some Displeasure he had taken against his Monks, he went to the Court of *Lewis* the Emperor *Charlemagne's* Son, where he had not long attended, when, upon the Death of *Olgarius* Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*, he was Elect'd to the Government of that See, and sat Ten Years Bishop.

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(b) Polyd. Virgil Hist. Angl. Lib. 5. (c) Vid. Camer. de Scot. Fort. Doctr. & Piet. pag. 110. Sir Ja. Ware of Irish Writers pag. 16. (d) Possov. Appar. Sacr. Tom. 1. Vid. etiam Arnold. Wron Additament. ad Lignum vitæ. (e) Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 3. Pag. 141. (f) Chron. Chronic. in Biblioth. Minor. Patrum Pag. 924. (g) Lib. 3. Pag. 175. (h) Epist. Hib. Sylloge. (i) Vid. Claud. Taurin. Præfat. Comm. in Epist. 1. ad Cor. (k) See Spotiswood's Ch. Hist. of Scot. Book. 1. Pag. 22.

During his Residence at the Court of *France*, he was engaged in two Controversies; the one concerning Images, and the other about Arianism. I know that it is generally thought to be *Claudius Clement*, Bishop of *Turin*, who wrote against Images, and in Defence of Arianism: But this is certainly a Mistake; for we find by that Bishop's Works, most of which are now extant, that he was of the Opinion of the Church of *Rome* concerning Images, and was a Zealous Defender of the Divinity of our Saviour against the *Arians*; and *F. Simon* tells us (l), that, finding this Bishop accused of *Arianism*, and a declared Enemy against Image-Worship, he Read with Care and Diligence his Works; yet found nothing in them but what was Orthodox, yea so far was he from maintaining of *Arianism*, that, upon every occasion, he took the opportunity of Vindicating the Divinity of our Saviour against them, as it is observed by the Learned Author above-cited (m). From all which it is evident, that it was not the Bishop of *Turin*, but our Author, who wrote against Images and in Defence of Arianism.

Theodemirus a *Benedictine* Abbot, being informed that *Clement* was one of those who opposed the Worship of Images, and knowing what influence he might have over his Scholars, wrote a Letter to him, wherein he earnestly entreated him to alter his Opinion; but *Clement* was so far from following his Advice, that he wrote a Book in Defence of it (n), wherein he confuted at large, what *Theodemirus* had said, in his Letter, of Image-Worship: But we have nothing remaining of this Book, but what *Jonas* Bishop of *Orleans*, and *Dungallus* a Monk have preserved in their Confutation of it; by which it appears, that he not only wrote against Image-Worship, but likewise against the Intercession and Invocation of Saints, Veneration of their Relicks and Pilgrimages to *Rome*. But our Author would have been very easily excused for his Opinion about these Matters, if he had not engaged himself in the other Controversy about Arianism, which was the principal Motive, that induced the Bishop of *Orleans* to write against him: And that this may be the better understood, I shall give a brief Account of this Heresy.

About the time of our Saviours Birth, and for several Centuries after, the Platonic Philosophy was that which was most esteem'd. This Philosopher had several Opinions, that were very agreeable to what was Taught by our Saviour and his Apostles; but amongst them all, there was none so Remarkable, as his Opinion concerning God; for he believed that there was only one Supreme and Invisible God, whom he calls sometimes the *Being*, or the *Being it self*, and at other times the *Father and Cause of all other Beings*. Under this Supreme Being, he places an inferior Being, whom he calls the *Word* (*λογος*) the *Director of all things present and to come*, and the *Creator of the Universe*. Under Him, he says, there is a Third Being, whom he calls the *Spirit*, or the *Soul of the World*. The First Being is the Father of the Second; and the Third was produced by the Second. This, bearing so great a Resemblance to the Christian Doctrine of the Trinity, made the Primitive Christians

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(l) Comme il s' est declaré ouvertement contre les Images, & qu'il a meme été accuse d' Arianisme, j'ay lu avec soin ses livres, afin de juger mieux de sa Doctrine: mais n' ayant presque fait autre chose, que de coudre ensemble de longs Extraits des Peres, sur tout de S. Augustin qu' il affecte de suivre preferablement a tout les autres, je n'y rien lu que d' Orthodoxe Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament. Vol. 3. Pag. 353. (m) C' est pourquoy il établit la Divinité de Jesus Christ, lors que l'occasion s'en presente id. ibid. Pag. 361. (n) Vid. M. Du Pire Nouvel. Bib. des Aut. Eccles. Tom. 7. Pag. 3.

have a very great esteem for *Plato* and his Followers (*o*). Thus *Justin Martyr* says (*p*), in his First Apology for the Christians, "That Jesus Christ was in part known by *Socrates*; for the *Word* was then, and is now the same in every Man; it was the *Word* that foretold the Things to come by the Prophets, and who, becoming subject to the same Infirmities with us, has taught us what we know: And elsewhere he says (*q*), That the Opinions of *Plato* are not very different from those of Jesus Christ. This likewise makes St. *Augustine* say (*r*), That if the Ancient Platonics were such as they are said to be, and if they were to rise again, they would make no Difficulty in embracing the Christian Religion, by changing a few Words and Sentences, which the most part of the Modern Platonics of his time had done.

Tertullian (*s*) in his Apology for the Christians, says, "That when the Christians say, that God made this World by His Word, by His Reason and by His Power, they say no more than what the Wise *Heathens* have said before them; who affirmed that God produced the World by his *Word* (*λογος*) or Reason. *Clement of Alexandria* believed likewise, that *Plato* knew the Trinity; for speaking of *Plato's* Opinion about the Deity, he says (*t*), "I conceive that *Plato* understands nothing else by this, but the Holy Trinity; and that the Third Being, of which he speaks; is the Holy Spirit, as the Second is the Son, by whom all Things were made according to the Will of the Father. The same is acknowledg'd by *Origen* in his Book against *Celsus*. And the Emperor *Constantine*, in his Oration to the Faithful (*u*), after having prais'd *Plato* for being the first Philosopher, who brought Men to the Contemplation of Spiritual Things, says of him; "He speaks of a Supreme God who is above all Essences; then he makes a Second under Him, distinguishing their two Essences, the Perfection of the one being the same with that of the other, and the Essence of the Second God taking its Existence from the First: For it is He who is the Author and Director of all Things, being above all Things; and there is attributed to the Second, the Production of the Universe, for having put in execution the Orders of the First: So that, properly speaking, there is but one God, who has care of All and oversees All, to wit, the *Word*, who is God and put all Things in Order. This *Word*, being God, is likewise the Son of God; and none can call Him any other thing, without committing a great Sin; for He, who is the Father of all Things, must in Justice be acknowledg'd the Father of His own *Word*, and in all this *Plato* has express'd himself Wisely; but he is much to be blamed, when he introduces a Multitude of Gods. I could cite a great Number of other Passages, from the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, to make it appear, that the most of them, in the Three first Centuries, were of the Opinion, that *Plato's* Thoughts and the Apostles were not very different: But if the Reader be desirous to see more of this, he may be pleas'd to Consult Doctor *Cudworth's* Intellectual System of the Universe, where this Matter is fully handled.

Now,

(o) See Dr. Cudworth's Intellectual System of the Universe, and the Tenth Tome of the Bib. Universelle. Pag. 404. &c. (p) Ed. Col. An. 1686. Pag. 48. (q) Pag. 51. Ejusd. Ed. de Ver. Rel. (r) Ep. 56. paucis mutatis verbis atque sententiis, Christiani fierent, sicut plerique recentiorum nostrumque temporum Platonici fecerunt. (s) C. 21. (t) Strom. Lib. 5. Pag. 598. (u) Cap. 9.

Now, when we seriously reflect upon this Mystery, we find, that we have no Natural Idea of it, and, supposing it to be Reveal'd in the Scriptures, it is incomprehensible to our Human Understanding; and, since we cannot speak of it but in Dark and Metaphorical Terms, it is no wonder to find Persons expressing themselves very differently, in the several Ages of the Church, upon such abstruse Matters: But amongst all their Opinions, there was none that made so great a Noise in the Christian World, as that of *Arius*, of which I am now to give an Account.

This *Arius* was a Presbyter of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*; and being a Person who was extraordinarily well skill'd in all the Parts of Human Literature, especially in Metaphysics, he undertook to Explain the Mystery of the Trinity more plainly than any of the Fathers who lived before him, and was so successful in gaining of Profelytes to his Opinion, that *Epiphanius* says (x), That, in a very small compass of Time, he gain'd to his Party Seven Hundred of the Clergy. *Alexander Baucalus* (y), *Arius's* Colleague or Fellow-Presbyter in *Alexandria*, finding this, made a Complaint to *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and accus'd him of teaching a False Doctrine concerning the Divinity of our Saviour: Upon which the Bishop call'd them both (z) before him, and, in the presence of his Clergy, ask'd their Opinions concerning the Divinity of our Saviour. *Arius* and his Followers said, That He had not the same Essence (ομοουσιος) with His Father, because He was Begotten by the Father, and Produced out of Nothing. But the other Party said, That He was of the same Essence with His Father, and was from all Eternity. The Bishop finding this a very intricate Debate, and that *Arius's* Opinion seem'd derogatory to the Divinity of our Saviour, commanded him to Preach, to his People, the Co-essentiality and Consubstantiality of the Father and the Son; but *Arius*, having no regard to the Authority of his Bishop, did not alter his former Opinion: Upon which the Bishop call'd a Council at *Alexandria*, in the Year 322, to examine this Matter more fully; there were about an Hundred Bishops present in this Council, and they Excommunicated *Arius* and his Followers, and drove them out of the City of *Alexandria*: Upon this *Arius* wrote a Letter to *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Nicomedia*, requiring his Protection against his Bishop (a), wherein he tells him, "That he was not only Excommunicated, but driven out of the City of *Alexandria*, because he would not believe, that the Father was Co-eternal with the Son, and that the Son co-existed with the Father without Generation, being begotten and not begotten at the same time, it not being possible to conceive, that the Father could not Exist so much as one Moment before the Son. Then he says, That the Sentiments of the Bishops of the Council, which had been call'd against him, were Condemn'd by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, *Theodote* Bishop of *Laodicea*, *Paulin* Bishop of *Tyre*, *Atbanasius* Bishop of *Anazarbe*, *Gregory* Bishop of *Beryta*, *Actius* Bishop of *Lidda*, and the whole Eastern Church, except *Philogonius* Bishop of *Antioch*, *Hellanicus* Bishop of *Tripoli*, and *Macarius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*; some of which said, that the Son was an *Eruclation*, others a *Projection*, and others, that He was no more begotten than the Father; But as for him he believed (b), "That the Son was not without Gene-

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(x) Epiph. de Heres. (y) Philost. Lib. 1. Cap. 4. (z) Vid. Zosom. Hist. Eccles. (a) Vid. Epiph. in Heres. 69. & Theod. Lib. 2. Cap. 5. Zosom. Lib. 2. Cap. 15. (b) Vid. Theod. ubi sup.

“ration, and that He was not a Part of Him who is not Engendered, nor
 “of any Pre-existent Matter whatsoever; but that by the Will
 “and Counsel of God, He is perfect God (ΥΠΕΡΕΣΤΙ ΘΕΟΣ) before all
 “Ages; That He is His only Son, and not subject to any Change; but
 “that He was not before He was Engendered or Created.

The Bishop of *Nicomedia*, having (c) receiv'd this Letter, call'd a Council in the Year 323 at *Bithynia*; and the Fathers of this Council, having Examined what was said by *Arius* and his Adversaries, declar'd *Arius's* Doctrine Orthodox, and wrote Circular Letters to all the Bishops of the East, desiring them to admit him to the Communion, as being a Zealous Defender of the Orthodox Doctrine; and we have still extant a Letter (d) of the Bishop of *Nicomedia* to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre*, wherein he tells him; “That he never heard any affirm; that
 “there were two Uncreated Beings, or that the Supreme Being was parted into two; but that this one Uncreated Being had begotten another, not out of His own Substance, but like unto Him, tho' of a different Nature and Power; That we cannot express by Words the Beginning of the Son, being Incomprehensible to the very Angels. And for proving of this, he cites the *Proverbs of Solomon*, Chap. 8. V. 22, 23. “God created me in the Beginning of His Ways; I was before the World, and
 “I was begotten before the Mountains. Then he says, That by the Word “Begotten, nothing else can be meant but *Produced*, because the Scripture not only makes use of it in speaking of the Son, but likewise in speaking of other Creatures, as when God says, *I have begotten Children, and I have brought them up, but they have despised me.*

These Letters not having the desired success, in restoring *Arius* to the Communion of the Church, he wrote a Letter to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre*, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, and *Patrophilus* Bishop of *Scythopolis*, wherein he desired, that they might permit him to perform the Functions of the Priesthood, as he had formerly done at *Alexandria*. These Bishops, having consulted with the other Bishops of *Palestine*, granted him what he desired, but withal exhorted him to be subject to his Bishop, and to endeavour, upon all occasions, to be reconciled to him. Upon this *Arius* wrote a Letter, to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, from *Nicomedia*, containing a Confession of his Faith, and says 'tis such as he had learned from the Bishop himself. In this Letter (e), after he has declar'd what he believes concerning God the Father, in which he is very Orthodox, he says, “That He begot His only Son before all
 “Ages, and by Him He created the World; that He was truly and
 “really begotten; that this Son subsists by His own Will; that He is
 “not like other Creatures, but made by God Perfect and Immutable;
 “that He is a Production but not like other Productions; that He is
 “not a Projection of the Father, as *Valentinian* calls Him; nor a Con-
 “substantial part of the Father, as *Manes* calls Him; nor a Son-Father,
 “as *Sabellius* calls Him; nor a Lamp lighted at a Lamp, or a Flam-
 “beau divided in two, as *Hieracys* calls Him: But that He existed
 “not, before He was begotten and became the Son; That there are
 “Three *Hypostases* (that is to say Three different Substances) the
 “Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; that the Father was before
 “the

(c) Vid. Zosm. Lib. 3. Ch. 15. (d) Vid. Zosm. ubi sup. (e) Vid. Epiph. ubi sup.

“ the Son, tho’ the Son was Created before all Ages. Then he says, that this Doctrine had been Preach’d several times by him at *Alexandria*, and that he had appeared very Zealous for it. This Letter is subscribed by Six Priests, Seven Deacons, and *Secundus* Bishop of *Pentapolis*, *Theonas* Bishop of *Lybia*, and *Pistus* whom the *Arian* Bishops had established at *Alexandria*.

Alexander Bishop of *Alexandria*, on the other hand (f), wrote Circular Letters, wherein he complain’d extremely of *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Nicomedia*, for Protecting of *Arius* and Recommending him to others; and then he gives an Account of *Arius*’s Doctrines, and says, That he not only taught an Erroneous Doctrine about the Son’s having a Beginning, but likewise said that He was one of the Creatures; that He could not be call’d the Word and Wisdom of God, but abusively, because He Himself was produced by the Word and Wisdom of God; that He was subject to Changes as well as the other Intelligent Beings; that He had a different Essence from God; that He could not comprehend the Father, or even know what His Essence is; that He was Created because of us; that He might serve God as an Instrument for Creating of us; and that this was the sole Reason of His being Begotten. Then he tells us, how he had call’d together about a Hundred Bishops of *Egypt* and *Lybia*, who had Condemn’d and Excommunicated *Arius* and his Followers for maintaining these Doctrines. Then he comes to prove what he maintain’d himself, and says, That the Eternity of the Son appears from that Passage of the Epistle of St. *John*, *In the beginning was the Word*; That He cannot be reckon’d amongst the Creatures, because the Father says of Him in the 45 Psalm, *My Heart has brought forth* (Eruclavit) *a good word*; That He is not different from the Essence of His Father being his Splendour and perfect Image, and of whom it is said, *He that has seen me has seen the Father*; That it cannot be said, That there was a Time in which he did not exist, since He is the Word and Wisdom of the Father; and that it would be absurd to say, that there was a Time, when the Father was without the Word and Wisdom; That He is not subject to Change, because the Scripture says of Him, *That he is the same Yesterday and to Day*; That he was not made because of us, for St. *Paul* says, *That it was because of Him and by Him that all Things were made*; that the Father is not incomprehensible to the Son, because he says of Himself, *the Father knows Me and I know the Father*.

This Letter extremely incensed the Bishop of *Nicomedia*, and at length the Dispute rose so high, that they treated one another as Heretics: And the Comedians, being at that time Heathens, it afforded them the occasion of Representing the Christian Religion, as a Jest, upon their Theatres; yet none of the Parties could engage the Emperor *Constantine* to their side: But on the contrary, he wrote a long Letter to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, and to *Arius*, wherein he equally Censures them both, and says (g), that he was inform’d, this Controversy arose from *Alexander*’s asking every one of his Priests, What they thought of such a Passage of Scripture? And from *Arius*’s inconsiderate Answer: Then he exhorts them to Pardon one another, and to submit to his Advice, which was, That they should desire no Man’s Opinion about the Question in Debate, and if any one was asked, What he thought of it?

it? He should hold his Peace, because, they were Disputing about a thing, which was equally incomprehensible to them both, and could not fail but to raise Division amongst the People. "I say not this (says he) as if I would constrain you to have the same Thoughts, about a very foolish Question, or whatever else you are pleased to call it; for we may, without dishonouring the Church, or breaking its Communion, have very different Sentiments upon such inconsiderable things; for we have not the same Will in all things, and we have not the same Nature and the same Thoughts.

Socrates says, That this Letter of the Emperor's gave them an admirable Advice, and full of Wisdom; but that the Controversy had risen so high, that it could not be quell'd, either by the Emperor's Care, or the Authority of him who brought the Letter.

The Bearer of this Letter was *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*, who upon his Arrival at *Alexandria*, in the Year 324, call'd a Council, with a Design of reconciling *Arius* and his Followers with their Bishops. We know not what was determined in this Council: But it appears that it had not the wish'd Effect; for we find that the Bishop of *Alexandria*, upon all occasions, wrote against *Arius* and his Followers; and we have a long Letter of his to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, wherein he says (*b*), That *Arius* maintain'd, that the Son had a Nature capable of Evil as well as of Good, tho' He was without Sin, and it was upon this Account that God made choice of Him for His Son. Then he proves the Eternity of the Son from His being from the Beginning, and that all things were made by Him: Yet he says, That the Son was begotten, and that the Father is only without Beginning; tho' the Substance of the Son be Incomprehensible to the very Angels, and that none but Melancholic Persons will suppose that they can comprehend it. Then he shows, that there is a great Difference in the manner of Mens being the Sons of God, and Christ's being the Son of God; for Men are called so by Adoption; but Christ is so by His Nature. He says, That *Arius* and his Followers made use, against the Divinity of our Saviour, of a great many Passages of Scripture, which are only to be understood of His Humiliation: But that they took no notice of those that express the Divinity of His Nature, such as this, *The Father and I are one*; "Which our Lord says, not to make us think that He is the Father, nor that the two Natures, in respect of the Manner of their Existence, are but one; but because the Son is of a Nature which perfectly resembles that of the Father, being by His Nature like unto Him, in all things the Immutable Image of His Father, and a Copy of that Original. Then he vindicates himself against *Arius*, who said, That he, by making the Son Eternal, deny'd His Generation: But this he says is False; for there is an infinite Difference betwixt the Creation of the World and the Generation of the Son, tho' that this last be altogether Incomprehensible, and cannot be explained.

During these Debates amongst the Clergy, the People began to interest themselves in the Affair likewise: Upon which several (*i*) Tumults follow'd, and the Emperor, who was Neutral in the Debate, had his Statue broke in pieces by the Mob. About this time, *Philostorgus* says, that (*k*) the Bishop of *Alexandria* came to *Nicomedia*, and, consulting with

(*b*) Apud Theod. Lib. 1. Cap. 4. (*i*) *Ensteb.* Vit. Const. Lib. 3. Cap. 4. (*k*) Lib. 1. Cap. 7.

with *Hosius* and some other Bishops of his Opinion; about the Method that should be taken for suppressing of *Arius* and his Party, prevailed with the Emperor to call a Council, from all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, for that Effect; which was accordingly done, and they met at *Nice*, a City of *Bythinia*, in the Year of our Lord 325: And that nothing might hinder the Bishops from coming, the Emperor, upon his own Expences, ordered Provisions for them. The Historians are not agreed about the Number of Bishops that came to this Council; *Eusebius* says (l), that there were 250; *Eustathius* (m), that there were about 270; St. *Atbanasius* says, in one place (n), that there were 300, and in another 318 (o). *Eusebius* commends the Bishops of this Council extraordinarily; but *Sabinus* Bishop of *Heraclea*, a City in *Thrace*, treats them as a pack of Ignorants (p). Besides these Bishops, there was a great Number of Priests and Deacons that came alongst with them.

This Council sat down, upon the 14 Day of *June*, in one of the Apartments of the Emperor's Palace. It is not certainly known who was President of this Council (q), for by the Council's Letter, it will appear to be the Bishop of *Alexandria*. *Proclus* and *Facundus* call *Eustathius*, Bishop of *Antioch*, the First Bishop of the Council: But the most probable Opinion is, that it was *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*; for *Atbanasius* calls him, in his Second Apology, the Father and President of all the Synods; and this Bishop's Name is the first in all the Subscriptions. Some of our Modern Historians have with great Confidence affirmed, That this *Hosius* was President of the Council as the Pope's Legate: But this is without any ground; for he never took to himself the Quality of Pope's Legate, neither does any of the Ancients say, That he Presided in this Council as the Pope's Legate.

At first the Bishops had very many private Meetings (r), and *Arius* was still call'd before them, that they might be fully informed of his Sentiments. At length, after they had satisfy'd themselves, some were for Condemning all New Expressions, and, in speaking of the Son, to make use only of such Expressions as had been used by the Fathers before them; others were not for receiving the Opinions of the Ancients till they were examined. *Zosimus* tells us (s), That there were Seventeen Bishops of *Arius's* Mind; the Principal of which were, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, *Menophantes* Bishop of *Ephesus*, *Patrophilus* Bishop of *Seythopolis*, *Theognis* Bishop of *Nice*, *Narcissus* Bishop of *Neronias*, *Theonas* Bishop of *Marmarica*, and *Secundus* Bishop of *Ptolemais*. These Bishops drew up a Confession of their Faith; but it was no sooner read in the Council than it was torn into pieces, and rejected with the utmost Contempt. A Letter written by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* had the same Fate. After this they formed a Symbol or Creed against the *Arians*, wherein they professed to acknowledge, "That the Son was one in His Nature; That He was the Word, the Power, the sole Wisdom of the Father, the Lustre of His Glory, and the Character of His Power. This being presented to *Arius* and his Party, they were willing to subscribe it. Upon which the Orthodox Bishops, being afraid of the Cunning and Subtile Temper of *Arius*, and that they had not explained them-

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selves.

(l) In Vic. Const. Lib. 3. Cap. 6. (m) Vid. Theod. Lib. 8. (n) Lib. de Concil. Nicæ. (o) In Ep. ad Afr. (p) Vid. ubi sup. (q) Vid. M. de Pini Bib. Nov. det. Aut. Eccl. Vol. 2. Pag. 318. (r) Zosim. ubi sup. (s) Zosim. Lib. 1. Cap. 17. & 19.

selves clearly enough, asked at him and his Party, “ If they would acknowledge, that the Son was not a Creature, but the Power and only Wisdom, and the Image of the Father, that He was Eternal and like unto the Father in all things, and in fine that He was the True God? The *Arians*, having consulted amongst themselves, and finding that all these Expressions might agree well enough with the Idea that they had of the Divinity of the Son, told the Council, That they were willing to admit of all these Expressions: But the Orthodox Bishops, still suspecting that they designed to put a Trick upon them, and having observed, that *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* had, in his Letter, rejected the word ὁμοούσιος or *Consubstantial*, resolved to have that Word added likewise; and we are only beholden to St. *Ambrose* (t) for the knowledge of this particular: So that at last, the Orthodox Bishops expressed their Sentiments, concerning the Divinity of the Son, in these Terms (u), “ We believe in one only Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, the only Son of the Father, of the Substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, Begotten and not made, *Consubstantial* with the Father. The *Arians* complain’d, but all in vain, that these Expressions were not to be found in the Sacred Scriptures.

The Fathers of this Council were not folly taken up with the Controversy of *Arianism*, but likewise with that of *Easter*, some Matters of Discipline, and the private Quarrels which they had against one another; for *Zosimen* tells us (x), that many of them came there with a Design only to get their private Affairs rectify’d, and, thinking that this was the fittest Opportunity in the World, they presented every other Day Complaints against one another to the Emperor; and since this was very Troublesome to him, he appointed a Day upon which they should all be heard. The Day being come, and every one presenting a Petition against some Brother or other, the Emperor took them all and threw them into the Fire; and then exhorted them to be at Peace with one another, according to the Precepts of the Gospel. After this, he appointed a Day, upon which they should decide the Question, concerning the *Consubstantiality* of the Father and the Son. Upon this Day, the Bishops were plac’d on the Right and Left Hand of the Emperor, who sat at the Head of the Assembly in a Seat of Gold; and he shew’d such Respect to them, that he would not take his Seat, till such time as they beckned to him to do it. Then *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, who sat upon his Right hand (y), made an Harangue to the Emperor in the Name of the Assembly, wherein he gave him their Thanks for the great Care and Pains, that he had taken to preserve the Purity of the Christian Faith. Then the Emperor Addressed himself to them in a Latin Discourse, wherein he told them, That nothing afflicted him so much as the Divisions that were arisen amongst the Christians; and then most Pathetically exhorts them to Peace and Unity amongst themselves. An Interpreter rendered this Discourse of the Emperor into Greek, because the Oriental Bishops did not understand the Latin.

Tho’

(t) Auctor ipsorum *Eusebius* Nicomedie Episcopus Epistola sua prodidit, dicens, si verum inquit Dei Filium increatum dicimus homoussion consubstantialem cum Patre incipimus confiteri. Hæc cum lecta esset Epistola in concilio Nicæno, hoc verbum in Tractatu Fidei posuerunt Patres quod viderunt Adversariis esse formidini, ut tanquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio ipsum nefandæ caput Hæreseos amputarent. Lib. 3. de Fid. ad Grat. Cap. ult. (u) *Socratus*. Lib. 1. Cap. 8. (x) *Zol.* Lib. 1. Cap. 17. (y) *Euseb.* de Vit. Constant. Lib. 3. Cap. 10.

Tho' it be probable, that they had concerted their Affairs in their Private Meetings before this time; yet they no sooner came to speak of them in Public, but there arose great Heats and Divisions amongst them; and *Constantine* had the Patience to hear all their long and Metaphysical Debates, sometimes endeavouring to agree those, who were hot and extravagant in their Reasonings, and at other times Praising those, who appeared to him to Reason calmly and solidly. For a long time *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Cæsarea*, reasoned (x) against the Word *Consubstantial*; but, finding that he was not like to gain any ground, at length proposed a Symbol or Creed, wherein the Son was acknowledged to be "God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only Son, the first Born of all the Creatures, Begotten of His Father before all Worlds. The Emperor approved of this Confession of Faith, and exhorted the Council to submit to it; which was accordingly done, only they added the word *Consubstantial*, and an Anathema against those who should say, " That there was a time in which the Son of God was not, or that He was " not before He was Begotten, or that He was Created out of nothing, or " that He was of another Substance or Essence, or that He was Creat- " ed or subject to Changes. *Eusebius* and the *Arian* Party desired, they might explain the Terms of the Creed and of the Anathema. To which it was Answered, That they made use of the word *Begotten*, and not of *Made*, because this last word expresses the Production of the Creatures, which is no ways agreeable to the Son, being of a Substance far more excellent than they, and begotten by the Father after an Incomprehensible manner; That the word *Consubstantial* was applicable to the Son, not in the sense that it is taken in, when we speak of Animals and Mortal Creatures, the Son not being *Consubstantial* with the Father, by a Division of the Divine Nature, or by any Change of the Divine Nature, the meaning of the word being only, that the Son has no Resemblance with the Creatures that He has produced, but that He is like in all things to His Father, by whom He was Begotten, or that He is not of another *Hypostase* or *Substance* but that of His Father; That they condemned those who said, that the Son was not before He was Begotten, because He was before His Corporeal Birth, and even before His Divine Generation, according to *Constantine's* Reasoning (a); " For (says he) " before He was actually Begotten, He was in Power, in His Father " not begotten, the Father being always the Father, as He is always " King and Saviour, and all things in Power being Eternally in the " same State.

After these Explications, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, subscribed the Symbol with the most of the *Arian* Bishops; and they condemn'd a Poem of *Arius*, entitled, *Ithalia*; yet there were some Bishops, who refused to submit: The Principal of which were (b) *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, *Theognus* Bishop of *Nice*, *Maris* Bishop of *Calcedonia*, *Theonas* Bishop of *Marmorica*, and *Secundus* Bishop of *Ptolemais*. All these Bishops were immediately Excommunicated with *Arius*, and Banish'd by the Emperor *Constantine*: But all of them afterwards submitted, save *Theonas* and *Secundus*. After which, the Council wrote a Circular Letter to the Churches of *Egypt*, wherein they gave them an Account of

(x) *Socrat Lib. 1. Cap. 8. & Theod. Lib. 1. Cap. 12.* (a) It is to be Observed, that these words are only found in *Theod. ubi sup.* (b) *Socr. Lib. 1. Cap. 8. & 9.*

their Conduct in the Affair of *Arius*, in that of *Meletius* a Schismatical Bishop, and in that of the Controversy concerning *Easter*. The Emperor wrote likewise a Letter to the Church of *Alexandria*, wherein he tells them, that, after a strict Examination of *Arius's* Doctrine, they had Condemn'd it; and highly extols the Wisdom, Penetration and Sagacity of the Bishops.

Why he is
call'd the
First Found-
er of the
University
of *Paris*.

Thus I have given, in as few words as possibly I could, an Account of the Rise and Condemnation of this Herefy, in which our Author was engaged; but we have lost the Treatise which he wrote in Defence of it. Several Learned Men say, That our Author was the First Founder of the University of *Paris*; and others that *Alcuin* was the First Founder of it: But F. *Simon* says (c), That this is a Mistake, because the University of *Paris* was not founded till a good time after; and that, in these times, Learning was only taught in Monasteries, or under the Inspection of Bishops, and some times at the Court. But, by the above cited Passage of *Notkerus Balbus*, we find, that our Author was the First, who, by the Emperor's Order, taught a Public School at *Paris*, and therefore may be very justly call'd the First Founder of that University.

His Death
and Chara-
cter.

It is thought, that he Died about the beginning of the Tenth Century, by his Treatise of Images, which is all that we have of his remaining. It appears that he was a Person of very great Parts; for in the Fragments of this Work, which *Melchior Goldastus* put together, and Publish'd in the end of his Collection *de Cultu Imaginum*, there is found a great deal of briskness, and closeness of Reasoning, and very much Ingenuity and Subtility. *Buchanan* says (d), That there were some of his Works extant in his time; but I believe, that he thinks the Bishop of *Turin's* Works were written by our Author.

(c) Hist. Crit. des Comment. du Nov. Test. Pag. 346. (d) Rerum Scot. sub. Reg. 65.

The Catalogue of his Works.

L *Ibellus de Cultu Imaginum apud Gold. De Cultu Imaginum, Franc. 1608 in 8vo.*

T H E
Life of *Rabanus Maurus*,
Arch-Bishop of Mentz.

TH E *English* (a), *Germans*, *Scots* and *French* Nations contend for this Author; the *English* make him their Country-Man, because several Authors say, That he came from *Britain*; and the *French* make him their Country-Man, from his being brought up amongst them: But both their Pretences are so weak, that they deserve not to be Answered; so that the whole Controversy lyes between the *Scots* and the *Germans*. The *Scots* have for them not only the Authority of all their own Historians, but likewise of many other Learned Men (b), such as *Josias Simlerus*, *Gesnerus*, *Lilius Gyraldus*, *Robert Gaguin*, *Ricobaldus Ferrariensis*, *Robertus Gonletus*, *Arnoldus Wion*, and a great many others. The *Germans* bring for them the Authority of his own Poems, which were first Publish'd by *Nicolaus Serarius* a Jesuite; upon which *Philip Labbe* and *Bellarmin*, both of the same Society, and several others after them make him a *German*: But *Dempster* (c) has given in my Opinion, a sufficient Answer to this, when he tells us, that these Poems are written in such a Rude and Barbarous Stile, that they neither agree with the Stile of that Age, nor with the Stile of *Rabanus's* other Works; and the very Title of his Epitaph, which is amongst these Poems, and alledged to be written by himself, shews, that they were written by some Ignorant Monk; for (says *Dempster*) was there ever any thing so Ridiculous as that very Title, viz. *Epicedium Rabani Mauri in vitam suam*? And *M. Du Pin* (d) confirms this Argument of *Dempster's*, when he says, "That these Poems are every where full of Barbarous Terms, and have neither Elegance nor Politeness."

We know nothing of this Author's Birth or Parentage, unless we believe the above-cited Epitaph, which makes him to be born in the Year 788, and brought up in the Monastery of *Fulda*: But it is very probable, that he came over from *Scotland* to *France* towards the latter end of the Eighth Century; for we find by *Alcuin*, that he had his Education under him at the Court of *France*. After which he went to *Germany*, where he retired to the Monastery of *Fulda*, and was trusted with the Government of the younger Monks there. These Monks having asked him several Questions about their Duty, he composed for their use, in the Year 819, his Treatise of the Instruction of Clerks, which he Dedicated to *Aisulphus* Arch-Bishop of *Mayence* (e). This Work is divided

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(a) Vid. Cave, Hist. Liter. Vol. 1. Demp. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 16. Pag. 551. Camer. de Scot. For. Doct. & Piet. Pag. 74. (b) Biblioth. Tigur. apud Christ. Froscoueverum in Folio 1555. Conradus Gesnerus, Biblioth. Universal. Tigur. 1554 in Folio. Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus de vitis Græcorum & Latinorum Poetarum, Basil. 1580 in Folio. Rober. Gaguin. Rerum Gallicarum Annales Francor. ad Men. 1557 ib. Catolo Magnor. Arnold. Wion, Lignum Vitæ, Venetiis in 4to. duobus Tomis apud Georgium Angelierum, Anno 1595. (c) Versus deinde ipsi neque Seculum illud nec Stylum omnino Rabani sapiunt. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 16. Pag. 552. (d) Mr. Du Pin, Nov. Bib. Eccles. Tom. 7. Pag. 166. (e) Id. ib. Pag. 162.

Where he
writes a
Book for
the Instru-
ction of the
Monks.

into Three Books. In the First, after having observed that the Church is an Assembly of Believers, he divides it into Three sorts of Members, First Lay-Men; Secondly Monks, and Thirdly Clerks; he observes that the Clergy are admitted into it by shaving the Crown, which is a Ceremony that Demonstrates, they ought then to part with all Vice and disorderly Living. It seems that they did not then content themselves to cut off a little Hair, but shaved all the Top of their Heads, leaving only a Circle round about, which our Author believes to have been a Mark of the Royalty of the Christian Priest-hood. He reckons up Eight Ecclesiastical Orders, the Porter, the Quirister or Reader, the Exorcist, the Acolythus, the Subdeacon, the Deacon, the Priest, and the Bishop. He says, That this last must be ordained not by one Bishop only, but by all those of his Province, least, so great Power being trusted to a single Person, he should undertake any thing prejudicial to the Faith. He adds, That, in Consecrating him, he has a Staff put into his hand to admonish him, that he is not only to Guide, but Correct the People committed to his Charge; and a Ring to denote either the Honour of the Priest-hood, or the Secrets he is to keep. He reckons three sorts of Bishops, First, Patriarchs, Secondly, Arch-Bishops or Metropolitans, and Thirdly, Single Bishops. He adds moreover Suffragans, which he compares to Christ's Disciples, who could do nothing without their Master's Orders; these sorts of Bishops were established for the sake of the Poor in the Country, that they might not be deprived of Confirmation, which these Suffragans had Power to confer upon them, tho' they were ordain'd by one Bishop only as the Priests are. He tells us, That these last were also called Bishops, and that they had the Power almost equal to theirs; for they could Consecrate the Eucharist, confer Baptism and Preach: But nevertheless they had not the chief Dignity of Priest-hood, *Pontificatus apicem*, since they could not anoint the Fore-head with Chrism, and bestow the Holy Ghost, which Two only belong to the Bishops, as it appears by the Acts of the Apostles; neither can they confer Holy Orders, which is also reserved to the Bishops. The Deacons are Ministers of Sacred Things, they have Right to Baptize, they are necessary in the Service of the Altar; for the Priest cannot take the Chalice from thence, but must receive it from the hands of the Deacons. The Sub-deacons are under them; these take the Offerings of the People, and carry them to the Deacons, who place them upon the Altar: They are obliged to live Unmarried; they are not ordained by Imposition of Hands, but only by Receiving the Cover and Chalice from the hands of the Bishop, and the Chrystal Bottle and Napkin from the Arch-Deacon. He says nothing particular of the lesser and inferior Orders. Afterwards having made some Remarks upon the likeness of the Christian Priests with those of the Old Testament, and the Mystical Significations of the Bishops habits, he comes to the Sacraments, and says, That Baptism, Chrism and the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are called Sacraments, because that, under the Vail of Corporal Things, the Divine Power produces Salvation and Grace, after a secret manner, by the Power of the Holy Ghost, which works this Effect, in so much that they are equally Efficacious, whether they be administrated either by the Good or the Bad; That Baptism is the First, because it must be received before Confirmation, and before

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the Receiving of the Body and Blood of our Lord ; That in this Sacrament Men are dipt in Water to denote, that as Water outwardly purifies the Body, so Grace inwardly purifies the Soul into which the Holy Ghost descends: He relates afterwards the order of Administration, and the Ceremonies of Baptism ; and from thence passing to Confirmation, he remarks, that the Bishop dispenses the Holy Ghost by Imposition of his Hands ; and that he anoints the Believer a second time, with the same Chrism the Priest had done before, with this difference only, that his Anointing is on the Fore-head, whereas the Priest's was on the Crown of the Head : He attributes, to this Last Unction, the Sanctification and Grace of the Holy Ghost. At last, speaking of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, which he considers as two different Sacraments, he asks the Question, Why Jesus Christ had Comprehended the Mystery of His Body and Blood under things, which we Eat and Drink ? And why of all the sorts of Food we Eat, He has made choice of Bread and Wine ? To which he Answers, That Jesus Christ has given us His Body and Blood in the Form of Nourishment, because effectively His Flesh is Meat and His Blood Drink ; that He has made use of the Fruits of the Earth because he was upon Earth ; and that he has chosen Bread and Wine to accomplish the Sacrifice of *Melchisedek*, and to show that as Bread and Wine consists of many particles, which together make but one Substance ; so we are all united in the same Church by the same Charity, being all made Members of the same Body by this Sacrament. He adds, that this Sacrament serves for Nourishment to our Flesh, and converts it self into our Substance, and that, by vertue of this Sacrament, we are Changed into Jesus Christ ; That we participate of His Spirit and Grace, and in a word, that we become His very Members ; That the Bread which is made use of, is without Leaven to denote, that those who approach it ought to be exempt from all Impurities ; That Water is mixt with the Wine, because we read in the Gospel, That Blood and Water came out of the Side of our Saviour ; and that as it is good for them, who are not separate from it by their Sins, often to approach this Sacrament, so it is very dangerous for such, as have committed such Crimes as debar them from it, to receive it before they have Repented. After having treated of the Sacraments, he speaks of the Celebration of Mass, which he believes to have been so call'd from the dismissing of the Catechumenes with these Words, *Itc, Missa est*. He says, That the Mass is a Sacrifice, which the Priest offers to God, instituted by Jesus Christ, practis'd by the Apostles, and used by all the Church. He acknowledges, that at first they did not Sing as they do at present ; but he believes that they did read the Gospel and the Epistles of the Apostles. Then he concludes this Book with a short Exposition of the Ceremonies and Prayers of the Mass.

In the Second Book, after he hath spoken of the Hours for Divine Service, and the different sorts of Prayer, he treats of the Confession, the Litanies or Public Prayers, and the divers kinds of Fasts. He distinguishes Three sorts of Lent ; the First, that which preceeds *Easter*, the Second, the Fast observed after *Pentecost*, and the Third, that which begins in *November* and ends at *Christmas-Day*. He notes that the Custom of his time was to fast *Friday* and *Saturday*. Then he speaks of the Fasts of the four *Ember Weeks*, and approves of other Fasts order-

ed by the Bishop on any particular occasion, or practised thro' Devotion by Christians. In speaking of abstaining from Wine and Flesh he observes, that Birds are allowed to those, who are forbid to eat of any four-footed Creature, because it is thought, that they were formed out of Water as well as Fish. He distinguishes two different sorts of Alms, and ranks, amongst this Number, the Good Works we do for our Salvation, which are as Alms we bestow upon our selves. He defines Penance, A Punishment by which a Man corrects himself for what he has done amiss. He says, That Penitents let their Hair and Beards grow, wear Sack-cloth, throw themselves on their Faces on the Ground, and besprinkle their Bodies with Ashes; That Repentance is a second Remedy for our Sins after Baptism; That to effect a true Repentance, it does not suffice only to bewail one's Sins past, but we must never commit them again; That this is the Satisfaction followed by Reconciliation; That Penance and Reconciliation ought to be Public for Public Transgressions: But as to those whose Sins are concealed, and who have confess'd them secretly to a Priest or a Bishop, they may do private Penance, such as the Priest or Bishop will order, and afterwards be Reconcil'd when they have performed their Penance; That the ordinary time for Reconciliation is *Holy Thursday*, but Absolution may be granted at other times to those, that are in danger of their Lives. Then he treats fully of the solemn Celebration of Feasts and *Sundays*, of the oblation of the Sacrifice of the Mass for the Dead, of the Dedicating of Churches, of the Prayers of Divine Service, of the Songs, Psalms, Hymns, Anthems, Responses and Lessons. He makes a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Scripture; and then treats of the Ecclesiastical Benedictions, *viz.* that of Oyl, and that of Salt and Water, which he says are made use of to comfort the Sick against the Illusions of the Devil, to heal the Flock and drive away Distempers. At last, having spoken of the Apostles Creed, and given an Abridgment of the Doctrines agreeable to the Faith, he sets down a very imperfect Catalogue of Heresies, for in it he forgets some, and reckons others which are altogether unknown, as the *Canonians* and *Metangistomonites*.

The last Book is concerning the Learning of Clergy Men; he says, That they should not be allowed to be ignorant of any thing they should teach others, and, which is necessary to render them capable of Instructing them, that they ought to understand very well the Holy Scriptures, not only the Historical Part, but be able to expound the Mytical Sense of them, and the Figures; That it is good for them to have a Tincture of other Arts and Sciences; That they be Civil and Regular in their Manners, and Affable and Courteous in their Speech; That they be of an Acute Judgment, and know how to apply proper Remedies to the different Diseases of the Soul. Then he reproves those who enter into the Ministry, meerly through the Prospect of Interest or Ambition, and those who dishonour God by an irregular Life, and whose Deportment does not answer to their Doctrine. He says, That the Ground and Perfection of Wisdom is the Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, which are an Emanation of the Eternal Wisdom of God, and a Participation of His Truth; That all the Wisdom and Truth which Men have, and all that is to be found profitable in Profane Authors is to be attributed to the Divine Wisdom which gave it a beginning; That the Scrip-
ture

ture has its Obscurities which are good to exercise Mens Wits, but that there are scarce any Truths contained in one Place, which are not explained in another, *Nihil autem de illis obscuritatibus eruitur, quod non plenissime dictum alibi reperiatur.* He says, That all Knowledge is either of Signs or of Things, and that Things are expressed by Signs; That there are two sorts of Things, some of which we may enjoy, and others which we are only to use, The Three Persons of the Divinity are the only thing we are to enjoy, They are that ineffable God whom we look upon as the Supreme Being; and as for Created Beings, we are not permitted to enjoy them, that is to say, to esteem them as our ultimate End, but that we may use them, and that they ought to be loved with respect to God. Then he gives an Abstract of St. *Augustin's* Rules for understanding of the Scriptures, which are these.

In the first place he supposes, that the Scripture is not plain every where, and that there is need of Application to understand it; that the most skilful meet with Difficulties; that the Allegories and Figures, there to be met with, sometimes render it dark: Then for knowing what Books are Canonical and what are not, this Rule must be observed, "The Authority of the greatest part of the Catholic Church is to be look'd to, and particularly of those that have Apostolical Sees, or which have had the happiness of Receiving the Epistles of the Apostles; but among the Canonical Books, these, that are received by all Churches, must be preferred before those which are rejected by some. Again amongst these, we should pay a greater regard to those which are acknowledged by a great Number of Churches, and by the most considerable, than to such as are admitted only by few Churches, and those of no great Authority: And if some have been received by the greater Number of Churches, and rejected by those that have greater Authority, tho' 'tis hard to meet with such; yet they ought to be put in the same Rank, and to obtain the same Authority. Then he comes to the Means, that should be taken for understanding of the Holy Scriptures; and the First is, the Knowledge of that Language wherein these Books were written; the Second is to consult and compare the several Translations, whereof some serve to explain the rest, especially the Septuagint for the Books of the Old Testament, and the Greek Copies for Correcting the Latin Translation of the Books of the New Testament; The Third is the Knowledge of Things signified, as the Nature of Animals, Plants, Herbs, and of other things which are made use of in Comparisons and Figures in Holy Scripture, but more especially of Numbers and Music; neither must any of the Profane Sciences be neglected, providing that such as are false and superstitious be laid aside, and particularly Judicial Astrology and Magic: He thinks it superfluous to learn Painting and Mythology, but that all the other Sciences, such as History, Mechanics, Logic, Rhetoric, &c. are of very great use, providing that they be not lifted up because of them; for, without the two Keys of Charity and Humility, the Holy Scriptures cannot be understood.

The next is, to know how to clear those Difficulties, that arise from the different Senses in which a Discourse may be taken; as for instance, when the Parts of a Discourse are distinguished by Points and Comma's, which variously placed alter the Sense; in such Cases, he says, That

Men must refer themselves to the Rule of Faith, and reject that Distinction which makes an Heretical Sense; and if both Senses be Catholic, that is to be follow'd, which agreeth best with the Connexion of the Discourse; and if both agree with the Text, we may follow that which seems most probable. The same Rules serve to determine the Pronunciation and Signification of undetermin'd Terms: But there is much more Difficulty, when the Words are taken in a Metaphorical and Figurative Sense; for we must then take care to understand them in a Proper and Natural Sense. The *Jews* were for a long time Slaves to this Literal Meaning; the Gentiles were Slaves likewise to unprofitable Ceremonies: But Christians deliver the *Jews*, by discovering to them the Truths that were hid under the Letter; and they set the Gentiles at liberty, by utterly rejecting their profane Ceremonies; but they themselves are charged only with a small Number of Signs easily practis'd, whose Signification is very Majestical, and their Observation very Pure; Christ Himself instituted them, and the Apostles taught the Church the Knowledge of them, such are the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Celebration of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.

Then he gives some necessary Rules, for distinguishing the Proper Sense from the Figurative. The First and most general is, That whatsoever cannot be made to agree, either with Purity of Manners or with the Truth of Faith, when it is understood according to the Letter, must have a Figurative Sense: We are not to judge what may be Pure or True, according to the Prejudices either of Custom or Opinion; but only by the Rules of Faith and Charity; neither must those Opinions and Actions be taken in a Figurative Sense, that seem to imply a kind of Cruelty, which in Scripture is ascribed either to God or to Righteous Men, when they are made use of against the Lusts of Carnal Men; but a Word or an Action, which is absolutely unjust, and that cannot be excused by any Circumstances, when it is attributed to God, or to those whose Sanctity is commended in Scripture, must necessarily be expounded by a Figure. This Rule takes place in things, that are expressed in the form of a Command; for if the Letter forbids a Crime and enjoins a good thing, there is no Figure: But on the contrary, if it seems to command a Crime and forbid a Vertue, it is a Figure. It often hapneth; that such as are in a more Perfect State do understand Figuratively, what is said of a State less Perfect; but let those Men consider, that there are Precepts for all Men in general, and some, that relate to each State in particular. Then he says, That we should not believe, that, since the coming of Jesus Christ, those things can be observed, which were either permitted or prescribed only for the time of the Old Law, tho' at that time they were to be taken in their Proper Sense. He instanceth the Polygamy of the Patriarchs, because they lived Holily in Marriage, with a Prospect of having Children; which State St. *Augustine* prefers to that of having but one Wife, and abusing of Matrimony to satisfy our Brutish Lusts. Then he says, That the same Figurative Expression sometimes signifies two different Things, sometimes contrary Things: After this he shews, how a Preacher is to Instruct the Ignorant, and says, That as the Matter he treateth of is high, so he ought never to lose his Gravity, tho' he may alter his Stile according to the variety of Subjects: But above all, he advises a Preacher to prepare himself by

Pray-

Prayer, and to be sure that his Life be answerable to his Sermons. All this is taken from St. *Augustine's* Treatise of Christian Doctrine.

About the same time that our Author published these Books for the Instruction of his Monks, he undertook his Work in Praise of the Holy Cross; which he presented a great while afterwards to Pope *Gregory IV.* And another in praise of the Cross. to whom it was recommended as a wonderful Piece of Art by his Master *Alcuinus*: And indeed it must be acknowledged, that tho' it be but of little use, yet it must needs have cost him a prodigious deal of Pains and Study. The wonderful Contrivance of this Book. The Body of the Work is composed of Letters divided from one another, and ranged over against one another in Lines: In reading from the Right Hand to the Left every Line contains an Hexameter Verse. These Letters, thus ranged in Lines, make a sort of a Draught or Plat-form, on which there are Figures or Symboles of the Cross painted. The Letters, enclosed in these Figures, make also Verses which have some Relation to the Figure. There are 28 Figures in 28 Tables; the Verses are copy'd entire afterwards at the end of every Table, and the Mystery explained in Prose. The First Table contains the Image of Christ, extending His Arms in the Form of a Cross; the 47 Verses, being read long-ways from the Right Hand to the Left, show the several Names that have been given to Christ in the Old and New Testament; the Letters, comprised in the Draught of the Figure, compose other Verses, as for Example, those that meet in the Crown about his Head, being read round, make exactly this Verse,

Rex Regum Dominus Dominantium.

In the other Tables, he represents many different things upon the Cross, as the Angels, the Vertues, the Elements, Cyphers, Mystical Numbers, Gifts of the Holy Ghost, the Beatitudes, Books of *Moses*, Names of *Adam*, *Hallelujah*, *Amen*, &c. In the last he represents a Cross, at the foot of which is painted a Monk on his Knees, and in it these Words,

Rabanum memet clemens rogo Chrisite tuere
O pie judicio. ———

This First Book is explain'd by a Second, which contains Twenty Eight Chapters in Prose.

After our Author had staid for sometime in the Monastery of *Fulda*, He is made Abbot of Fulda. he entered into Holy Orders, and was at length made Abbot of that Monastery, in the Year 822, which he Govern'd for 28 Years: But the Monks, finding that he applied himself too much to Study, and neglected the Affairs of the Monastery, complained of him: Upon which he voluntarily quite his Charge, and retired to the Mount of St. *Peter*, He quits his Charge of Abbot, and retires to a Mountain, where he writes several Books. where he wrote his *Penitential* and several other Works.

After he had lived in this retired state for some time, he was at last chosen Arch-Bishop of *Mayence*, in the Year 847. He was no sooner advanced to this Dignity, but he call'd a Council at *Mentz*, for Regulating the Manners of the Clergy, and Reforming the Discipline of the Church. This Council was made up of Twelve Bishops, some Suffragans, several Abbots, Monks, Priests and others of the Clergy. The Bishops and Clergy made one Body, and had the Gospels, Canons and Fathers laid before them; and the Monks had the Rule of St. *Benedict* laid before them. This Council made One and Thirty Canons, in which

they recommended to the Bishops, That they should take care to instruct the People in the Fundamentals of Religion; and for that end certain Homilies should be composed in the Vulgar Tongue; That Baptism should be Administred according to the Rites of the Church of *Rome*, and at the Times appointed by the Popes Decretals; That not only those Men should be Excommunicated who attempt any thing against the King or State, but those who obtain of the King the Lands and Revenues that belong to the Church, which are sold at the Bishops Disposal, and the Clergy are not to make use of them for augmenting of their own Estates; That they secure their Tithes and other Rights to the Churches; That they revive the Canons concerning such Employments as are forbid Clergy-men and Monks; That they forbid Monks to have any Possessions of their own, to covet the enjoyment of Worldly Things which they have renounced, and to take on them any Cure of Souls without the Consent of the Bishop; That they forbid Abbesses to go out of their Monasteries without great necessity, and without the Leave of the Bishop; That they revive the ancient Canon of the Council of *Ancyra* against Men-slayers; That they declare, touching the Administration of the Sacraments to the Sick, that the Priests ought to require of them a sincere Confession, without imposing on them any rigorous Penance, but only to bring their Sins to Remembrance, and Comfort them under them by the Prayers of their Friends, and by their Alms, and so Absolve them upon condition, nevertheless, that if they recover their Health, they shall undergo what Penance shall be imposed on them, after which they administer the Unction, and then the Communion as their *Viaticum*; That they give to such Malefactors, as suffer for their Crimes, the Honour of a Christian Burial, and order their Offerings to be receiv'd, and Masses to be said for them, providing always, that they have Confess'd their Sins and are Penitent; Lastly, after they have forbidden all Contracts of Marriages, either Incestuous or within the Degrees of Consanguinity prohibited by the Laws, they command, that Penances, proportionable to Mens Crimes, shall be impos'd upon them, that public Sinners shall do public Penance, and that they whose Sins are secret shall undergo private Penance. This is the Substance of what is contain'd in the Canons of this Council.

He is engag-
ed in the
Controversy
concern-
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and Prede-
stination.

About this time, our Author was engag'd in the Dispute concerning Grace and Predestination, which was revived by *Gottschalkus*. This *Gottschalkus* was a German by Birth, and brought up in the Monastery of *Augia*; and afterwards profess'd a Monastic Life in the Monastery of *Orbez*, in the Diocess of *Soissons*. About the Year 846, he left his Monastery and went to *Rome*, to visit the Holy Places there; and from thence he went into *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, where, some say under a pretence of Preaching the Gospel to the Infidels, he began to spread his Doctrine of Predestination: But however this was, at his return he tarried some time in *Lombardy*, in an Hospital Founded by Count *Eberard*, and had a Conference, in 847, with *Notingus* Bishop of *Vicenna* concerning the Predestination of the Saints to Glory, and of the Wicked to Damnation. *Notingus*, being offended at this Opinion of *Gottschalkus*, acquainted our Author of it, who immediately wrote a Book against *Gottschalkus*: And in the Year 848 a Council was call'd at *Mentz*; and *Gottschalkus* was Summoned before them. At the opening of this Coun-

Council, *Gotteschalculus* was Accused of Heresy by *Rabanus*: Upon which he presented a Confession of his Faith; wherein he Declared, That he owned and believed before God and his Saints, that there were two sorts of Predestination, The one of the Elect to Eternal Happiness, and the other of the Reprobate to Damnation; because as God hath immutably Predestinated the Elect, before the Creation of the World through His Free Mercy, to Life Eternal, in like manner hath He immutably Predestinated the Reprobate, for their wicked Actions, to Eternal Death: By which it is plain, what the State of the Question was between *Gotteschalculus* and *Rabanus*. *Rabanus* Accuses him for believing, that God Predestinated Men to Damnation without any Provision of their wicked Works. *Gotteschalculus*, in this Confession of Faith, owns that no Man is Predestinated to Damnation but for his Crimes, *Propter ipsorum mala merita*. *Rabanus* acknowledges, that God knows those that are in a State of Sin, and hath Decreed to Punish them with Eternal Death because of their Sins; but, he will not call it *Predestination to Death*, lest Men should think that God Predestinates them to Sin; and *Gotteschalculus* resolutely maintain'd, that there was a Predestination to Death as well as to Life. They both agreed, That Predestination to Life was Free and Gratuitous; That God hath chosen whom He pleaseth out of the Corrupt Mass of Mankind to Salvation, through meer Mercy, and fits them for Salvation by His Graces and all other necessary Means for that end: As also they both confess, That God deals after the same manner with the Reprobate, whom He condemns to Eternal Death, only for their Sins, of which He is no manner of Cause: But *Rabanus* would by no means allow this last Decree, Predestination to Evil; and *Gotteschalculus* stily maintain'd it; and the Bishops of this Council, not being able to perswade *Gotteschalculus* to change his Opinion or way of Speaking, condemned him. *Hincmarus* Arch-Bishop of *Rheims* describes him to us as an Ill-bred, Turbulent and Fickle Man, and assures us, that this was the Opinion that the Abbot and Monks of his own Monastery had of him; yet he acknowledges, that he was an Ingenious, Studious and Subtile Man; but very troublesome and over-reaching.

After this, *Rabanus* wrote the following Letter to *Hincmarus* Arch-Bishop of *Rheims*,

" You know that a certain Vagabond Monk named *Gotteschalculus*, who
 " says, That he was ordained Priest in your Diocess, being come from
 " *Italy* to *Mentz*, is found to Teach a wicked and pernicious Doctrine
 " concerning Predestination, maintaining, that as there is a Predesti-
 " nation of God for the Good, so there is also for the Evil; and that
 " there are many Persons in the World, that can't return from their
 " Errors nor return from their Sins, because of the Predestination of God,
 " which constrains them to suffer the Death to which they are deter-
 " mined, being in their own Nature incorrigible and worthy of Damna-
 " tion. This Man being known to maintain this Doctrine in the
 " Council lately held at *Mentz*, and being found incorrigible, we have
 " thought fit, according to the Order and Advice of our most Pious
 " King *Lewis*, to send him to you, after we had condemned him and his
 " Pernicious Doctrine, that you may keep him within your Diocess, out
 " of which he is gone contrary to the Canons. Do not suffer him to
 " teach his Errors any longer, nor seduce the People; for I perceive,

“ he hath already seduced several Persons, who are become less careful
 “ of their Salvation since he hath put this Opinion into their Minds,
 “ saying to themselves, *Why should I labour for my Salvation, if I am*
 “ *Predestinated to Damnation, I can't avoid it; and on the contrary, whatever Sin*
 “ *I am Guilty of, if I am Predestinated to Salvation, I shall be certainly saved?*
 “ Thus have I, in a few words, shewed you his Doctrine, which you
 “ may better and more fully understand from his own Mouth, and act
 “ according as you think fit against him.

This *Hincmarus* was descended of a Noble Family in *France*, and being a Person of great Courage, Wit and Diligence, he was pleased to have so good an occasion of Signalizing himself; wherefore he first called *Gotteschalvus* before him, and, finding that he could not prevail with him to change his Opinion, he Summoned him to appear before the Council of Bishops, that was to meet with the Parliament, appointed by *Charles the Bald*, at *Quiercy*, which was the King's Palace in the Diocese of *Rheims*. At this Council were present *Wenilo* Arch-Bishop of *Sens*, *Hincmarus* and Eleven other Bishops, among whom were *Rbotadus* Bishop of *Soissons*, two Suffragan Bishops, of whom *Rigboldus*, who ordained *Gotteschalvus*, was one, and Three Abbots, viz. *Paschasius Rathbertus* Abbot of *Corbey*, *Bavo* Abbot of the Monastery of *Orbez*, where *Gotteschalvus* was a Monk, and *Hilduinus* Abbot of *Hautevilliers*. *Gotteschalvus*, being Questioned in their Presence, maintain'd the same Opinions which he had done at *Mentz*, with the same Obstinacy and Incurableness; and reflected severely upon his Enemies: Upon which the Bishops passed this Sentence against him.

“ Brother *Gotteschalvus* know, That thou art deprived of the Sacred
 “ Office of Priesthood, which, if thou hast ever received, you have
 “ managed contrary to all Rules, and Profaned to this Day by thy Manners,
 “ disorderly Actions and corrupt Doctrines; and that by the
 “ Judgment of the Holy Spirit, of whose Grace the Priesthood is a
 “ special Gift, and by the Vertue of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ,
 “ thou art utterly forbidden to Officiate in any Office of it for the Future.
 “ Moreover, because thou hast intermeddled with Ecclesiastical and Civil
 “ Affairs, contrary to the Profession and Duty of a Monk, and in
 “ Contempt of the Ecclesiastical Laws, we do, by Vertue of our Episcopal
 “ Authority, Order and Command, That, according to the Rules
 “ of the Church, thou be severely Scourged, and afterwards shut up in
 “ close Prison; and that thou may never Teach again to infect others,
 “ we enjoin you perpetual Silence in the Name of the Eternal Word.

This Sentence, which was pronounced against him, was executed with the utmost Severity; for he was Whipt, in the presence of the Emperor *Charles* and the Bishops, till he cast out of his own Hand, into the Fire, a Book wherein he made a Collection of such Texts of Scripture and Testimonies of the Fathers as proved his Opinion. After which he was kept close Prisoner in the Monastery of *Hautevilliers* in the Diocese of *Rheims*.

At length this Controversy became so Famous, that *Charles the Bald*, being at *Bourges* on his Return from the Siege of *Toulouse*, would have it cleared; and for that end he order'd *Lupus* Abbot of *Ferrara*, *Ratramnus* a Monk of *Corbey*, and several others, to write upon that Subject. In obedience to this Order of the Emperor, *Lupus* Abbot of *Ferrara*,

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not only wrote a Book upon this, but likewise sent a Letter to *Hincmarus* Arch-Bishop of *Rheims*, and *Pardulus* Bishop of *Laon*, giving them his Sentiments in as few Words as possibly he could. In this Letter he says, That the truest Opinion is, that Predestination, in regard to the Elect, is a Preparative Grace, and, in respect of the Wicked, is a Withdrawing of the same Grace; That all Men are born in a State of Damnation, and God takes such out of that State as He pleaseth by His Mercy, and leaves others in it by His Justice, so that it is true, that God Predestinates those He Hardens, not by compelling them to Sin, but by not keeping them from it; That this Predestination doth not necessitate either the Good or the Bad, because both have a Freedom of Will, which excludes a Fatal Necessity; That the Elect, who receive from God the Power to Will and Do, do freely perform all that conduceth to their Salvation, and the Reprobate, who are forsaken by God, do voluntarily, and not against their Wills, those Actions which deserve Eternal Punishment; That no Man is so silly as to say, That there is a Necessity where the Will hath a Command, altho' it be assisted by the Grace of God, or left by His just Judgment, but as for Infants, who die before they come to the use of Reason, it cannot be said, That their Will hath a part in their Salvation or Damnation, because they are either Saved by the Grace of Baptism, or Damned by the Sin of the First Man. By this it is easy to perceive, as Mr. *Du Pin* has observ'd, that this Author, tho' he was of St. *Augustine's* Judgment, manag'd his Expressions so warily, that he design'd to offend neither side, but to bring them to an Agreement; yet it hapned to him, as it ordinarily does to them that are Mediators for Peace, tho' they carry themselves never so Wisely and Cautiously, and have often Reason on their side, yet they gain nothing but the Dislike of both Parties; for *Gottschalcus* blam'd him for his Mildness, and *Hincmarus* and *Pardulus* said, That he had Opinions which were unworthy of the Mercy and Goodness of God. *Prudentius*, Bishop of *Troyes*, wrote in Vindication of *Gottschalcus's* Opinion; which coming to *Rabanus's* hand, he wrote a Book, wherein he did not undertake to answer all the Testimonies, that were brought from the Scriptures and the Fathers, by that Bishop, in favours of *Gottschalcus's* Opinion; but collected some Texts of Scripture and Sayings of the Fathers, about Predestination, to prove, that the word *Predestination* was never taken in an ill Sense; That God inclines no Man to Evil; That He is not the Author of our Damnation; That he doth not in a Proper Sense harden the Heart of a Man, but only permits it to be hardned, either by their own sinful Actions, or by the Malice of the Devil; That He was not the Cause of Death; That He repents not for the Destruction of the Angels; That He would have all Men to be saved; and lastly he says, That none ought to debate upon such Questions, because it bred much Scandal amongst the Faithful. He is extremely surpris'd at an Offer, which *Gottschalcus* had made, of passing through Vessels of Scalding Water, Pitch, or Flaming Oyl, for Vindicating his Opinion. He says he never heard of the like, That it was to tempt God, that he could not endure any such Punishment, if it were ordained for him; and therefore it is a great piece of Presumption to wish for it, or desire it.

After this, our Author apply'd himself to the Study of the Sacred Scriptures, and wrote Commentaries upon the most of them, which were

An Account
of all his o-
ther Works.

Publish'd, with the greatest part of his other Works, at *Antwerp* in Six Tomes, and in Three Volumes in *Folio*, in the Year 1626; and, by the Care of *Georgius Colvenerius*, at *Cologne* in the Year 1627. The First Volume contains the following Books, His Treatise *De Universo*, or of the Signification and Propriety of Words, compos'd for *Haymon* Bishop of *Halberstadt*, and sent to *Lewis* the Godly, which is nothing but a Collection of Common Places about a great Number of Things, and is divided into Twenty Two Books, of which the Five first treat of Ecclesiastical Affairs, and the others about the Profane Arts and Sciences; His Book in Praise of the Holy Cross, of which we have given already an Account; And his Grammar, which is only an Extract of *Priscian*. These make up the First Tome of *Rabanus's* Works.

The Second consists of Four Books of Commentaries upon *Genesis*; Four upon *Exodus*; Seven upon *Leviticus*, with an Abridgment of them by *Walafridus Strabo* his Scholar; Four upon *Numbers*, and as many upon *Deuteronomy*.

The Third Tome contains Two Books of Commentaries upon *Judges*; One on the History of *Ruth*; Four on the Four Books of *Kings*; Four upon the Two Books of *Chronicles*; One Commentary upon the History of *Judith*; A Comment upon the *Canticles*, which is compos'd into Morning Hymns for every Day of the Week; Three Books of Commentaries upon the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*; As many upon the Book of *Wisdom*; and Two upon *Ecclesiastes*. The Fourth Tome consists of Nineteen Books of Commentaries upon the Prophecy of *Jeremiah* and his *Lamentations*; Twenty upon *Ezekiel*; and Two on the Two Books of *Maccabees*. The Fifth Tome contains Eight Books of Commentaries upon the Gospel of St. *Matthew*; Thirty Books of Commentaries upon the Epistles of St. *Paul*; Many Homilies upon the Sundays, Feasts, Holy-Days of the Year, and upon divers Points of Morality; A Treatise of Allegories upon all the Scripture, where, after having explain'd the Difference between Tropology, Analogy and Allegory, he ranks, in Alphabetical Order, many Words of the Holy Scriptures, to all which he gives an Allegorical or Mystical Sense. These Authors, that have mentioned *Rabanus's* Works, add to these several other Commentaries, viz. upon *Joshua*, *Esdras*, *Tobit*, *Job*, the *Psalms*, *Isaiah*, *Daniel*, the Minor Prophets, the Gospels of St. *Mark*, St. *Luke* and St. *John*, the *Acts* of the Apostles, and Canonical Epistles, and some others, which have never yet been Printed. All these Commentaries consist of nothing else but Collections out of other Men's Works, which he Copy'd from them without any exact Choice or Distinction.

The Sixth Tome contains His Treatise of Instruction of Clerks, of which we have given an Account; A Book of Orders, Holy Sacraments and Priests Habits, which is nothing else but a Copy of the First Book of the Instruction of Clerks; Three Books dedicated to the Abbot *Bonifacius*, of which the First is about the Vision of God, the Second upon Penance, and the Third upon the Purity of the Heart, all these Three are made up of Passages out of the Fathers upon these Subjects; Three Books of Questions about the Rules of Penance, which were not wrote by *Rabanus*; Three Books of Vertues and Vices, which were wrote by *Haligarius*, and not by our Author; A Penitential, which was Printed alone at *Venice* in the Year 1584, in 4to; The Name of a Pe-

Penitential has also been given to the Letter, which he wrote to *Heribaldus* Bishop of *Auxerre*, Publish'd by *Stewart*, in his Addition to the Antiquities of *Canisius*, at *Ingolstadt* in the Year 1616, and by *M. Balusius* at the end of *Regino*, Publish'd at *Paris* in the Year 1671, but this is a Canonical Letter in Answer to some Questions propounded by that Bishop, which are all solved by the Decisions of Councils ; A Letter to *Humbert* about the Degrees of Consanguinity, within which it is forbidden to Contract Marriage, and in this Letter, after he has related the Opinions of *Theodorus*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Isidorus*, he says, It is his Judgment, that a Man may Marry after the Fifth Degree of Consanguinity, and that if there be any Marriages found within that Degree, without their knowing that they were so near of Kin, they might be suffered to continue Married, only enjoining them Penance, and exhorting them to live in Abstinence from the Marriage-Bed.

Humbertus, not being satisfied with this short Answer, sent him some new Questions about this Subject, and also asked him, What he thought of Fortune-tellers and Divinations? *Rabanus* answers him in a longer Letter, in which he shews, that he was in the Right to make use of the Chapter in *Leviticus*, to regulate the Degrees of Consanguinity, within which it is forbidden to Marry ; because that this Law related to Manners, and that the Precepts of this kind had not been abolish'd by *Jesus Christ*. He afterwards cites a great many Canons concerning the Degrees of Consanguinity, in which it is forbidden to Contract Marriage. Then, as to the Fortune-tellers, having spoken of Magicians or Sorcerers and their Artifices, he says, That we cannot be too cautious in applying our selves to them, either for the Cure of any Distemper, or for Recovering of Things that are stolen or lost. After this Letter is his Book of the Soul, where he treats briefly, contrary to his ordinary Custom, about such Questions that respect the Original and Nature of our Souls, he says, That it is a disputable Point, whether God created it to be infused into our Bodies ; or whether it be produced from the Souls of our Fathers and Mothers. He maintains, that it is altogether Spiritual, and has no particular Figure, altho' its Principal Seat be in the Head: He says, It is no less in Infants than in more aged Persons, and that it is of the same Nature in all Men, tho' the Inequality of Organs hinders it from acting every where alike. Then he treats of the Principal Vertues of the Soul, of the Form of the Body, and of the Senses.

Next comes his Treatise of the Rise, Life and Manners of Anti-Christ ; which contains a Description of his Life and Actions, framed out of what is said of him in the Holy Scriptures. He says, That he is to be of the Race of the Jews, and of the Tribe of *Dan* ; That he should be born, according to the Order of Nature, of a Father and Mother ; That at the very Minute of his Conception the Devil should enter into his Body, and always dwell there ; That he should be born in *Babylon* ; That he should extend his Dominions to a great Distance ; That he should do Signs and Prodigies ; That he should stir up a great Persecution against all Christians ; That, when he should come, the *Roman Empire* would be entirely ruined, and Judgment would be at hand ; That he should call himself *Christ*, and draw all the Jews after him ; That he should also sit in the Temple of God, that is to say, the Church ; That he should have *Elias* and *Enoch* for his Fore-runners ; That they

should be kill'd after three Years and a half's Preaching; That the great Persecution of Anti-Christ should commence from their Death, and should continue three Years and a half, but that, altho' the Anger of God should be enflamed against him, he should be slain by *Jesus Christ*, or the Angel *Michael* armed with His Power; That it is thought, this shall be upon the Mount of *Olives*; That the Judgment shall not follow his Death immediately, but that God should grant some time to those, who have been seduced, to repent and acknowledge their Transgressions.

The next to this is *Rabanus's* Verses, collected by the Jesuite *Broverus*; Then comes his Martyrology; Then his Commentary upon the Rules of *St. Benedict*, which was not written by *Rabanus*, but by the Abbot *Smaragdus*; And lastly, there is a List of some Latin Words, render'd into *Higb-Dutch* Terms, and the Figures of the Letters or Characters of the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Latin* and *Teutonic* Tongues: But this is thought to be a supposititious Work. These are the whole Contents of the Six Tomes of this Author: Besides which there have been publish'd several other Works of our Author; for, without reckoning the Three Letters of Predestination and Grace, written against *Gotteschalvus*, which we have already mention'd, *M. Balusius* has given us, in the last Edition of the Works of *M. De Marca*, Two Treatises, which without doubt do belong to *Rabanus*, and which are most elaborate, useful and better written than any of his other Works. The First is concerning Suffragans: Opinions were then divided in the *Gallican* Church, about the Dignity and Power of Suffragans; Some affirm'd, that they were real Bishops by their Ordination, and that they might ordain Priests and Deacons, Confirm, Consecrate Altars, and do all the Offices of a Bishop; but others deny'd this, and affirmed that their Ordinations and Confirmations were null and void. *Charles the Great* consulted *Pope Leo the Third* upon this Question, who answer'd, That he was certain, Suffragans had not this Power, and that all they had done, belonging to Bishops, was *ipso facto* void, and that they ought to be deprived of any such Power. The Council of *Ratisbone* follow'd the Pope's Advice, and order'd them to remain in the Rank of Priests.

This Decision did not hinder, but that there were yet Suffragans in many Diocesses, and that the Bishops did still allow them Privileges which belong'd only to them. There has always been many Churches, and chiefly in *Italy* and *Spain*, where Suffragans have been esteemed no more than ordinary Priests; for they Re-ordain'd such as were made Priests or Deacons by them, Confirm'd of new those whom they had Confirmed, and Consecrated of new such Churches as they had Consecrated. *Rabanus*, having understood this, undertook to Defend the Suffragans; He says, That their Order had its Original from the Times of the Apostles, and that they had such Assistance who could Ordain and do the same Offices with them; He believes that *St. Linus* and *St. Cletus* were Suffragans to *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* in the Church of *Rome*; He accuses those Bishops, that undervalue Suffragans, and who look upon them no more than ordinary Priests, of overthrowing the Order by their Ambition; He endeavours to prove, by the Canons of the Councils of *Ancyra* and *Antioch*, that Suffragans might Ordain by the Permission of their Bishops, and that they have received the Episcopal Consecration and Ordination; He asserts, that if Suffragans had not this Right,

Right, they would be of no use to the Bishops as they now are. And as to what was objected against him from the *Acts*, viz. That the Apostles themselves had been sent into *Samaria* to bestow the Holy Ghost on those who were newly Baptized, he answers, That the Apostles were sent thither, because there was then no Suffragan at *Samaria*, but only the Deacon *Philip* who had Baptized them. The rest of this Treatise contains some Admonitions to the Bishops about Humility.

The other Treatise of *Rabanus*, publish'd by M. *Balufius*, is concerning the Respect that Children owe to their Parents, and Subjects to their Prince. It was writ upon the occasion of the Conspiracy of *Lewis* the Godly's Children against their Father. The Pretence of their Rebellion was the Good of the State; and their Design, if we may believe them, was to Purge the Court of Plots and Debaucheries, and settle Union and firm Correspondence between their Father and themselves, and chiefly to repress the public Disorders of their Mother-in-law, whom they had once Imprisoned; but, being after Releas'd, was always Possessing their Father's Mind against them and creating Disturbances. In this Treatise our Author, in the First Place, quotes several Places in the Scripture, which prove that every one ought to obey his Prince and his Parents. Then he confirms these Truths by Examples, and shews in particular, that, by the Christian Religion, a Subject was never permitted to take up Arms against his Sovereign upon any Account whatsoever; He, from thence, takes the occasion to Condemn mightily those Children, who would Deprive their Parents of their Estates; He speaks against unjust and rash Judgments, and openly condemns the Bishops, for having, in a Council, declar'd in favours of *Lewis* the Godly's Children against their Father; He shews plainly, that Clergy-Men ought not to meddle with Temporal Affairs; He maintains, that none can Condemn, or put to public Penance a Sinner that accuses himself, unless he be otherwise convicted; He adds, that these, who are sorry for their Sins and are Converted, deserve Forgiveness; At last, Addressing himself to the Emperor, he exhorts him to Contemn the false Judgments of those Bishops, and tells him, that, notwithstanding of their Decision, he may by his Good Works merit Heaven. Then he advises him not to be surpris'd at the Attempts of his Enemies, but to be encourag'd by the Truth of the Gospel, and to believe in his Judge and his King, who has given him a Crown on Earth, and promis'd him one in Heaven; He tells him, that if the Conspiracy of his Enemies have done him any Wrong, he should trouble himself very little about it, but be thankful to his Defender and Saviour Jesus Christ, who Afflicts and Chastises all those that He loves; He exhorts him, in fine, not to seek after any Revenge, but heartily to Forgive all such as have offended him.

We have likewise extant of his a Letter to *Reginbaldus*, Suffragan of *Mentz*, about some Questions that *Reginbaldus* had propounded to him, concerning several Cases. The First is, concerning a Person, who, having beaten his Wife, had caused her to bring forth a Dead Child. He answers, he ought to be dealt with as a Man-slayer. The Second is about a Person, who, having been bit by a Mad Dog, apply'd immediately some of his Liver to the Wound as most likely to heal it. He excuses him that did this thro' ignorance, but he says, That he ought to be fore-warned of committing the like again. The Third is, concern-

ing such as are Guilty of the Sin of Bestiality, he condemns them to suffer the Punishments specify'd in the Ancient Canons. The Fourth is, Whether it be lawful to eat the Calves, brought forth by Cows polluted with the Abominations of Men? He answers, that it is not forbid to his knowledge. The Fifth is, concerning the Penance of those, that have voluntarily, involuntarily, or otherwise killed their Parents and other Relations. He refers these to what has been said about Homicides. In the Conclusion; he tells this Suffragan, That he should moderate Canonical Punishments with Prudence and Discretion. This Letter is Published by *M. Balusius* at the end of his Capitularies.

The same *Balusius* has Publish'd, in the First Tome of his Miscellaneous Works, a Treatise of our Author upon Time, Dedicated to *Macarius*, and written by him, when he was a Private Monk, about the Year 820. In this Book he Treats of all that relates to the Calendar, as Days, Months, Years, Epacts, Cycles and Easter; and tho' these Matters be very obscure and intricate, yet they are all here treated of with a great deal of Exactness and Method.

There is likewise, at the end of the Eighth Volume of Councils in the last Edition, another Letter of *Rabanus* to *Reginbald*, about other Questions of the like Nature with the former. The First is, concerning those who carry away and sell Christians to Pagans. He answers, that they ought to be subjected to the Penance for Homicides. The Second is about Infants, who are stifled by lying with their Fathers and Mothers. He answers, That altho' these Children came by their Death, contrary to the Knowledge of them that were the Cause of it, nevertheless they ought not to be exempted from doing some Penance; and if they knew it, they ought to be punish'd as Homicides. The Third is, about the Degrees of Consanguinity, within which it is forbid to Marry. He sends him, upon this Question, the Letter which he wrote to *Humbert*. The Fourth is, concerning the Sins of Fornication and Adultery amongst Relations. In answer to this, he quotes divers Canons of Councils. The Fifth is, Whether it be lawful to Pray for a Dead Slave, who had run away from his Master? *Rabanus* says, That we ought not to refuse to Pray for him, if he had committed no other Crime; but withal, that we ought to admonish other Slaves not to commit the like. The Sixth is, concerning a Man, who, pleading to be a Priest altho' he was none, had Administrated the Sacrament of Baptism. He answers to this, That it ought not to be reiterated, if it was conferred in the Name of the Holy Trinity. The Last is, about those that eat Flesh in *Lent*, and who Swear by Relicts. *Rabanus* answers, that they do very ill, and that they should do Penance for their Crime. These are all *Rabanus's* Works that we have extant.

He Died at *Mentz* in the Year 856, in the 68 Year of his Age. *M. Du Pin* says, That this Author excell'd in all the common Learning of those Times, such as Expounding the Principles of Arts, as the Rules of Grammar and Rhetoric; in a readiness of Collecting, from the Fathers of the Church, Common Places upon the Holy Scriptures; in inventing Allegories upon the Histories of the Bible; in the Exposition of the Mystical Reasons of the Ceremonies; in a knack of turning Prose into Verse; and in the manner of Reducing his Common Places into Pre-

His Death
and Chara-
cter.

Precepts and Instructions. *Tribemius* (f) says of him, "That he became the most Learned Man of his Age, both for Profane and Sacred Literature, being a Learned Philosopher, an Excellent Poet, an Eloquent Orator, a Famous Astronomer and Chronologer, admirably well seen in the Greek, Latin and Hebrew Languages, and, in one word, the greatest Ornament the Church had in that Age.

(f) Jo: Frith. Catal. Illust: Vir. Pag. 125.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *EX*cerptio de Arte Grammatica Prisciani.
- II. De Universo Libri 22. sive Etymologiarum Opus ad Ludovicum Regem.
- III. De Laudibus S. Crucis Lib: 2. partim Prosa, partim Carmine; Anno 843 conscripti. Prodierunt seorsim Phorce 1501. Augustæ-Vindel. 1605.
- IV. Commentariorum in Genesin Lib: 4.
- V. In Exodum Lib: 4.
- VI. In Leviticum Lib: 7.
- VII. In Deuteronomium Lib: 4. Commentarii isti omnes Ferculso Lexoviensi nuncupantur, & prodierunt simul Colon. 1532. in 8vo.
- VIII. In Librum Judicum Lib: 2. ad Humbertum Episcopum.
- IX. In Librum Ruth Liber unus.
- X. In Quatuor Libros Regum Lib: 4. ad Hilduinum Abbatem.
- XI. In duos Libros Paralipomenon Lib: 4. ad Ludovicum Regem.
- XII. In Librum Judith Liber unus.
- XIII. In Librum Esther Lib: 1. ad Emmam Reginam.
- XIV. In Cantica, quæ ad matutinas laudes per Septimanam dicuntur, Commentarius ad Ludovicum Germaniæ Regem.
- XV. In Proverbia Solomonis Lib: 3.
- XVI. In Librum Sapientiæ lib: 3. ad Otgarium Archiepiscopum Moguntinum, An: 827 scripti.
- XVII. In Ecclesiasticum lib: 10. ad eundem, eodem tempore scripti. Prodierunt seorsim Paris: 1544.
- XVIII. In Jeremiam Prophetam, comprehensis ejus Threnis, lib: 30. circa An: 840 scripti. Commentarius iste in Threnos Sancto Hieronymo male inscribi solet. Prodierunt seorsim Basil: 1534.
- XIX. In Ezechielem Prophetam lib: 20. ad Lotharium Imperatorem.
- XX. In Maccabæorum libros duos Commentarius ad Ludovicum Regem.
- XXI. Commentariorum in Evangelium Sancti Matthæi lib: 8. ad Haistulphum Archiepiscopum.
- XXII. In 14 Sancti Pauli Epistolas lib: 30. ad Samuelem Episcopum, quos, Rogante Lupo Ferrariensi, ex variis SS. Patrum flosculis contexit.
- XXIII. Homiliæ super Epistolas & Evangelia, a Natali Domini usque ad vigiliis Paschæ Num: 61. ad Haistulphum Archiepiscopum; quibus adnectuntur multæ aliæ Homiliæ de sanctis & variis virtutibus.
- XXIV. Homiliæ super Epistolas & Evangelia, a vigiliis Paschæ usque ad 19 Dominicam post Pentecosten, tam de tempore quam de Sanctis, Num: 91. ad Lotharium Imperatorem.
- XXV. Homilia de Evangelio, liber Generationis Jesu Christi.

- XXVI. *De septem signis Nativitatis Domini Tractatus brevis.*
 XXVII. *Allegorie in universam S. Scripturam.*
 XXVIII. *De Clericorum Institutione & Ceremoniis Ecclesie Lib. 3. ad Haisulphum Archiepiscopum, Anno 819 scripti.*
 XXIX. *De Sacris Ordinibus, Sacramentis Divinis & vestimentis sacerdotulibus, Liber ad Thiotmarum.*
 XXX. *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica Lib. 3. ad Reginaldum.*
 XXXI. *Ad Bonosum Abbatem Lib. 3. viz. de videndo Deo, de Puritate Cordis, de modo Pœnitentie.*
 XXXII. *De Quæstionibus Canonum Pœnitentialium Lib. 3, ad Heribaldum. Prodiierunt a Stuarto, editi in Auctuario Canisiano Ingolst. 1616. Pag. 635.*
 XXXIII. *De Vitiis & Virtutibus, De Peccatorum satisfactione Remediis, & sive Pœnitentiis Lib. 3. sex isti libri Halitgario rectius sunt adjudicandi, sub ejus etiam nomine extant apud Canisum, & in Bibliotheca Patrum.*
 XXXIV. *Pœnitentium Liber unus ad Otgarium Archiepiscopum Capitulis 29 constans, quem paulo post Annum 841 scripsit Rabanus. Prodiit seorsim ab Antonio Augustino cum Notis, editus Venet. 1584 in 4to.*
 XXXV. *Quota generatione licitum sit matrimonium, Epistola ad Humbertum Episcopum.*
 XXXVI. *De Consanguineorum Nuptiis, & Magorum Præstigiis Lib. unus ad Bonosum.*
 XXXVII. *De Anima & Virtutibus ad Lotharium Regem.*
 XXXVIII. *De ortu, vita & moribus Antichristi Tractatus.*
 XXXIX. *Martyrologium a Canisio primum editum Antiq. Lect. Tom. 6. Prologus ejus una cum versibus ad Grimoldum Abbatem, a Mabillonio editus, habetur Analect. Tom. 4. pag. 326.*
 XL. *Pœmata de diversis a Christophoro Browero cum Notis, edita Mogunt. 1617 in 4to.*
 XLI. *Commentarius in Regulam S. Benedicti, qui Smaragdo Abbati debetur.*
 XLII. *Glossæ Latino-barbaricæ de partibus Humani Corporis, a Goldasto editæ Rerum Alamannicarum Tom. 2, Francof. 1606.*
 XLIII. *De Inventione Linguarum ab Hebræa usque ad Theodiscam Liber, a Goldasto editus ibid.*
 Omnia Rabani opera, hæcenus enumerata, in unum collecta & in sex Tomos distributa, cura Georgii Colvonerii Duacensis Academiæ Cancellarii, prodierunt Colon. 1627. in 3. Vol. in Fol.
 XLIV. *Pœmata quædam a Baluzio evulgata Miscellan. Tom. 4.*
 XLV. *De Prædestinatione Dei contra Gotteschalcum Epistolæ 3. viz. ad Hincmarum Remensem, ad Notingum Veronensem, & Eberardum Comitem, a Jacobo Sirmondo editæ Paris. 1647 in 8vo.*
 XLVI. *Lib. de Computo a Balluzio editus Miscellan. Tom. 1. Pag. 1.*
 XLVII. *Liber contra Judeos, sub Rabani nomine, a Chisletio editus Divione 1656. Amuloni Zugdunensi debetur.*
 XLVIII. *Opuscula 2 unum de Chorepiscopis.*
 XLIX. *Alter de Reverentia filiorum erga Parentes, a Baluzio, ad calcem operum Petri de Marca, edita. Paris. 1669 in Fol. Tom. 1. Pag. 285.*
 L. *Epistola ad Heribaldum Antistiodorenses Episcopum Anno 853. scripta ab*

ab eodem edita in sua Reginonis Appendice Paris. 1671. 8vo. Pag. 465.

Eam prius ediderat Stuartus sub titulo Libri Pœnitentialis.

- LI. *Epistola ad Reginaldum Chorepiscopum,* *2 edita sunt Concil. Tom:*
 LII. *Et Opusculum de Chorepiscoporum Ordinationibus* } *8. Pag. 1845.*

OPERA INEDITA.

- LIII. *Commentarius in Acta Apostolorum extat MSS. in Bibliotheca Collegii Baliolensis Oxon. Vol: 151.*
 LIV. *De Vita S. Mariæ Magdalensæ Liber habetur MSS. in Collegio Magdalenensi Oxon: Vol: 166.*
 LV. *Expositio de Paschate & Agno Paschali extat MSS. in Collegio S. Benedicti Cantab: Vol: 122.*
 LVI. *Glossarium Latino-Theoticum in tota Biblia sacra Veteris & Novi Testamenti, cujus Exemplar MSS. venerandæ vetustatis in Germania repertum Bibliothecæ Cæsareæ intulit Lambecius, uti ipse prodit Comment. Lib: 2. Pag: 416. Et forsan alia alibi de quibus videndus Catalogus quem exhibet Serarius.*
 LVII. *Rerum Moguntiac. Lib: 4. P. 631.*
Inter Opera ejus quæ hodie non supersunt periit Epistola ad Egilonem Abbatem Fuldensensem de Eucharistia.

THE

Life of *MARIANUS SCOTUS,*

Professor of Theology and Mathematics at Ratisbone.

THIS Author was born in the Year 1028(a); and having learn'd ^{His Birth and Education.} Humanity, Poetry, Rhetoric and Philosophy, he apply'd himself to the Study of the Sacred Scriptures, and for that end he retir'd from the World, and became a Monk in the Year 1056, being ^{He turn'd Monk.} then in the 28th Year of his Age.

C c 2

Macbeth

(a) Vid: M. Du Pin Bib. Nov. des Aut. Eccles. Tom. 8. Pag: 110. Guil: Cave Hist: Liter: Vol. 1. Voss. de Hist: Lat: Lib: 2. Pag. 36. & de Scientiis Mathematicis, Pag. 228. Dempst: Hist: Eccles: Gent: Scot: Lib: 12. Pag: 453. Camerar: de Scot: Doctr. Fort. & Piet. Pag. 91. Jacob, Warzus de Scrip. Hib.

Macbeth, who then usurped the Crown of *Scotland*, and oppressed the whole Country by his Tyrannical Government, caused several Loyal and Worthy Persons leave their own Country, choosing rather to live as Exiles than under such a Tyrant : Amongst those *Marianus* was one, who went over to *Germany* in the Year 1058. and having stay'd for some time in the Monastery of *St. Martin* at *Cologne*, he went with *Sigifrid* to *Wirtzburg*, where he entred into Holy Orders, and was Ordain'd Presbyter in the Year 1059.

He goes to
Germany,

Where he is
ordain'd
Presbyter.

After this he went to the Monastery of *Fulda*, where he staid for Ten Years ; during which time he apply'd himself closely to the Study of the Mathematics. Then, by the Command of the Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*, he went to that City in the Year 1069. as he informs us in his Chronicle upon that Year. " In the Year (says he) 1069. I, the miserable *Marianus*, at the Command of the Bishop of *Mentz* and Abbot of *Fulden*, 3. Non. April in the Tenth Year of my Retirement, was set at Liberty from my Cell in *Fulda*, and came to *Mentz* ; and on the Festival of the Seven Brethren was again shut up. After this he was sent to *Ratisbone*, where he was made Public Professor of Theology and Mathematics : But, this Employment not agreeing with his Austere way of Living, he return'd again to *Mentz*, and shut himself up in his Monastery, where he continued till his Death.

He is sent to
Ratisbone,
where he is
made Pro-
fessor of
Theology
and Mathe-
matics.

An Account
of his
Works.

During the Time of his Retirement, in the Monasteries of *Cologne*, *Fulda* and *Mentz*, he wrote several excellent Books, most of which are now lost ; but we have still extant his Chronicle from the Creation of the World till the Year 1083. In this Chronicle he principally follows *Cassiodorus*, but has added several considerable Transactions that were omitted by him ; and there are several things, which he has observed, that have afforded no small Matter of Debate to our Modern Critics : Thus upon the Years 853. and 854. (he says) " That Pope *Leo* died upon the First of *August*, and that a Woman named *Johan* succeeded him, who sat Two Years, Five Months and Four Days. Upon this *Salmasius* and a great many other Learned Protestants have endeavour'd to blacken the Church of *Rome* ; but they have been answer'd by *Onuphrius*, *Leo Allatius*, *Philip Labbe*, Father *Mabilion* and others ; and they, who would be satisfy'd to know what is said upon this, by the Learned Men of both Sides, may be pleas'd to consult *Spanhemius's* Dissertation upon this Subject (b), where they will find this Matter fully handled : But there is nothing in this Chronicle so much worth the Noticing, as the History of the Schisin, that hapned in his Time between the Emperor *Henry* the IV. and Pope *Gregory* the VII. which had its Rise from this. The Emperor *Henry* the IV. succeeding to his Father in the Year 1056. and being only Five Years of Age, his Father, upon his Death-bed, recommended him to Pope *Victor* the II. At first he was under the Government of the Empress *Agnes* his Mother, who had likewise the Government of the Empire : But the Princes and Noblemen of *Germany*, being weary'd with the Government of this Woman, took the young Prince from her, and committed him to the Care and Direction of *Annon* Arch-Bishop of *Cologne*. And these Princes and Noblemen, that they might keep the Government the longer in their Hands, permitted the young Prince to do what ever he pleas'd, and

(b) F. Spanh: de Papa Fœmina Disquisitio Historica, Lugd. 1691. in 8vo.

and to live in all the Riots and Debaucheries of Youth ; and in the mean time they Govern'd absolutely in his Name, and Dispos'd, at their Pleasure, of the Offices, Goods and Affairs of the Empire ; and in this Dependence and State of Life did this young Prince live till the 19th or 20th Year of his Age. About which time, he assum'd to himself the Government of the Empire ; and finding that they had done several Acts of Injustice under his Name and Authority, the First Thing that he did was to revoke a great many Things that they had caused him to do ; and then he restrain'd their exorbitant Exactions, and establish'd Peace and Justice amongst his Subjects. These Noblemen, finding that they were not allow'd to act as they had done formerly, resolv'd amongst themselves either to Kill or Dethrone him. The *Saxons* were the First who openly Revolted against him, and attacked him with such Vigour and Advantages, that they put him to the Flight : But the Emperor, returning with a stronger Army, had Two signal Victories over them ; yet so obstinate were they in their Rebellion, that they entred into a League with some Lords of *Lombardy*, *France*, *Bavaria* and *Sabinia*, who ; not finding themselves Powerful enough to carry on an open War against him, accus'd him of several Crimes to Pope *Gregory* the VII. and earnestly entreated that Pope to Deprive him of his Crown, and to put another in his Place, worthy of that Dignity.

This Pope was a *Tuscan* by Birth, born at *Soana*, and Son to a simple Artisan. He spent the First Years of his Life at *Rome*, and at length became so Famous, that he was intimately acquainted with the Popes *Benedict* the IX. and *Gregory* the VI. and he accompany'd this last Pope in his Exile in *Germany*, and retir'd after his Death into the Abbey of *Cluny*, where he staid till such time as *Brunon* Bishop of *Toul*, whom the Emperor design'd to make Pope, passing thorow *France*, brought him alongst with him to *Rome*, noways doubting but that, with the Acquaintances and the Credit which he had in that City, he might do him considerable Services, which he accordingly did ; for he had no sooner come to *Rome*, but he renewed his former Friendship and Intimacy with *Theophilactus* or *Benedict* the IX, and in a small Compass of Time became so Rich and Powerful, that he was the sole Manager of all the Affairs of the Popedom. It was he that negotiated the Election of Pope *Victor* the Second, betwixt the Emperor and the *Romans*, and under his Pontificate he was sent Legate to *France* ; It was he that expell'd Pope *Benedict* the Ninth, and caus'd Pope *Nicolas* the Second to be Elect'd in his Place, who made him Arch-Deacon ; In fine, it was by his Means that *Cadalous* was expell'd, and that *Anselm* Bishop of *Lucca* was Ordain'd Pope, under the Name of *Alexander* the Second, whom he maintain'd in the Papal Dignity, and having taken upon him the Quality of Chancellor to the Holy See, he had not only the Government of all the Affairs, both Civil and Ecclesiastic, but likewise the entire Administration of the Revenue of the Church of *Rome* during his Pontificate. Upon this Pope's Death, no Popular Insurrection insued ; for he, having the whole Government in his hands, ordered Fasting and Prayers for Three Days, That God might direct them in the Choice of a new Pope : But on the very Day that they were burying the Defunct, which was upon the 22d of *April* in the Year 1073. the Mobb imme-

diately Proclaim'd *Hildebrand* Pope (for that was his Name) and the same Day he caus'd his Election to be notify'd to the Prince of *Salerna*, whom he entreated to come to *Rome*, to assist him; for if we may believe him, he was chosen against his Will, and forc'd to accept of that Dignity; but his Enemies say, It was the Soldiers and other Persons suborned by him that made this Tumultuary Election, and that neither the Cardinals, Clergy, or any that were considerable amongst the People had any hand in it: But whatever be in this, it must be acknowledged, that Cardinal *Didier*, Abbot of Mount *Cassian*, had reason to say, when he was challeng'd by *Hildebrand* for coming too late to the Election, that he was not so much to blame as himself for having accepted of the Papal Chair before his Predecessor was Interred. *Hildebrand*, foreseeing that his Election might be controverted, as being too precipitantly done, and without the Consent of the Emperor, immediately wrote to him, and required his Confirmation by his Deputies, assuring him that he was chosen against his Will, and that he deferred his Ordination till he knew his Mind about it. The Emperor took some time to think upon it, and sent Count *Eberhard* to *Rome*, to inform him of the manner of this Election. *Hildebrand* so caressed this Count, that he wrote in his Favours to the Emperor. And the Emperor, finding that it would be useless to oppose it, since he was more Powerful at *Rome* than himself, consented to it: So *Hildebrand* was Ordain'd Priest, and afterwards Bishop of *Rome* in the Month of *June*, in the Year 1073. And, at his Ordination, he assum'd the Name of *Gregory* the VII. This Pope had no sooner attain'd to the Pontificate, but he form'd a Design of making himself, not only the Spiritual but Temporal Master of the whole Earth, the Sovereign Judge and Arbitrator of all Affairs, Ecclesiastic and Civil, the Distributer of all Favours whatsoever, and the sole Disposer, not only of Arch-Bishoprics, Bishoprics and other Ecclesiastical Benefices, but likewise of Kingdoms, States, and the Goods of Private Persons. Having, I say, form'd to himself this Design, he made use of the Ecclesiastical Authority, and Spiritual Jurisdiction, not only for maintaining of the Faith and Discipline of the Church, but likewise for Depriving Kings of their Crowns, Princes and Lords of their States and Goods, to make them Tributary to him, to dispose at his Pleasure of all that belong'd to them, and to oblige them to do what ever he desir'd of them; for engaging Arch-Bishops and Bishops to obey him blindly, and that nothing of any Moment should be done in their Diocesses, without his special Order. And he had the good Fortune of living in a Time, when all seem'd to contribute to his Pretensions; for the Empire of *Germany* was weak, *France* Govern'd by a young King that knew nothing of State-Affairs, *England* newly Conquer'd by the *Normans*, *Scotland* but newly Rescu'd from the Barbarous Oppressions of a Tyrant, *Spain* mostly under the Dominion of the *Mores*, the Kingdoms of the North but newly Converted to the Christian Faith, *Italy* divided amongst a Number of Petty Princes, and, in one word, all *Europe* divided into Factions.

This Pope had, under the Pontificate of *Alexander*, some Variance with the Emperor, whom he caus'd to be Cited to *Rome* for Crimes that were laid to his Charge: But, after the Death of *Alexander*, he found it was his Interest to be at no Variance with him, that it might induce

induce him to Confirm his Election ; and some Authors say, That he caus'd threaten the Emperor secretly, if he did it not : And it is certain, that *Gregory* wrote before his Ordination to *Beatrix* and *Mathilda*, That he had a Design of Sending some Persons of Piety, to make him a more Dutiful Son of the Church, and exhorted those two Princesses not to Communicate with those Bishops, who were guilty of Simony. The Bishops he means were the Bishops of *Lombardy*, and particularly *Godfrey* Arch-Bishop of *Milan*, whom *Gregory* accus'd of Simony, and of Possessing himself of that Place, when *Guy* his Predecessor was alive, for which he Excommunicated him, and all those who adher'd to him, in a Council at *Rome* : But this Excommunication did nothing else but irritate them the more, for they contemn'd the Excommunication of the *Roman* See ; and the Emperor, finding that the Pope was Patronizing his Rebellious Subjects, Protected the Arch-Bishop of *Milan*, the Bishops of *Lombardy*, and all those that adher'd to them. And this was the First Rise of this Famous Schism, which was attended with Mutual Excommunications in Councils and Synods, and Accusations of hainous and abominable Crimes, and finally ended in the Slaughter and Bloodshed of many Thousands, as may be seen in our Author and his Continuator *Dodechin* Abbot of *St. Disibod*.

Besides this Chronicle, we owe to the indefatigable Care and Labour of our Author the Preservation of the *Notitia utriusque Imperii* : For the understanding of which the Reader must know, that the Emperor *Theodosius* the Great, dying in the Year 395, divided the Empire betwixt his Two Sons, giving to his eldest Son *Arcadius* the Empire of the East, and to his youngest Son *Honorius* that of the West ; and, in case there should arise any Dissention betwixt them and their Successors, he caus'd Note, in a Book, the Bounds, Power and Government of both the Empires ; and this Book is call'd the *Notitia utriusque Imperii*. *Marianus Scotus* having Transcrib'd this Work for his own Use, the Learn'd *Cujacius* and several others, who had seen this Copy, thought that it was Originally write by *Marianus Scotus* ; but *Dempster* (c), *Emanuel a Schelstrat* (d), and several others have clearly proven, that this Book was written under the Reign of *Theodosius* the Younger. *Dempster* (e) tells us, That *Pavillonus*, an Advocate at *Paris*, sent him the Sight of a most Ancient and Beautiful Copy of this Book, which he had purchas'd at a very dear Rate, with this Title, *Liber Scoti de Notitia utriusque Imperii*, and he makes mention of a great many other MSS. with the same Title ; and *Guidus Pancirollus* (f), an Eminent Lawyer, tells us, That, after this Book had been for a long time conceal'd, at length *Marianus Scotus*'s Copy of it was found in *Scotland*, in the Year 1571.

This Book was first Publish'd by *Andreas Alciatus* at *Basil*, in the Year 1552 ; and then by *Guido Pancirollus*, at *Venice* 1553 ; and at *Leyden* in 1608. In this Book, as I have said, we have an Account of the Bounds, Power and Government of the Eastern and Western Empires : But I shall only take Notice of that of *Britain*, by which the Reader will see, what the Government of the South of *Britain* was, under the

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(c) Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 9. Pag. 388. (d) Antiquitas Illustrata Par. 1. Diss. 1. Cap. 3. Art. 1. Pag. 32.
(e) Ubi sup. (f) Notitia cum multo tempore latuisset, tandem quæ a Mariano Scoto Modacho Fuldensi scripta fuerat in ultimis Britannii, annis abhinc 36, inventa in lucem prodit. in Praef. Comm. in Notit. Ven. 1595.

Romans, in the time of *Theodosius* the II. which falls near the last Times, wherein the *Roman* Empire extended it self hither (g).

The Government of the Empire was then such, That there were Four Vice-Roys or *Præfeli Prætorio* for Civil Government, one of the East, another of *Illyricum*, a Third of *Italy*, and the Fourth Titled of *Gaul*, or *Præfeli Prætorio Galliarum*, to whose Superintendency both *Britain* and *Spain* were Subject. Under these Four Vice-Roys, the whole Empire was divided into so many Diocesses, and so many Provinces under every Diocess; all which is thus set down in the *Notitia*.

Præfeli Prætorio Orientis, & sub ipso Dioceses quinque.

<p>ORIENTIS. Sub Diocesi Orientis Provinciæ 15. <i>Palæstina</i>. <i>Phænice</i> <i>Syria</i> <i>Cilicia</i> <i>Cyprus</i> <i>Arabia</i> <i>Isauria</i> <i>Palæstina Salutaris</i> <i>Palæstina</i> 2. <i>Phænice Libani</i> <i>Euphratensis</i> <i>Syria Salutaris</i> <i>Osraboena</i> <i>Mesopotamia</i> <i>Cilicia</i> 2.</p>	<p><i>Caria</i> <i>Insule</i> PONTI. Sub Diocesi Ponti Pro- vinciæ 11. <i>Galatia</i> <i>Bitbynia</i> <i>Honarias</i> <i>Cappadocia</i> 1. <i>Cappadocia</i> 2. <i>Paphlagonia</i> <i>Pontus Polemoniacus</i> <i>Hellenopontus</i> <i>Armenia</i> 1. <i>Armenia</i> 2. <i>Galatia Salutaris</i></p>	<p>Et DACIÆ. Sub Diocesi Daciæ Pro- vinciæ 5. <i>Dacia Mediterranea</i> <i>Dacia Ripensis</i> <i>Mæsia</i> 1. <i>Dardania Prævalitiana</i> <i>Pars Macedoniæ Salutaris</i></p>
<p>ÆGYPTI. Sub Diocesi Ægypti Provinciæ 6. <i>Libya superior</i> <i>Libya inferior</i> <i>Thebais</i> <i>Ægyptus</i> <i>Arcadia</i> <i>Augustanica</i></p>	<p>THRACIÆ. Sub Diocesi Thraciæ Provinciæ 6. <i>Europa</i> <i>Thracia</i> <i>Hemimontis</i>, <i>Rhodope</i> <i>Mæsia</i> 2. <i>Scythia</i></p>	<p>ITALIÆ. Sub Diocesi Italiæ Pro- vinciæ 17. <i>Venetia</i> <i>Emilia</i> <i>Liguria</i> <i>Flaminia & Picenum An- nonarium</i> <i>Tuscia & Umbria</i> <i>Picenum Suburbicarium</i> <i>Campania</i> <i>Sicilia</i> <i>Apulia & Calabria</i> <i>Lucania & Brutii</i> <i>Alpes Cottiarum</i></p>
<p>ASIÆ. Sub Diocesi Asiæ Pro- vinciæ 10. <i>Pamphylia</i> <i>Hellefpontus</i> <i>Lydia</i> <i>Pisidia</i> <i>Lycaonia</i> <i>Phrygia Pacatiana</i> <i>Phrygia Salutaris</i> <i>Lycia</i></p>	<p>Præfeli Prætorio Illy- rici & sub ipso Dioc- ceses duæ. MACEDONIÆ. Sub Diocesi Macedo- niæ Provinciæ 6. <i>Achaia</i> <i>Macedonia</i> <i>Creta</i> <i>Theffalia</i> <i>Epirus Vetus</i> <i>Epirus Nova</i></p>	<p><i>Retia</i> 1. <i>Retia</i> 2. <i>Samnium</i> <i>Valeria</i> <i>Sardinia</i> <i>Corfica</i> ILLYRICI. Sub Diocesi Illyrici Pro- vinciæ 6. <i>Pannonia</i> 2. <i>Savia</i></p>

Dal.

<i>Dalmatæ</i>	A F R I C Æ.	<i>Mauritania Sitifensis</i>
<i>Patmonia</i> 1.	Sub Diœcesi Africa	<i>Mauritania Cæsariensis</i>
<i>Noricum Mediterraneum</i>	Provincia 6.	<i>Tripolis</i>
<i>Noricum Ripense</i>	<i>Byzacium</i>	<i>Africa Proconsularis.</i>
	<i>Numidia</i>	

Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum, & sub ipso Diœceses tres.

H I S P A N I Æ.	<i>Lugdunensis</i> 1.	<i>Lugdunensis Senonia</i>
Sub Diœcesi Hispaniæ	<i>Germania</i> 1.	
Provincia 7.	<i>Germania</i> 2.	BRITANNIARUM.
<i>Bætica</i>	<i>Belgica</i> 1.	Sub Diœcesi Britannia-
<i>Lusitania</i>	<i>Belgica</i> 2.	rum Provincia 5.
<i>Gallæcia</i>	<i>Alpes Maritimæ</i>	<i>Maxima Cæsariensis</i>
<i>Tarraconensis</i>	<i>Alpes Penninæ & Graiæ</i>	<i>Valentia</i>
<i>Cartaginensis</i>	<i>Maxima Sequanorum</i>	<i>Britannia</i> 1.
<i>Tingitania</i>	<i>Aquitania</i> 1.	<i>Britannia</i> 2.
<i>Baleares</i>	<i>Aquitania</i> 2.	<i>Flavia Cæsariensis.</i>
7 PROVINCIARUM.	<i>Novem Populi</i>	
Sub Diœcesi Galliarum	<i>Narbonensis</i> 1.	
feu 7 Provinciarum	<i>Narbonensis</i> 2.	
Provincia 17.	<i>Lugdunensis</i> 2.	
<i>Viennensis</i>	<i>Lugdunensis</i> 3.	

Every one of these *Præfecti* or Vice-Roys, had immediately under them, for Civil Government, *Vicarii* or Lieutenents, and sometimes *Comites* or Counts; (as in the Example of the *Comes Orientis*, that was as a *Vicarius* or Lieutenant to the *Præfectus Orientis*) sometimes other such Officers, who were all made by the Emperor; and the Vice-Roy of Gaul had Three Lieutenents under him, One for Spain, the Second for Gaul, and the Third for Britain. Now all these Vice-Roys had their Ensigns or *Symbola Administrationis*, which were painted in their Letters or *Codicilli* (as they were call'd), as also Books of Instructions *Principis Mandata* for their Direction in the Government. Their Ensigns were of such nature, as for the most part denoted, in Picture, the principal Parts of what was comprehended in the Object of their Government, and that under the Picture of their Book of Instructions, and sometime of the Letters themselves loosely folded, both which were usually added, as the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* had Money in Dishes, Bags, Chests, and the like under the Picture of his Book of Instructions; and the Vice-Roy of Britain had, for his Ensigns, the Draught of the Five British Provinces, viz. *Maxima Cæsariensis*, *Valentia*, *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Flavia Cæsariensis*, every one of them being express'd in several Forms of Buildings with their Names superscribed, and so plac'd on Land synously drawn, and encompassed with the Sea, as if these Five had comprehended the whole Island, and the Book of Instructions as covered with Green, and the Letters or Commission as in a gilt Cover were added. Under this Lieutenant of Britain there were Five that exercised Jurisdiction, Two *Consulares* and Three *Præsides*, every one having one of these Five Parts for his Province.

The Ensigns of these *Consulares* were the same with the Ensigns of the *Consulares Campaniæ*, which were a Woman, with a Mural Crown sitting

on a Seat of Judgment, holding in her right Hand the Name of the Province on the Top of a Lance, and resting her left on a Shield: But some have the shape of a Man to the same Purpose; the Book of Instructions is also added as set by on a Table. The Officers under them had the *Principem de Officio Præfæli Prætorio Galliarum, Cornicularium, Tabularios duos pro Numerario, Adjutorem, Commentariensem, ab actis, Subadjutam, Exceptores & reliquos Chortalinos quibus non licet ad aliam transire militiam, sine Annotatione Clementie Principalis.*

The *Præsides* in Britain had also the same Officers; and the Ensigns of every *Præsides* were the same with the *Correctores Apulie & Calabrie*, which were a fair Building superscribed with the Name of the Province under the Book of Instructions, and the Emperor's Picture, which was frequent also among the Ensigns of other Officers; and as the *Vicarius* was Honoured with the Attribute of *Spectabilis*, so the *Consulares* with *Clarissimi*, and the *Præsides* with *Perfectissimi*. And thus was then the Civil Administration of Britain.

For the Military, the *Magister Peditum Præsentalis*, and the *Magister Equitum Præsentalis* in the West, having the immediate Power, under the Emperor, over the Horse and Foot appointed for the Defence of the Provinces or Frontiers in the West (as others in the East) had under them Six Military Counts of Provinces; and Twelve *Duces* or Dukes; the Counts were of Italy, *Afric*, *Tingitania*, *Tractus Argentoratensis*, or the Parts about *Strasburg*, of Britain and of the Saxon Coast, or *Comes Littoris Saxonici*. The Dukes were of *Mauritania Cesariensis*, the *Tripolitani*, *Pannonia Secunda*, *Valeria Ripensis*, *Pannonia Prima*, *Noricum Ripense*, *Retia Prima* and *Retia Secunda*, *Sequanicum Armoricanum*, *Belgica Secunda*, *Germania Prima*, of Britain and the Parts about *Mentz*. All these had their Ensigns and Officers almost in every thing proportionably alike; The *Comes Britannie*, or the Count of Britain had for his Ensigns the Island encompassed by the Sea, under the Book of his Instructions, and the Letters of his Commission with one fair Building (to denote the chief City) superscribed *Britannia*; upon the Book, the same Letters are inscribed which were upon the Book of Instructions of the Lieutenant of Britain, and commonly upon the Books of other such Dukes and Counts in the *Notitia*, viz. F. L. INTA. LL. CO. M. ORD. P R. The Antiquaries are extremely divided in their Sentiments, about the Meaning of these Letters; but *Pancirollus's* Opinion is commonly followed, who says, That they are Sigles or parts of Words, so well and commonly known to the Clerks of the Crown, that it needed not they should be more largely expressed, and are to be read thus,

F L INTA LL
Felix, Liber, Injunctus Notariis, Laterculi
CO M ORD PR

Continens, Mandata, Ordine, Principis, or Primicerii

which was the Master or President of the Clerks of the Crown.

The Government of this Count was in the Southern Parts of the Island, he had with him, at the time when the *Notitia* was written, about M M M. Foot and D C. Horse; and tho' there was a Duke besides, yet it seems that all that Part of Britain, which the Romans then had, was generally under his Care, and the Duke's Government was added for Assistance to him; for after his Ensigns in the *Notitia*, the whole
Pro-

Province is placed under his Government, and for his Officers under him he had, *Principes ex officio Magistri Militum praesentium alternis annis, Commentariensem ut supra, Numerarios duos singulos ex utroque officio supradicto, Adjutorem, Sabadjuram, Exceptores singulares, & reliquos Officiales.* The *Cornicularius* and *Regerendarius* are wanting here, which other Counts most commonly had; but *Pancirollus* imputes this to the Negligence of the Transcriber of the *Notitia*.

The *Comes Littoris Saxonici* was as Admiral of that time, and placed against the Maritime Incurſions of the Saxons, or those of the West-Part of Germany that were known most commonly by that Name. His Ensigns were Nine Maritime Towns; placed on the Form of the whole Island, encompassed by the Sea, under the Book of Instructions; the Nine Maritime Towns are 1. *Othona*, which is thought to have been in the Hundred of *Dengy* in *Essex*, in the same place or near where *St. Peter's in the Wall* is, 2. *Dubris*, which is *Dover*, 3. *Letthinam*, which is *Lime* or *Limehill* in *Kent*, 4. *Regulbium*, which is *Reculver*, 5. *Rutupis* which is either *Sandwich*, or *Richborough* near *Sandwich* on the Shore of the same County, 6. *Anderida*, which is *Newenden* in *Kent*, 7. *Brandodunum*, which is *Brancaſter* in *Norfolk*, 8. *Gariidno* or *Garianorwith*, which is *Tarminouth*, 9. And *Portus Adurni*, which is supposed to be *Edrington* in the Shore of *Sussex*. For these Garrisons he had under him about MMCC. Foot, and CC. Horse. The Officers are the same with those of the *Comes Britanniae*, excepting the *Cornicularius* and the *Regerendarius*, which seem to have been omitted amongst the Officers of the *Comes Britanniae*, as we have already observed.

The *Dux Britanniarum* had, for his Ensign, Fourteen Towns, placed also upon the whole Island with his Book of Instructions, and Letters of Creation or Commission as the Counts and other Dukes. His Garrisons were 1. *Sexta*, 2. *Præsidium*, 3. *Dano*, 4. *Morbio*, 5. *Arbeia*, 6. *Diola*, 7. *Concagios*, 8. *Lavatres*, 9. *Verteis*, 10. *Barboniaco*, 11. *Maglone*, 12. *Magis*, 13. *Longovico*, 14. *Derentione*. What these Towns were, the Reader will find in the most Learned Mr. *Camden*, as likewise the other Towns and Garrisons alongſt the Wall built upon the Frontiers of Scotland, which had the Glory of being the outmoſt Bounds of their Empire, and which are mentioned in the *Notitia*, and in the most Learn'd Mr. *Selden's* Titles of Honour. From all which it plainly appears, that this Duke's Government was in the inner-part of the Island.

In the Times that were but a little before the *Notitia*, there was only a *Dux Britanniarum* (that executed both these Offices of Duke and Count of Britain) and a *Comes Tractus Maritimi*, which was the same with that *Comes Littoris Saxonici* before mentioned; for under the Emperor *Valentinian* the *f. Neclardus* was the Count of the Sea Coast, or Maritime Marches, as they then call'd it, and *Buchabaudes* First, and then *Theodossius* were Dukes of Britain. This Duke, by the Account made out of the *Notitia*, had XIV. M. Foot and DCCC. Horse, which reckoned with those that were with the two Counts, make XIX. MCC. Foot and MDCC. Horse for the Number of such, as the Romans then maintain'd in the South Part of Britain under those Counts and this Duke. And thus I have given the Reader, from the *Notitia*, a brief Account of the State of Britain under the Romans; and shall proceed to give an Account of *Marianus's* other Writings.

Lambecius tells us, That there is, in the Emperor's Library at *Vienna*, all *St. Paul's* Epistles, wrote by *Marianus's* own Hand in the Year 1079, and illustrated with Marginal Annotations. He wrote likewise the Harmony of the Evangelists, of which we have only this Account, the Work it self being lost, That he reconcil'd all the apparent Contradictions amongst the Evangelists; and that in the apparent Contradiction between *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke*, concerning the Genealogy of our Saviour, he followed the Opinion of *Julius Africanus*: And since this was insisted upon as a Principal Objection against the Christian Religion, by *Celsus*, *Porphyrus* and *Julian*, and even at this Day by the Jews, I shall give an Account of *Africanus's* Opinion of this, it being esteem'd the most natural and easy way of Solving this Difficulty (*b*). By the Law of Adoption, the Jews were oblig'd to espouse their Brother's Wife when he Died without issue; he says then, that *Matthan*, who was Descended from *David* by *Solomon*, Married a Woman called *Estha*, who Bore to him *Jacob*; but, after the Death of *Matthan*, this Woman Married *Matthat*, who was Descended from *David* by *Nathan*, with whom she had a Son call'd *Heli*; so that *Jacob* and *Heli* were Uterine Brothers, and *Heli* dying without Children, *Jacob* was oblig'd to marry his Widow, with whom he had *Joseph* the Husband of *Mary*, who consequently was the Son of *Jacob* by Nature, and the Son of *Heli* by the Law; and the Reader will easily comprehend this by the following Table.

SOLOMON	DAVID	NATHAN
and his Descendents as related by <i>St. Matthew</i> .		and his Descendents as related by <i>St. Luke</i> .
MATTHAN	ESTHA	MATTHAT
The first Husband.	Wife to them both.	the Second Husband.
JACOB	THEIR WIFE,	HELI
Son to <i>Matthan</i> the first Husband.	whose Name is not known, married first to <i>Heli</i> , to whom she had no Children, and then to <i>Jacob</i> his Brother.	
JACOB's Son.	JOSEPH	Son of <i>Heli</i> by the Law.

The Jews, who not only insist upon this Difficulty, but likewise accuse the Evangelists of delivering manifest Falshoods, as not agreeing with the Old Law, I think they are sufficiently answer'd by the Learn'd *F. Simon* (*i*), who tells us, That their Learn'd *Rabbi's*, who could not reconcile the apparent Contradictions that are betwixt the Chronicles and the rest of the Historical Writings of the Old Testament; are forc'd to say, That the same Genealogies, which are written in a different manner, were taken out of Records that did likewise differ: And may not we also affirm, that the Evangelists collected the Genealogy of *Jesus Christ* out of such Records as were amongst the Jews at that Time, but are not extant at this Day? And therefore 'tis better to leave the Things as they are, than to judge rashly of them, or correct that Genealogy upon bare Conjectures.

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(*b*) Vid *Ensch. Hist. Eccl. Lib. 7 Chap. 1.* (*i*) *Crit. Hist. of the Text of the New Test. Par. 2. Chap. 22.*
Pag. 58.

All *Marianus's* other Works are lost, viz. His Emendations upon *Dionysius Exiguus's* Book of Time, his *Algebra*, and his Annotations upon several Books of the Scripture. He died at *Mentz* in the Year 1086. in the 58th Year of his Age. All that I have said of *Marianus's* Life is mostly to be found in his own Chronicle. *Trithemius* (k) says, That he was most Learn'd in the Sacred Scriptures, well seen in all the Sciences, of a subtile Genius, and of an Exemplary Life and Conversation. And *Sigibert* of *Gemblours* (l) says of him, That without Comparison he was the Learnd'st Man of his Age, an Excellent Historiographer, a Famous Calculator, and a Solid Divine, which all those that have written any thing concerning him acknowledge.

(k) In Cat. vir. Illust. (l) De Script. Eccles. Cap. 172.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *Chronicon Francof.* 1583. in Fol.
- II. *Concordia Evangelistarum.*
- III. *De Universali Computo.*
- IV. *Emendationes Dionysii Calculi.*
- V. *Algorismus.*
- VI. *Notitia utriusque Imperii, Lugd.* 1608.
- VII. *Breviarium in Lucam.*
- VIII. *Annotationes Scripturarum.*
- IX. *Epistolæ Hortatoriæ.*
- X. *Epistolas omnes D. Pauli Mariani Scoti manu exaratas Anno 1079. & Annotationibus Marginalibus ac Interlinearibus ab eodem illustratas, in Bibliotheca Cæsarea asservari monet Lambecius Lib. 2. Cap. 8. Pag. 749. De aliis ejus Scriptis consulendi sunt Balæus, Waræus, Dempsterus, Camerarius & Harpsfeldius in Hist. Eccles. sec. 11. Cap. 26. aliique.*

THE LIFE of DAVID SCOT *Historiographer to the Emperor Henry the V.*

WE know nothing of the Time of this Author's Birth, nor of his Parentage or Education; but we find (a), That after he had finish'd his Studies in his Native Country, he went over to Germany, towards the latter end of the Eleventh Century; and coming to Wirzburgh, he taught the *Belle-Lettre* there for a considerable Time: At length the Fame of his Learning and Parts coming to the Knowledge of the Emperor *Henry* the V. he sent for him, and made

F f

him

(a) Vid. Voss. de Hist. Lat. Lib. 2. Cap. 36. Pag. 379. Dempster. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 4. Pag. 2101

He is made
the Empe-
ror's Histo-
riographer,
And writes
the History
of his Expe-
dition a-
gainst Pope
Paschal II.

him his Historiographer ; and it was by this Emperor's special Com-
mand, that he wrote the Account of his Journey and Expedition to
Rome against Pope *Paschal* the II. This History is still extant in MSS.
in the Emperor's Library at *Vienna* (b) ; 'tis from it that the Historians
have the best Account of this Expedition, and from them I shall give
the Reader an Account of it (c).

After the Death of the Emperor *Henry* the IV. his Son *Henry* the V.
invited Pope *Paschal* the II. to come to *Mentz*, that all Suspicions and
Jealousies might be remov'd between the Empire and the Popedom,
especially as to what concern'd the *Investitures*. Upon this the Pope
took his Journey from *Rome*, and came the length of *Guaftulla*, a City
of *Lombardy* upon the *Po*; and, finding that there were several Things
requisite to be order'd about the Churches in *Germany* and *Lombardy*,
who had engag'd in the Schism against the Church of *Rome* with the
Emperor's Father, he call'd a Council there upon the 19th of *October*,
in the Year 1106. In this Council he order'd, That the Bishops, Priests
and Clerks, who had receiv'd Ordination from the Schismatics, should
continue in Holy Orders, providing that they had not obtain'd it, ei-
ther by Simony or Violence, or were culpable of other hainous Crimes.
He likewise renewed all the Decrees of his Predecessors about the *In-
vestitures*, and cut off the Cities of *Emellia* from the Metropolis of *Ra-
venna* for their Rebellion. The Emperor, hearing of this, was ex-
tremely incens'd against the Pope : Whereupon the Pope, instead of
going to *Mentz*, as he design'd, went straight to *France* to the Abbacy
of *Cluny*, where he staid till *Christmasts* was over; and then made his
Application to *Philip* King of *France*, that he might Protect him against
the Emperor. But before I proceed further, it is necessary, for the
understanding of this War, that I should give an Account of the first
Rise of this Controversy about *Investitures*.

An Account
of the first
Rise of the
Controversy
concern-
ing *Investi-
tures*

The word *Investiture* signifies (d) the giving of a Fief, a Piece of
Land, a Dignity, a Charge or a Right, by the Lord to his Vassal, or
by a Prince to his Subject, upon the Vassal's performing Fealty to him,
and all the Services and Duties required of him. This *Investiture* was
done with certain Ceremonies, by putting, between the hands of the
Vassal, something that was the Symbol of that Benefit they receiv'd
from their Lord or Superior. The Church, who in the Primitive
Times had no other Revenues but the Voluntary Oblations of the
Faithful, or the Revenues of the Goods that had been mortify'd to them
by Particular Persons, began under the Reigns of *Pipin* and *Charlemagne*
to Possess a great many Feus, which these Princes enriched them with,
which made the Bishops and Abbots very considerable in the State, and
obliged them to swear Fealty to the Princes of whom they had their
Feus, to furnish them with Men for the War, to go sometimes in Per-
son themselves, to concern themselves in the Affairs of State, and in se-
veral other things which their Fiefs obliged them to perform. Now
according to the Ancient Custom, upon the Death of the Vassal, the
Lord or Master of the Land took Possession of it, till his Successor per-
form'd Fealty to him for it; wherefore upon the Death of a Bishop, the
Princes

(b) Lamb. Comen: de Bib. Vindob. (c) Vid. M. Du Pin Nov. Bib. de Aut. Ecclesiast. Tom. 9. Pag. 28. &c.
(d) Vid. Seld. Tit. of Hon. Part 2. Chap. 1. Pag. 273. M. Du Pin ubi sup. Sr. Thom. Craig of Homage
Chap. 2. Pag. 11.

Princes and Lords put themselves in Possession of their Fiefs, till such time that he, who was Elected in his Place, receiv'd the *Investiture* from them, and Swore Fealty to them. Afterwards they extended this Right to all the deceased Bishop's other Goods, and the Princes gave the *Investiture* of these Goods to him who was Elected Canonically in his Place, before he was Consecrated. Some Learned Men are of the Opinion, that this Right was granted to *Charlemagne* by Pope *Hadrian*, as it is related by *Gratian*, *Distinct.* 63. *Cap. Adrianus*, and this is taken from the Chronicle of *Sigibert of Gemblours*, who says, That this Pope gave to *Charlemagne*, in a Council held at *Rome* in the Year 774, the Right of Choosing the Pope, and order'd that all the Arch-Bishops and Bishops of his Dominions should receive the *Investiture* from his hand, before they should be Consecrated: But others say, That this is altogether improbable, because *Eginard*, who wrote the Life of *Charlemagne*, gives no Account of it, nor any other Cotemporary Writer; yet this Constitution is Cited by Pope *Leo* the VIII. who renewed it in favours of *Otho* I. both as to the Election of the Pope and the *Investiture* of the Bishops; and it is certain that this Custom was begun long before the Emperor *Otho*'s Time, and but a little after that of *Charlemagne*'s, and that it was observ'd not only by the Emperors, but by the Kings of *France*, *Scotland* and *England*; and by the most of the Princes of *Europe*.

The Ceremonies used at the *Investiture* of Bishops and Abbots were sometimes with the Cross, and sometimes with the Pastoral-Staff, but the most ordinary way was with the Pastoral-Staff, to which at length they join'd the Ring, because they are the Marks and Ornaments of the Episcopal Dignity. In the beginning of this Controversy, it was not so much the Ceremony of *Investitures* that was excepted against, as the Thing it self: And Pope *Gregory* the VII. when he discharg'd all *Investitures*, did not only forbid those that were given by the Pastoral-Staff and the Ring, but in general all the *Investitures* of Benefices by the Hands of Laics; for a Person elected Canonically could not enjoy his Benefice; nor be Consecrated till he had receiv'd the *Investiture* of his Prince: So that it was necessary to know, before they proceeded to the Election, if he, whom they had a Mind for, was acceptable to the Prince; and in case they should have Chosen one who was not acceptable, the Election became Null and Void; It depended therefore absolutely upon the Will of the Prince, to bestow Bishoprics and Abbacies as he pleased, and oftentimes gave them to those who gave most for them. These were the Abuses that induced Pope *Gregory* the VII. to prohibit all *Investitures* from the Hands of Laics: But he carried the Matter too far; for he discharg'd all Bishops to take the Oath of Fidelity and Homage to their Native Princes. Pope *Victor* the III. and Pope *Urban* the II. the immediate Successors of *Gregory* the VII. did the like; and Pope *Paschal* the II. confirm'd all that they had done at the Council of *Guastalla*, as we have observ'd above. In the mean time the Emperor call'd a Council of the *German* Lords and Bishops at *Mentz*, wherein it was resolv'd to send Deputies to the Pope, who should tell him that the Power of Creating Bishops had been granted, by the Holy See, to the Emperor *Charlemagne* and his Successors; and therefore could not be taken from their Prince. These Deputies met the Pope at *Chalons*, where they had a Conference with him. In this Conference the Arch-Bishop of *Treves*.

Address'd himself to the Pope, and told him, That his Master the Emperor wish'd him all Happiness, and the Offer of his Service so far, as it might not prejudice the Rights and Interest of the Empire. Then he told him, That, since the Time of *St. Gregory the Great*, the Emperors had been always Advertis'd of the Person who was to be Elected, and that after he had given his Consent, the Election was made publicly, and that then he, who was Elected, was Consecrated. After which he came to the Emperor, from whom he receiv'd the *Investiture* by the Pastoral-Staff and the Ring; and then did Homage to him; and took the Oath of Fidelity; and that this Custom appear'd to be very reasonable; for without this the Bishops could not enjoy the Cities, Castles, Lands and other Goods, which had been given them by the Emperor's Predecessors, upon the Condition of paying Homage and Fealty to the Emperor.

To this the Bishop of *Placentia* made an Answer in the Pope's Name, wherein he told the Deputies, That the Church, being bought by the Blood of *Jesus Christ*, was free, and ought not to be put under Servitude; and that if she could not choose her Prelates without the Consent of the Emperor, she was subject to him as a Slave; and that to make her Prelates oblig'd to receive their *Investiture* from him after their Election, was an Usurpation upon the Rights of God; and in fine that it was indecent and unworthy of the Sacerdotal Order and Unction, that the Hands, who Consecrated the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*, should be put between the Hands which were sully'd with the Blood of those who were slain by the Sword.

The Deputies being extraordinarily dissatisfy'd with this Answer, the Conference broke up, and they told the Pope, That their Master the Emperor would come to *Rome*, and vindicate his own Cause with the Sword in his Hand. The Pope, being mightily afraid of this, endeavour'd to renew the Conference with *Adalbert* the Emperor's Chancellor, but all was in vain; for they could come to no Agreement: So the Emperor's Deputies return'd to *Germany*. Upon which the Pope immediately call'd a Council at *Troyes* in *Champagne*, which sat down upon the Ascension-Day in the Year 1107. In this Council, the Pope propos'd to them the Renewing of the Decrees of his Predecessors against the Enterprises of Laics upon Ecclesiastical Dignities. The Emperor, being inform'd of this, came up to them with his Army, and sent an Ambassador to them, who told them, That the Holy See had granted to the Emperor *Charlemagne*, the Right of Establishing Bishops; and that if they would not do the same, he would put a stop to their Proceedings. Upon which the Council thought fit to give the Emperor a Year's Delay, and to remit him to a general Council at *Rome*, who should be Judge in the Affair. The Emperor being satisfy'd with this Answer, return'd to *Germany*; and in the Year 1110 call'd an Assembly at *Ratisbone*, in which he declar'd, That he was resolv'd to go to *Rome*, to receive the Imperial Crown from the hands of the Pope, and to Regulate all Differences betwixt them; and therefore he desir'd all the Princes of the Empire to be in readiness, against the Month of *August*, to Accompany him, and he order'd our Author to go alongst with him, that he might write the Account of his Proceedings. The Emperor, as he had resolv'd, began his Journey upon the First of *August*: His Army, which

He goes to
Rome with
the Empe-
ror.

which consisted of 30 Thousand Horse, he divided into two Bodies, with the one he March'd to *Tyre*, and the other waited for him at *Novare*, and join'd him as he came near to *Milan*, where he was Crown'd King of the *Lombards* by *Chrysolauts* the Arch-Bishop of that Place. After this he pass'd over the *Po*, and staid for some time at *Parma*, then he cross'd the *Appennine* Hills, and, it being in the Winter time, he lost a great many of his Horses, which oblig'd him to stay for some time at *Florence*. From thence he went to the City *Arezzo*, which he laid in Asses for offering to oppose him. Then he march'd to *Sutri*, where he was met by the Pope's Legates, and his own Ambassadors which he had sent to the Pope, who had agreed, That the Pope should Crown the Emperor, and that the Emperor should no more assume to himself the Right of *Investitures*, providing that the Bishops and Abbots should restore all the Lands and Goods, that they and their Predecessors had got from the Emperor and his Predecessors: The Emperor very willingly comply'd with this; and the Pope on the other hand was glad of this Chimerical Honour, which was granted to the Church, not valuing in the least the Ruin of the *German* Bishops, who were reduc'd to extreme Poverty by it. So this Treaty was sign'd and sworn to by both Parties, and mutual Hostages given.

After the Conclusion of this Treaty, the Emperor proceeded in his March to *Rome*, where he arriv'd upon the Eleventh of *February*, in the Year 1111. He was met at some Distance from the City by the Clergy and a great Number of People, who accompany'd him with Acclamations of joy to St. *Peter's* Church, where the Pope receiv'd him at the Top of the Stairs with the Cardinals. The Emperor kiss'd first the Pope's Foot, then his Forehead, his Eyes and his Mouth, and walk'd in to the Church upon his Right Hand. After this the Pope said Mass, and a sumptuous Entertainment was prepar'd for the Emperor. When the time of the Ceremony of the Coronation was come, the Pope ask'd the Emperor, If he would observe faithfully the Treaty that was concluded betwixt them? The Emperor answer'd, That he was very willing to do it, providing the *German* Bishops would consent to it; and that it was necessary to know their Thoughts about it. Upon this the Pope wrote a Letter to them, wherein he told them, what an Honour it would be to the Church to be freed from the Servitude of *Investitures*, and exhorted them to quit those Lands and Goods, which they had from the Emperor's Predecessors, they being rather a Burden to them than any thing else: But the *German* Bishops were not so easily perswaded to quit with their Riches, and impoverish themselves for the Pope's Pleasure; for in their Answer to him, they told him, That they were very much surpris'd at his Disposing of their Goods, which did not belong to him, and that they would never condescend to such an unreasonable Proposal. In the mean time the Emperor summon'd the Pope to Crown him, and the Pope refusing to do it, he caus'd his Guards apprehend him and several of his Cardinals. The News of the Pope's being Prisoner was no sooner heard of, but the *Romans* rose in Arms, and, being animated by the Cardinals *Frescati* and *Ostia*, they kill'd several *Germans* that were dispers'd up and down the City, and then march'd directly to the Emperor's Quarters, and attacked his Troops with a great deal of Vigour; so that the Emperor himself was in great danger of his Life: But at length the Emperor's

Forces, after a very obstinate Fight, got the Victory. Two Days after this; the Emperor march'd with all his Forces out of the City, taking alongst with him the Pope and all the Cardinals, whom he had taken Prisoners. At length the Pope, after he had been two Months Prisoner, condescended to Crown the Emperor, and to grant him the *Investitures*; and accordingly upon the 13th of *April* the Emperor receiv'd the Imperial Crown, in St. *Peter's* Church, from the Pope's Hands; and, as a Testimony of his Sincerity, he gave him the one half of the Sacrament or Wafer, which he had Consecrated, taking the other half to himself, protesting that he gave it him as a Seal and Token of the Friendship and Peace that had been concluded betwixt them; and that he who first broke this Peace should, by this, be declar'd a separated Member from the Kingdom of *Jesus Christ*. The Pope likewise gave him a Bull, whereby he declar'd, That he granted and confirm'd to the Emperor the Privilege of *Investiture* that his Predecessors had; and that he might give the *Investiture* to all the Bishops and Abbots of his Dominions, by the Ring and by the Cross, providing that they were chosen without Simony or Violence; and that none should receive Consecration but after their *Investiture*, excepting alwise those who have been accustomed to receive their *Investitures* from Arch-Bishops, or the Hands of the Pope: And this Concession is founded upon Two Reasons; The First is, That the Emperor's Predecessors had considerably enrich'd the Churches of *Germany* by the Crown-Lands that had been given them; The other is, Because it is necessary, that the Dissentions and Troubles, that happen at Elections, should be appeas'd by the Imperial Authority. Then the Pope pronounces an Anathema against all those that would not submit to this Bull.

The Emperor, having got his Design thus accomplish'd, return'd to *Germany* thorow *Lombardy*, causing all the Cities, as he pass'd, take an Oath of Fidelity and Submission to him, and came to *Spire* in the Month of *August*, in the Year 1111, where he caus'd his Father's Corps to be Interr'd with great Pomp and Solemnity. In the mean time the Pope, who had convoy'd the Emperor some part of the way, upon his Return to *Rome*, found a great many of the Cardinals dissatisfy'd with what he had done; for in his absence they had call'd an Assembly, in which they revok'd all that the Pope had done, and confirm'd all the Decrees of his Predecessors against the *Investitures*. Upon this the Pope told them, That what he had done was more out of Constraint and Necessity than Choice, that otherwise the City of *Rome* had been destroy'd; and that tho' their Intention was good, yet he blam'd their too forward Zeal. *Brunon*, Bishop of *Signi* and Abbot of Mount *Cassin*, was one of those who spoke most against the *Investitures*. The Pope, fearing that, if the Monks of Mount *Cassin* were induc'd to be of their Abbot's Opinion, it might be of a dangerous Consequence, order'd *Brunon* to retire to his Bishopric, and caus'd choose another Abbot in his Place.

But the Pope, being extremely vex'd that he should in the least have disapprov'd any thing that his Predecessors had done, to vindicate himself, call'd a Council of about an Hundred Bishops, who met in the *Laterane* Church in the Month of *March*, in the Year 1112. Upon the Fifth Day of the Council, the Pope told them after what manner the Empe-

Emperor had taken him Prisoner with several of his Cardinals, and that he was oblig'd, contrary to his Inclination, to grant that Prince the Right of *Investitures*, for obtaining his own Liberty, the Peace of the Church, and the Good of the People; that they had sworn mutually to one another, and tho' the Emperor had not kept to his Oath, yet he was resolv'd to keep his, tho' he could not but acknowledge, that he was much in the wrong, and desir'd that they might fall upon some Expedient for repairing of this Fault, that the Church might sustain no Prejudice by it, and that they might not in the least suspect him. The next Day he made a Confession of his Faith to them, by which he declar'd, That he embrac'd the Faith and Doctrine contain'd in the Holy Scriptures, in the Four First General Councils, in the Decrees of the Popes his Predecessors, particularly in those of Pope Gregory the VII. and Pope Urban the II. That he approv'd of what ever these Popes approv'd of, and condemn'd what ever they condemn'd. After this Declaration, Gerard Bishop of *Angouleme* read a Paper, by which it was declar'd, That all those who were present at that Council (for their Number had increas'd much from the Time of their first sitting down) condemn'd, declar'd null and rescinded entirely the Privilege, or rather the extorted Privilege that the Emperor *Henry* had got from Pope *Paschal*, and particularly because by it was granted, that those who were duly Elected by the Clergy and People, could not be Consecrated till they had receiv'd the *Investiture* from the Emperor. This was approv'd of by all the Prelates of this Council, which was compos'd of an Hundred and Fourteen Bishops, Twelve Arch-Bishops, and Three and Twenty Cardinal-Priests or Deacons.

There was nothing done in this Council against the Emperor's Person; but Guy, Arch-Bishop of *Vienna* and the Pope's Legate, who was a Man very Zealous for the Interest of the Holy See, call'd a Council in the Month of *September*, in which he not only caus'd this Privilege of *Investiture* to be declar'd Null, as they had done in that of *Laterane*, but likewise declar'd, That it was an Heresy to receive the *Investiture* of Benefices from the Hands of Laics, and pass'd a Sentence of Excommunication against the Emperor. After which he wrote for the Pope's Approbation of what he had done. The Pope, who had already declar'd himself against what he had done formerly and sworn to, made no Difficulty of Approving of what this Arch-Bishop had done. Cardinal *Conon*, Bishop of *Palestrina* and Legate of the Holy See for the East, did likewise Excommunicate the Emperor, not only in a Council at *Jerusalem*, but likewise in several others which he call'd in his returning from the East, in the Years 1114 and 1115.

This Prince, finding by all these Procedures that he was not like to enjoy in Peace the *Investitures*, resolv'd upon a Second Journey to *Italy*, and he was induc'd the more to do this, because his Presence was necessary there; for the Princess *Mathilda*, who died upon the 24th of *July* in the Year 1115. left him her Heir. Having come then with his Army into *Lombardy* to take Possession of these Lands, he sent the Abbot of *Cluny* and some others to the Pope with Proposals and Articles of Accommodation. At this time the Pope had call'd another Council in the Church of *Laterane*, which began upon the 6th of *March* in the Year 1116. The Three First *Sederunts* were employ'd in Dis-

cussing the Particular Affairs of some Bishops: But some of the Bishops, complaining that they were detain'd too long about Affairs of no Consequence to the Church, desir'd that they might fall to examine what they were call'd for, that they might know what the Pope's Sentiments were about *Investitures*, and what to Teach when they return'd to their Diocesses. Upon this Remonstrance the Pope declar'd, That he acknowledg'd, that, with a Design of putting a Stop to the Intrigues, Murders, and other Crimes which were committed every Day at the Elections of Bishops, he had committed a very great Crime in granting the Emperor the Privilege of *Investitures*, and that he now condemn'd it with an Eternal Anathema, and desir'd them to concur with him. Upon which the whole Council with one Voice cry'd out, *Let it be so, Let it be so.* Then *Brunon* Bishop of *Signi*, addressing himself to the Council, said, "Let us give Thanks, my Brethren, to God, for having heard Pope *Paschal*, President of this Council, condemn this wicked Privilege, which is both Unjust and Heretical. Upon which one of the Bishops said, That if that Privilege was an Heresy, certainly he who granted it must be an Heretic. This mov'd Cardinal *John Cajetan* to reply with some Passion, "That it was a great deal of Impudence to accuse the Pope of Heresy before them, and that the Paper, which the Pope had given to the Emperor, was only an ill Paper, but not an Heretical one: But another of the Bishops said, That it could not be call'd absolutely ill, because it was done for Delivering of the People of God, which is a good Work and agreeable to the Gospel. The Pope, whose Patience was try'd to the outmost Degree by this Accusation of Heresy, commanded Silence; Then with an Audible Voice he address'd himself to them, thus: "My Lords and Brethren, 'tis well known to the whole World, that the Church of *Rome* was never tainted with Heresy, but that it has quell'd all Heresies; That the *Arian* Heresy, which lasted for Three Hundred Years, was condemn'd at *Rome*; That the Heresies of *Eutychius* and *Sabellius* were condemn'd; That She has condemn'd *Photinus* and all the other Heretics; And in fine that it is for this Church that the Son of God pray'd in His Passion, when he said, Peter, *I will pray for you, that you may remain firm in the Faith.* And thus ended the Third *Sederunt*. The Pope did not assist at the Fourth, being busied in giving Audiences to the Emperor's Deputies. The Fifth *Sederunt* began with great Heat and Dispute amongst them, Whether the Emperor should be Excommunicated or not? The Pope, for appeasing of them, told them, That in the Primitive Times the Church flourish'd by the Blood of the Martyrs and the Piety of Christians, who worshipp'd God in Private, not daring to do it before Men; That afterwards, Emperors and Kings, being Converted to the Christian Religion, honour'd the Church by bestowing, upon her, Lands, Revenues and Temporal Dignities; and as this proceeded from the Goodness of those Princes to the Church, so the Church ought to be meek and merciful to their Descendants. Then he revok'd the Privilege of *Investitures*, and renew'd the Decrees of Pope *Gregory* the VII; but he would pronounce nothing against the Person of the Emperor in Particular, yet he confirm'd that which Cardinal *Conon*, Bishop of *Palestrina*, had done against this Prince in *Syria*, *Greece*, *Hungary*, *Saxony*, *Lorraine* and *France*.

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The Emperor, being inform'd of what this Council had done, resolv'd to go himself to *Rome* with his Army, to vindicate his own Privileges. The Pope, hearing of this, retir'd to Mount *Cassin*, and for greater Security pass'd from thence to *Apulia*; so that when the Emperor came to *Rome*, there was none to resist him, and he enter'd peaceably into the City, where he was Crown'd for a Second Time, by *Maurice Burdin* Arch-Bishop of *Brague*. The Emperor, having staid till *Easter* was over at *Rome*, was oblig'd to retire for the great Heats towards *Tuscany*, from whence he sent Ambassadors to the Pope, who promis'd him all sort of Satisfaction, if he would take off the Sentence of Excommunication. The Pope told them, that he had not Excommunicated him; because he had engag'd himself by Oath to do nothing; but that he could not take away the Excommunications that others had pronounced against him, till he heard them both in a Council. In the mean time the Pope, having rais'd some new Forces, resolv'd to return to *Rome*; and having come the length of *Anagnia*, fell sick, but recovering his Health within a few Days after, he march'd with his Army to *Palestrina*, where he kept his *Christmass*, and from thence went straight to *Rome*, where he died Two Days after his Arrival; in the Month of *January* in the Year 1118.

After his Death, the Cardinals assembled in a Monastery of the *Benedictines* at *Rome* call'd *Palladium*; and Six Days after they made Choice of *John Cajetan* Chancellor to the Holy See, who was proclaim'd Pope under the Name of *Gelasius* the II. Cardinal *Cincius*, being extremely incens'd against them, for not having made Choice of the Cardinal that he propos'd; entred with Arm'd Men into the Monastery; seiz'd upon the Pope, maltreated him, and carried him Prisoner to his own Palace. Upon this the *Romans* rose in Arms, and oblig'd *Cincius* to deliver the Pope to them, and they put him in Possession of the Poppedom, which he peaceably enjoy'd till the Arrival of the Emperor; who, being inform'd that *Gelasius* would not confirm him in the Privilege of the *Investitures*, came immediately to *Rome* with his Troops. Upon which the Pope made his Escape by Sea to *Cajeta*, where he was Consecrated by the Bishop of *Ostia*, in Presence of *William* Duke of *Apulia*, and *Robert* Prince of *Capua*. In the mean time the Emperor caus'd choose in his Place *Maurice Burdin* Arch-Bishop of *Brague*, and caus'd him to be Proclaim'd Pope under the Name of Pope *Gregory* the VIII. *Gelasius*, being inform'd of this, and having got a considerable Army together, march'd straight to *Campagna di Roma* or *Campania*; where the Emperor was then besieging a very strong Place. Upon this the Emperor immediately rais'd the Siege, and retir'd in all haste to *Germany*. After this the Pope re-took several Places in *Campania*; and went secretly to *Rome*: But, finding that his Enemies were too Powerful there for him, he put his Affairs in as good Order as he could, and retir'd to *France* to the Abbacy of *Cluny*, where he died of a *Pleurisy*; upon the 29th of *January*, in the Year 1119. having Nominated, at his Death, for his Successor, Cardinal *Guy* Arch-Bishop of *Vienna*, *Connon* Bishop of *Palestrina* having refus'd it. This Nomination was approv'd of by all the Cardinals that were at *Cluny* at the Pope's Death; so that they unanimously made Choice of him; and, it being approv'd of by the Cardinals at *Rome*, he was Consecrated by the Bishop of *Ostia*; and

and proclaim'd Pope under the Name of *Calixtus* the II. The Emperor, who had been of new Excommunicated, by *Canon*, in Two Councils held in *Germany*, for the Peace of *Germany* and to be free from those constant Excommunications, held an Assembly at *Tribur*; in which it was propos'd to terminate, by an Accommodation, the Difference betwixt him and the Pope. The Emperor agreed to this, and advertis'd the Pope that he would come for that end to the Council, which he had call'd to meet at *Rheims* upon the 18th of *October*. In the mean time the Pope, to prepare all things for a good Agreement, sent to the Emperor *William de Champeaux* Bishop of *Chalons*, and the Abbot of *Cluny*. They met the Emperor at *Strasbourg*, and told him, That they were come from the Pope to confer with him about their intended Agreement. The Emperor ask'd them, What could they propose for making up the Peace betwixt him and the Pope, and not to encroach upon his Rights and Privileges? The Bishop of *Chalons* answer'd him; That, if he was sincerely desigining, that a lasting Peace should be made betwixt him and the Pope, his only way was to be upon the same footing as to the *Investitures* with *France*, where, tho' the Bishops receive not the *Investiture* from the King's Hand, either before or after their Consecration, yet they were oblig'd to pay all the Taxes, Services and Duties that the King demanded of them. The Emperor said, That he requir'd no more than this, and that the Pope would restore, to his Subjects, all the Lands that he had taken from them during the Time of the War. These Two Deputies, having got this Answer from the Emperor, went straight to the Pope, whom they found near to *Paris*; and having acquainted him with the Emperor's Resolution, he immediately sent to the Emperor Two Cardinals, to finish this Negotiation. They found the Emperor betwixt *Mentz* and *Verdun*, and the same Conditions were agreed to, and sign'd by both Parties; and to consummate the whole Affair, the Emperor promis'd to meet with the Pope at *Mouzon* upon the 24th of *October*.

The Council of *Rheims* sat down upon the 21st of *October*. The Pope and *Lewis* King of *France* were Personally present, with 15 Arch-Bishops, and more than 200 Bishops of *France*, *Spain*, *Germany* and *Brittain*, with a great Number of Abbots and other Clergy-Men. The Pope made a Discourse upon the Gospel of the Day, and Cardinal *Canon* another upon the Pastoral Care. Then the King of *France* made a great many Complaints of *Henry* King of *England*. *Gaufroy* Arch-Bishop of *Rouen* endeavour'd to excuse him; but he was oblig'd to hold his Peace, by reason of the great Noise that the Assembly made. Then they treated of several other Affairs; but I shall only take notice of what was done in the Controversy between the Emperor and the Pope.

The Pope, having made a Discourse upon the manifold Advantages of Peace, told them of the Treaty of Peace that was upon foot betwixt him and the Emperor. Then the Cardinals, who were the Emperor's Deputies, the Bishop of *Chalons* and the Abbot of *Cluny*, acquainted the Council of what they had done. The next Day the Pope took his leave of the Council, entreating the Assistance of their Prayers in his Absence, that a happy Peace might be concluded betwixt him and the Emperor. Then he took Journey and came to *Mouzon*. Upon the *Thursday* after, having had a Conference with the Prelates that he had brought

brought alongſt with him, and read the Project of Accommodation, the Pope ſent the ſame Deputies to the Emperor, who had begun the Negotiation. At firſt the Emperor denied that he had granted any thing; but, finding the contrary under his own Hand, he deſir'd ſome Days of Delay, that he might have time to conſider upon it: But the Pope, finding that this was only a Shift, and that he had no real Deſign of making an Agreement with him, return'd back to the Council, and gave them an Account of what had paſſ'd betwixt him and the Emperor. Then they made Five Canons; but that concerning the *Investitures* made a great deal of Noiſe in the Council, which was expreſs'd in theſe Words: "We abſolutely diſcharge either the Receiving of Eccleſiaſtic Goods, or the *Investiture* of Churches from the Hands of Laics. Many believ'd, that, by theſe Words, the Clergy were excluded from the Tithes and Benefices they had receiv'd from Laics; but the next Day the Pope took away all Matter of Debate, by altering the Canon thus, "We abſolutely diſcharge the Receiving the *Investiture* of Biſhoprics and Abbacies from the Hands of Laics. After this there were brought 427 Wax Candles, and diſtributed amongſt the Aſſembly, who all immediately roſe and held them in their Hand lighted, till the Pope Excommunicated the Emperor, the Anti-Pope *Burdin*, and all their Adherents. Then he declar'd all the Emperor's Subjects free from their Oath of Fidelity, and diſcharg'd them from obeying him, till ſuch time as he return'd to his Duty, and ſatisfy'd the Church.

The next Year, Pope *Calixtus* went to *Italy*, and was receiv'd at *Rome* in great Triumph and Splendour; and *Burdin* the Anti-Pope fled to *Sutri*, and from thence made daily Incuſſions to the very Gates of *Rome*. This oblig'd *Calixtus* to go to *Apulia*, from whence he brought a very conſiderable Army, with which he laid Siege to the City of *Sutri*. The Inhabitants of this City, finding that they could hold out no longer, ſeiz'd upon *Burdin* and deliver'd him up to his Enemies, who in Deriſion dreſs'd him up in the Skin of a Goat, and put him upon a white Camel, with his Face towards the Tail; which he held in his Hand as a Bridle; and he was thus carried thorow the City, receiving all alongſt as he went the Inſults of the Mobb. After which he was committed Priſoner to a Caſtle, and then convoy'd to a Monastery, where he ſpent the remnant of his Days in an involuntary Penance.

The Pope, after this Victory, became abſolute Maſter of *Rome*, and ſent a Legation to *Adalbert* Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz* (a ſworn Enemy of the Emperor) for raiſing an Inſurrection in *Saxony*, which was accordingly done; ſo that a bloody War had enſued, if the Chief Lords of both Parties had not agreed betwixt themſelves upon a Treaty of Peace; by which it was agreed, that the Emperor ſhould have on the one Hand, and the Church on the other, all that belong'd to them, and that Deputies ſhould be ſent to *Rome*, to accommodate the Affair betwixt the Emperor and the Pope. The Deputies that were ſent, were *Brunon* Biſhop of *Spire*, and *Arnoul* Abbot of *Fulda*. The Pope and they having agreed, the Pope ſent to *Germany* Cardinal *Lambert* Biſhop of *Oſtia*, and Two other Cardinals, who met with the Emperor at *Worms*, in the Month of *September* in the Year 1122. where at length a Treaty was concluded, by which the Emperor, on the one hand,

oblig'd himself to resign the *Investitures* that were given by the Ring and the Cross ; To leave to all the Churches of his Dominions the Liberty of Elections and Consecrations ; To restore to the Church of *Rome* all that had been taken from Her, either by himself or by his Father ; To restore to all other Churches, Princes and Private Persons what had been taken from them ; To live in Peace with the Pope, and to assist him upon all pressing Occasions. The Pope, on the other hand, oblig'd himself, That all the Elections of Bishops and Abbots, thorow the *Teutonic* Kingdom, should be in the Presence of the Emperor, without Simony or Constraint, providing alwise, if a Dispute hapned, that the Emperor should be oblig'd to approve of what was approv'd of by the Metropolitan and other Bishops of the Province ; That he who was elected should receive the *Regalia*, or *Investiture*, from the Emperor by the Scepter, alwise excepting what belong'd to the Church of *Rome*, and that he should be oblig'd to perform all that these *Regalia* oblig'd him too ; That all the Prelates of the Emperor's other Dominions should receive likewise the *Regalia* from the Emperor by the Scepter, in Six Months after their Consecration ; That he should assist the Emperor in all his pressing Affairs, and take off the Sentence of Excommunication from him and his Adherents. These Articles were solemnly publish'd in the Emperor's Camp ; and then the Legates absolv'd the Emperor and his Adherents. After this, the Treaty, being brought to *Rome*, was confirm'd in the General Council of *Lateran*, in the Year 1123, and proclaim'd at *Rome*. And thus ended this Famous Controversy, which disturb'd the Peace of the Church for several Years. And by this Abridgment of it the Reader may not only conceive, what the nature of our Author's Performance was, but likewise thorow what Places and where he travel'd, being oblig'd, as we have said, to accompany the Emperor in both his Expeditions.

He is made
the Empe-
ror's Poet
Laureate.

Besides this History, we are told, that our Author wrote a Panegyric, in Heroic Verse, upon the Emperor, and that he made him his Poet Laureate ; and this seems very probable from the Emperor's calling him from his Employment of Teaching the *Belle-Lettre* (of which Poetry is a principal Part) to celebrate his Actions. I know it may be Objected, that the First Poet Laureate of *Germany* was *Conradus Celtes* (k) : But this is certainly a Mistake ; for in his Patent, the Reason of making him Poet Laureate, in Imitation of what the Emperor's Predecessors had done, *Priscorum Imperatorum antecessorum nostrorum more*, does not only intimate, that there were several before him, but likewise we know from unquestionable Authorities, that this Custom of Crowning of Poets with the Laurel was very Ancient ; for we find mention made of it by *Lucretius* (l), that liv'd before the beginning of the *Roman* Monarchy ;

An Account
of the Cu-
stom of ma-
king off Poets
Laureate.

*Insignemque meo capiti petere inde Coronam
Unde prius nulli velarunt tempora Musæ.*

And other frequent Testimonies may be found of the Custom of Crowning of Poets in Ancient Times, in *Carolus Paschal's* Book *de Coronis* (m) :
But

(k) Vid. Selden's Tit. of Honour, Par. 2. Chap. 1. Pag. 337. (l) Lucret. Lib. 1. (m) Carol. Paschal, de Coronis, Lib. 5. Cap. 12, 13. & 14.

but it must be acknowledg'd, that that which first made any such Crowns proper to the Gift of the Emperors was introduc'd by *Domitian*, who was the First that brought in the *Agones* or *Certamina* of the Poets (*n*); for we find that he made Two of these *Agones* or Acts, the *Agon Capitolinus*, which was celebrated in Honour of *Jupiter* within every Four Years or every *Lustrum* (for so *Lustrum* is here to be interpreted) and the *Quinquatria* dedicated to *Pallas*, and celebrated Yearly. In both these Acts the Ensigns of Excellency, given by solemn Judgment of the Emperor and his assistant Judges, were Crowns, in the First, of Oak-leaves or Branches of Oak, in the Second, of Olive mixt with Fillets or Labels of Gold; and if one were crown'd alone, he was then said to be crown'd *contra omnes Poetas*. *Martial* remembers both these Acts in that on *Domitian's* Birth-day (*o*),

*Hic colat Albano Tritonida multus in Auro
Perque manus tantas plurima Quercus eat.*

And, in several others of his Epigrams, he mentions the Crowns given in these Acts, as in that to *Collinus* (*p*).

*O cui Tarpeias licuit contingere Quercus,
Et meritis prima cingere fronde comas.*

By *prima fronde* here, several Learn'd Men understand the general Excellency of the Crown, because it was both Sacred to *Jupiter*, and given by the Emperor's Hand: But the Learn'd Mr. *Selden* is of the Opinion, that it signifies the First Crown; for, when divers were crown'd, the First Crown might very well give the best Dignity of that Act, the Second the next, and so of the rest; and *Ausonius* confirms this Conjecture about the Degrees in the Crowns, and in the Dignities that were given by them in these Verses to *Paulinus* (*q*).

*Et quæ jamdudum tibi Palma Poetica pallet
Lemnisco ornata est, quo mea Palma caret.*

Where we see, that he makes the Crown, that had the *Lemnisci* or Fillets, to be of more Dignity than that which wanted them. *Statius* was thrice crown'd in the *Quinquatria*, as he himself testifies in that to his Wife *Claudia* (*r*).

--- Ter me vidisti Albana ferentem
Dona Comes, sanctoque indutum Cæsaris Auro
Visceribus complexa tuis, Sertisque dedisti
Oscula anabela meis ---

The same Honour he remembers in the Celebration of *Domitian's* Feast (*f*);

--- Talis longo post tempore venit
Lux mihi Trojanæ qualis sub collibus Albæ
Cum modo Germanicas acies, modo Dacæ sonantem
Prælia, Palladio tua me manus induit Auro.

I i

But

(*n*) Vid. *Selden* ubi sup. (*o*) *Mar.* Lib. 4. Epig. 1. & *Videlsis* Lib. 5. Epig. 24. (*p*) Lib. 4. Epig. 54. (*q*) *Scalig?* *Auson;* *Lect.* Lib. Cap. 19. (*r*) *Sylvarum* 3. (*f*) *Sylvarum* 4.

But as he had the Crown thrice in the *Quinquatria*, so he lost it in the *Agon Capitolinus*, and complains of his Dishonour in the Verses that follow those before cited to his Wife.

----- *Tu cum Capitolia nostræ*
Inficiata Lyræ scvum ingrutumque dolebas
Mecum victa Jovem. -----

And this Loss of the Crown was upon the Recital of his *Thebais*, as it appears from his own Words in his *Epicede* on his Father (t),

Nam quod me mixta Quercus non pressit Oliva,
Et fugit speratus Honos, &c.

Where he means, that tho' he had the Crown of Olive with the Gold (which he calls *Albana dona*) yet he could not add to it the Crown of Oak, which he expected in the *Capitoline Act*.

Under *Trajan*, the following Inscription was made to the Honour of *L. Valerius*, a Child of XIII. Years, Crown'd in the same Act amongst others (u).

L. VALERIO L. F.
PUDENTI.
HIC CUM ESSET ANNORUM
XIII. ROMÆ CERTAMINE
JOVIS CAPITOLINI LUSTRO
SEXTO CLARITATE INGENII
CORONATUS EST INTER
POETAS LATINOS OMNIBUS
SENTENTIIS JUDICUM
HUIC PLEBS UNIVERSA
HISCONIENSIIUM STATUAM
ÆRE COLLATO DECREVIT
CURAT R. P.

Now the Beginning of this *Sextum Lustrum*, reckon'd from the First Institution of the *Agon Capitolinus*, which was in the LXXXVI. of our Saviour (according to the Vulgar Account) or in the DCCCXXXIX., from the Building of *Rome*, falls to be the CVI. of our Saviour, or about the middle of *Trajan's* Reign. Afterward this Custom of Crowning Poets continued unto the Time of *Theodosius* the First, as it is observ'd by *Scaliger* upon *Ausonius*, who liv'd then (x), and writes these Verses of *Atticus Tiro Delphidius*,

Tu pene ab ipsis orsus incunabulis
Dei Poeta nobilis,
Sertum Coronæ præferens Olympicæ,
Puer celebrasti Jovem.

The *Corona Olympica* denotes here the *Quercus Capitolina*, or Crown of Oak, or *Tarpeia Quercus*, as *Martial* calls it.

After this, we find no more mention of the Crowning of Poets till our Author's time, and a few Years after, in *Frederic* the First's time,
Bona-

(t) Vid. *Scaliger*. de Emend. Temp. Lib. 5. Pag. 453, & 454. (u) *Gruter*. Pag. 332. Num. 3. (x) Vid. *Scalig.* *Auson.* Lect. Lib. 1. Cap. 10.

Bonaventure makes mention of a Poet, that came to see St. Francis (y) (who liv'd in the end of that Emperor's Reign) and was crown'd by the Emperor: But afterwards the Laurel was given, by *Frederic* the III. to *Conradus Celtes*, who was made, by a Patent of *Maximilian* the I. the First Superintendent or Rector of the College of Poetry and Rhetoric in *Vienna*, with the Authority of giving the Laurel to such as deserv'd it; and upon this Account, he is call'd the First Poet Laureate of *Germany*, and not from his being the First who receiv'd the Honour of being Crown'd with the Laurel.

And this much I thought fit to say in Answer to this Objection, which might seem to ruin the Credit of our Author's being Poet Laureate: But whether he was so or not, I believe, I may say, without the hazard of incurring any Censure, that the Learn'd of all the Nations in the World will acknowledge, that the *Scots* Nation have produc'd several Poets, who have deserv'd the Laurel as well as any that ever receiv'd it from the Imperial Hand.

Bale says, That our Author entred into Holy Orders, and was ordain'd a Presbyter; and *Dempster* from this makes him the Emperor's Chaplain; and *Camerarius*, that he might not be behind with them, says, That he was the Emperor's Confessor, and afterwards made Bishop of *Bangor*. Besides these Works of his, which we have already mention'd, *Vossius* says, That he wrote a Description of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; but it seems that this and others mention'd by *Dempster* are lost. We know not the Year of his Death; but, by all the Accounts that we have of him, it must have been towards the Middle of the Twelfth Century. He is said to have written his History in an easy and intelligible Stile; and *Dempster* says, That he was a Person of great Probity of Manners and Learning.

His Death
and Chara-
cter.

(y) Vita B. Francisc. Cap: 4.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *Iter Imperatoris Rom. & Expeditionis series Ext. MSS. in Bib. Vindib.*
- II. *De Regno Scotorum.*
- III. *Apologia ad Cæsarem.*
- IV. *Magistratuum Insignia.*

THE LIFE of St. *ÆLRED*, *Abbot of Riedual.*

ÆLRED, Abbot of *Riedual*, was by Birth a Person of Quality, and was brought up, from his Infancy, with Prince *Henry* Son to *David* King of *Scotland*, as he informs us himself in the Life of that King (a). In his younger Years he apply'd himself chiefly to the

His Paren-
tage and
Education.

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Belle-

(a) Vid. Vit. David Scot. Reg. Guith. Cave Hist. Liter. Par. 1. Dempst. Hist. Ecclesi. Gent. Scot. Pag. 249. Lib. 5.

Belle-Lettre, and made a very considerable Progress in History and Poetry, as it evidently appears from his Works that we have still extant: But, upon the Death of Prince *Henry*, he retir'd himself from the World; and, if we may believe *Dempster*, he went first to the Monastery of *Jona* or *Hey*, and then to *Riedual*, a Monastery in *Northumberland* Founded by King *Malcolm*, and Demolish'd by the *English* in the Time of King *Alexander*. Others think, that it was to the Monastery of *Revesby* in *Lincoln-Shire* that he retir'd: But, be that as it will, 'tis certain that, during the time of his Retirement, he apply'd himself closely to the Study of Theology, and made a very considerable Progress in it.

He retires from the World to the Monastery of *Riedual*.

About this time our Author became acquainted with St. *Bernard*, who, tho' he liv'd in a very remote Desert, was acquainted with all the Princes, Bishops and Abbots of any Note in the Western Church, being consulted by them in all their weighty Affairs, and highly esteem'd for his many rare and excellent Endowments, but by none more than by our Author, who endeavour'd to imitate him, even to his very Stile and manner of Writing: And hence it is, that a great many of our Author's Works were esteem'd to be written by St. *Bernard*, and as such are Printed amongst his Works; and amongst those is our Author's Book against the Errors of *Abailard*. For the understanding of which, we must give a brief Account of this Heretic and his Writings, it being one of the most surprising and diverting Pieces of Ecclesiastical History (b).

He becomes acquainted with St. *Bernard*.

And imitates his manner of Writing.

He writes against the Errors of *Abailard*.

An Account of *Abailard* and his Errors.

Peter Abailard was born in a Village call'd *Palais*, distant about Three Leagues from *Nantes*. His Father, tho' he was a Soldier, had some Knowledge in Letters, and took all Care imaginable about his Childrens Education. *Abailard*, who was the Youngest, had an extraordinary Genius for Letters, and particularly for Philosophy; and, that he might the better accomplish himself in that Study, he went to several Public Schools, and at length came to *Paris*, where this Science was then Taught with great Applause, by *William des Champeaux* Arch-Deacon of *Paris*, and one of the most Famous Professors of his Time. After he had study'd for some time under this Master, he began to refute his Opinions with such strength of Argument, that it was often thought, that he had the Advantage of his Master, which was the Ground of a lasting Quarrel betwixt them: But this was so far from discouraging *Abailard*, that it put him up with such an Opinion of his own Parts, that he resolv'd, tho' very Young, to go and Teach others himself. The Castle of *Melum*, which was then one of the King's Houses, seem'd to him very proper for this, it being near to *Paris*, and he accordingly obtain'd a Permission to Teach there publicly, notwithstanding of the great Opposition that was made to it by his Master, who was afraid that he might come to Eclipse him, and in effect *Abailard* no sooner began to Teach, but the Reputation of his Master daily diminish'd, which caus'd *Abailard* to come and Teach at *Corbeil*, that, being nearer *Paris*, the Disputes might be more frequent. Some time after this, *Abailard*, by his too great Application to Study, fell into a Decay, which oblig'd him to return to his Native Country. During his Absence, his Master *William des Champeaux*, was made a Canon

(b) Vid. M. Du Pin Bib. des Aut. Ecclef. Tom. 9. Pag. 108.

Canon Regular of *St. Victor*, and soon after was chosen Bishop of *Chalons*. During his Stay at *Paris* he Taught in the Monastery of *St. Victor*, and *Abailard*, being come back to *Paris*, study'd Rhetoric under him: But he had not been long there, when he and his Master began to their former Logical Disputes about '*universale a parte rei*', which *Abailard* manag'd with such Success, that he brought his Master over to his Opinion, which gain'd him such Reputation, that he, who was chosen to Teach in place of his Master, gave him the Preference, which so incens'd the Bishop, that he expell'd them both. Upon which *Abailard* return'd to *Melun*, where he Taught for some time, and then return'd to *Paris* and Taught at *St. Genevieve*, where his Scholars had frequent Disputes with those of his Master. His Father *Berenger* having turn'd Monk, and his Mother *Lucia* retiring likewise from the World, he was oblig'd to return once more to his Native Country. After he had settled his Private Affairs there, he went to *Chalons*, to learn Theology under *Anselm* Canon and Dean of the Church of *Laon*: But, not finding his Learning answer to his Reputation, he came but very seldom to his Lectures, which made several of *Anselm's* Scholars think, that he had no Esteem of the Sacred Scriptures; whereupon one Day they ask'd him, What he thought of the Reading and Interpreting of the Sacred Scriptures? He told them, he thought that Study very useful; but that he was astonish'd to find, that Men of Letters should not be satisfy'd with the Commentaries of the Holy Fathers, without troubling themselves to learn from other Masters: But, finding that they laugh'd at this Proposal of his, he told them, That he was ready to make it appear; and that he should explain the most difficult Book in the Sacred Scriptures, by the plainest and easiest Commentary that they should condescend upon. They immediately took him at his Word, and made Choice of the Book of *Ezekiel*; and he began to explain it the next Day. They, who were present, were so well satisfy'd with his Performance, that they brought a great many more alongst with them to his next Lesson. *Anselm*, thinking that this might diminish his Reputation, discharg'd him from Teaching further under this Pretext, and that, if he found him in the least vent any thing but what was Orthodox, he might expect no other Treatment but that of an Heretic. *Abailard*, being afraid of this, went to *Paris*, where he explain'd the Sacred Scriptures and taught Theology, for a considerable Time, in great Quiet and Ease. At this Time, there was at *Paris* a young Lady call'd *Heloiſſa*, whose Uncle, finding that she had an extraordinary Genius, was resolv'd to bring her up in Letters; and for that end sent her to *Abailard* to be one of his Scholars. This Lady, being one of the greatest Beauties of her Age, and having all the Charms that could render a Woman amiable, *Abailard* fell deeply in Love with; and, that he might accomplish his Design the better, he told her Uncle, That, if he would allow his Niece to stay with him to manage the Affairs of his Family, he, by reason of his Studies and close Application to his Book, being altogether ignorant and unfit for it, he could have more Time and Leisure thereby to teach her than any of the rest, and to make her one of the most accomplish'd Ladies in the World. The Uncle very willingly comply'd with this Offer, nowise in the least suspecting the Vertue

of his Niece, nor that of *Abailard*, who had liv'd hitherto without the least Stain upon his Reputation. Thus, under the Pretext of Studying, *Abailard* had a fair Occasion of letting his Mistress know his Passion; and when she came to be taught her Lesson, all their Time was spent in Love, and there were more Kisses given than Sentences read, as he himself expresses it, *Sub occasione Disciplinæ amori penitus vacabamus, & secretos recessus, quos amor optabat, studium Læctionis offerebat: Apertis itaque libris plura de amore quam de læctione verba se ingererant, plura erant Oscula quam Sententiæ.* At length the Beautiful *Heloïssa* became as much enamour'd of *Abailard* as he was of her, and all knew the mutual Love they had for one another, except the Uncle; but he was no sooner inform'd of it than he drove *Abailard* from his House, and took his Niece Home to himself. Some Days after, *Heloïssa*, whose Love was noways abated by this involuntary Separation, wrote a Letter to *Abailard*, wherein she gave him an Account of her being with Child. Upon this *Abailard* stole her from her Uncle's House, and convey'd her privately to the Country in the disguis'd Habit of a *Religieuse*, where she was brought to Bed of a Son, who was Christned and Nam'd *Astrolabe*. The Uncle, all enrag'd for the Loss of his Niece, was resolv'd to have kill'd *Abailard*; but, fearing that his Friends, in Revenge, might murder her likewise, he resolv'd to wait for some convenient Opportunity of shewing his Resentment. In the mean time *Abailard* came to him, and told him, That he was very willing to marry his Niece, providing that he would keep it secret. The Uncle, who knew of no better Expedient for saving his Niece's Honour, very willingly comply'd with this Proposal. Upon which *Abailard* went to the Country, and acquainted her of it; but so extravagantly Amorous was she, that, finding the Knowledge of his Marriage would deprive him of the Benefices he enjoy'd, she would by no means consent to it; yet at length, upon his unweary'd Importunity, she condescended and return'd with *Abailard* to *Paris*, where they were secretly married in a Church, in the Presence of her Uncle and several of their Friends. After this Marriage they made a voluntary Separation to conceal it, and never met but very rarely and secretly. On t'other hand the Uncle and her other Friends immediately divulg'd the Marriage to save her Reputation: But she, who valu'd *Abailard*'s Interest more than her own Reputation, or any thing else in the World, swore by all that was Sacred that there was no such thing; and this made her Uncle and her other Friends treat her very harshly. Upon which *Abailard* resolv'd to put her into the Monastery of *Argenteuil*, where she had been brought up in her younger Years, to live there amongst the Nuns, but without the Vail. Her Uncle and Friends, thinking that by this he design'd to mock them, resolv'd to be reveng'd upon him by committing a most Barbarous Action; for, in the Night-time, they came to an Inn where *Abailard* was lodg'd, and, having seiz'd upon him, they punish'd him by depriving him of the Parts of Generation: Upon which such an Effusion of Blood follow'd, that it had almost cost him his Life; but the Consternation and Amazement that the poor *Heloïssa* was struck with, at the News of this horrid Action, is not to be imagin'd. And so far did the Malice of his Enemies reach, that, after he was recover'd of his Wounds, they accus'd him of having still

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Carnal Desires after *Heloissa*. Upon which he wrote a Letter to one of his Friends, giving him an Account of all his Misfortunes and the Malice of his Enemies. This Letter falling into the Hands of *Heloissa*, she broke it open, and wrote a Letter to him, wherein she tells him, That, knowing the Hand-writ, she could not restrain her self from breaking it up, and reading it with all the Passion and Love that ever she had for him; and that it was but just, that, since she was now depriv'd of him, she should receive some Consolation from the reading of his Letters, yet she could not but acknowledge, that this Letter had afforded her great Matter of Grief and Affliction, by putting her in mind of their by-past Misfortunes, and the many Crosses he had endur'd for her Sake. Then she conjures him by all that's Sacred, that he would let her hear frequently from him, that she might participate with him in his Joys as well as in his Sorrows; and that, if he had written for the Satisfaction of his Friends the History of his Misfortunes, he was much more oblig'd to write them to her, especially considering the great Love that she had always bore him, and the great Loss that she sustain'd by being separated from him; for she never had any Motive that engag'd her, but the Love of his own Person; and that the Character of being his Concubine was more agreeable to her than that of being his Wife, because it was a greater Testimony of her Love, being willing to sacrifice her Reputation and all that was dear to her in the World, for preserving of his and his Interest. Then she says, That, tho' the Emperor had desir'd her in Marriage, and bestow'd upon her the Empire of the whole World, she would have preferr'd the Title of *Abailard's* Concubine, before that of Empress. Then she minds him of several of their Amorous Adventures, and upbraids him for not having visited her, or wrote to her ever since she went to the Monastery, tho' it was in Obedience to him and upon his Desire, and not out of any Motive of Devotion. Then she desires him to consider what Ingratitude he is guilty of, in not visiting her, and entreats, that he would come and see her, if it were but for no more than to keep her from serving God with a wavering Mind, which she always would have, as long as he did not either visit her, or write to her; and since he had written so many Love-Letters formerly to her, to engage her Love to him, he should now write some to her to engage her Love to God.

Abailard wrote an Answer to this Letter; and several other Letters of Love and Devotion past betwixt them, which were first Printed at *Paris* in the Year 1616. in 4to.

Notwithstanding of all these Designs of his Enemies, *Abailard* still Taught at *St. Denis* near *Paris*, which was the Place he had retir'd himself to, with a great deal of Applause, in so much, that neither the Place nor Country could afford convenient Entertainment for them. This made all the other Masters at *Paris* endeavour to lessen his Reputation, by saying, that it was not seemly for a Monk to be teaching the *Belles-Lettres*, and that certainly he could not but be ignorant in Theology, and in the explaining of the Holy Scriptures, since he never had a Master. About this Time, having wrote his Treatise upon the Unity of God and upon the Trinity, his Adversaries took occasion, from several obscure and ambiguous Expressions, to accuse him of

Heresy, till at length, after a great many Altercations, Meetings and Disputes, he was condemn'd for maintaining the 14 following Erroneous Principles. The First is for making use of the Comparison of a Brass Seal to explain the Mystery of the Trinity, saying, That this Seal was compos'd of the Matter and of the Figure imprinted upon it; for the Seal is not the Matter alone, nor the Figure alone, but a Whole compos'd of them both, yet notwithstanding really the Seal was nothing else but this Matter so figur'd, tho' the Figure be not the Matter, nor the Matter the Figure. The Second is for saying, That the Holy Ghost is not a Power, nor of the Substance of the Father, tho' the Three Persons of the Trinity be of the same Substance. The Third is for saying, That God can do nothing but that which He does. The Fourth is for saying, That the End of the Incarnation was not folly for delivering of Mankind from Damnation, but to enlighten the World with the Rays of His Wisdom. The Fifth is for saying, That we could not say properly and without a Figure, that *Jesus Christ* was the Third Person of the Trinity. The Sixth is for saying, That God gives not more Grace to him that is Sav'd than to him that is Damn'd, till he co-operate with His Grace; and that He offers His Grace to all Men, and that it depends upon their Liberty either to accept of it or reject it. The Seventh is for saying, That God neither could nor would hinder Evil. The Eighth is for saying, That, when 'tis said, that Children contract Original Sin, it must be understood of the Temporal and Eternal Punishment that is due to them for the Guilt of the First Man. The Ninth is for saying, That the Accidents, that remain'd after the Consecration of the Eucharist, were not adherent to the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*, as they were to the Bread and the Wine, but that they sublisted in the Air, and that the Body of *Jesus Christ* keeps its proper Figure and Lineaments, and that what we see are false Appearances for vailing the Body of *Jesus Christ*. The Tenth is for saying, That it is not the External Actions of Men that make them Good or Evil, but a good Will and Intention. The Eleventh is for saying, That the Jews, who crucify'd *Christ* thorrow Ignorance and out of Zeal for the Law, did not sin in this, and will not be Damn'd for it, but for their preceeding Sins, which brought that blind Ignorance upon them. The Twelfth is for saying, That these Words, *Whom ye bind upon Earth, shall be bound in Heaven*, are thus to be understood, All whom ye bind in this present Life shall be only bound in this present Church, and that none but the Apostles had this Power; and, if it was communicated to their Successors, it must be understood of these who have the Holy Ghost, and of none else. The Thirteenth is for saying, That it was neither the Suggestion, nor the Pleasure that follow'd upon it, that made the Sin, but the Consent and the Doing of the Action in Contempt of God. And the Last was for saying, That Omnipotency only belongs to the Father as a Personal Property.

It was against some of these Propositions that our Author wrote his Book, which is Printed in the Second Volume of St. Bernard's Works, by F. Mabillon, at Paris, in the Year 1690, in Two Volumes in Folio. As for our Author's other Works, they consist mostly in the Lives of Saints and Sermons. M. Du Pin thinks that some of the Saints Lives, that

that are attributed to him, were written by *Surius*: But tis certain, that the Lives of *St. Margaret Queen of Scotland*, and of her Son *St. David* were written by him, he being brought up at *St. David's Court*; so that I shall only trouble the Reader with an Account of them Two, they being the greatest Examples of Vertue and Sanctity, that is any where to be found. He writes the Life of St. Margaret and her Son St. David.

Edmond King of England, who, for his extraordinary Strength, was surnam'd *Ironside*, paying his last Tribute to Nature, left behind him Two Sons, *Edmond* and *Edward*. *Canutus*, (a *Dane* by Nation) who had possess'd himself of a Part of that Kingdom, after a long War and strong Resistance on both Sides, at last made himself Master of all. At first he treated these Two young Princes civilly enough; but afterwards, thinking that the only way to secure him upon the Throne was to have them remov'd, he resolv'd to have them Murder'd. For this effect he sent them to *Valgar King of Sweden*; but that Prince, observing their Nature and Inclinations to Vertue, and abhorring the detestable and bloody Design of *Canutus*, resolv'd to frustrate all his Artifices, and for that end conceal'd them for some time in his House, and afterwards sent them to *Solomon King of Hungary* to protect them. The Elder of them *Edmond* dying without Heirs, *Edward* his Brother had the Happiness to treat familiarly with *Henry the Second*, Emperor of the *Romans*, by reason that *Solomon*, who had Married the Emperor's Daughter *Sophia*, was forc'd, thorow Occasion of the Wars, to confer often with his Father-in-Law. By this means, the Emperor, finding that *Edward* was a Prince endow'd with excellent Qualities, married him to his Daughter *Agatha*. Nature had endow'd this Princess with all Qualities requisite to a Comely Person, and with so much Advantage, that nothing could be added to make up a Perfect Beauty, that was not found concentr'd in her. She was of a Stature somewhat above ordinary, so that in her Carriage every thing appear'd Majestic; but the Excellencies of her Mind, the Candour of her Soul, and the Holiness of her Life made her belov'd by all who had the Happiness of knowing her. With this Lady he had One Son, Nam'd *Edgar*, and Two Daughters, the one Nam'd *Christian* and the other *Margaret*, of whom our Author, and some others from him (c) give this following Account. An Account of St. Margaret.

Her Mother *Agatha* brought her up with all the Pious Care, that a Wise Princess and a Loving Mother was capable of, and endeavour'd to instil into her with her Milk such Vertues, as might render her most accomplish'd. When she came to be about 15 Years of Age, her great Delight was in Reading the Lives of the Saints, which she fervently study'd, that she might imitate their Examples. In the mean time the Usurper *Canutus* died, and the Nobility and People unanimously made Choice of *Edward*, surnam'd *the Confessor* from his Holiness of Life, Uncle to our Young Prince *Edward*. This Prince was no sooner establish'd upon the Throne, but he resolv'd to call his Kindred out of *Hungary*, and to establish his Nephew his Successor. For that end Ambassadors were sent to invite him, to come and take Possession of a Crown which in Right did belong to him. Upon this, Prince *Edward* took Journey with a great Train of *Hungarian* Lords and

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(c) Vid. The Idæa of a Perfect Princess. At Paris 1661, in 8vo.

Gentlemen, and arriv'd happily at *London*, whete he was receiv'd by his Uncle with all imaginable Expressions of Joy. Some few Days after his Arrival, his Uncle proffer'd him the Crown, which he very generously refus'd. But *England* had not the Happiness to be govern'd by this Vertuous Prince, for he died in the Flower of his Age, and his Uncle died some few Years after him: Upon which there arose a Contest about his Successor; for some were for the Righteous Heir Prince *Edward's* Son, who was Nam'd *Edgar*, but others were for choosing *Herald* Son to the Earl of *Kent*, and Grand-child to *Canutus* the *Dane*, who had behav'd himself very Nobly and Valiantly on several Occasions. This Party prevail'd, and *Herald* was chosen King. He Govern'd at first very Serenely, and permitted *Edgar* with his Mother and Sisters to stay at *London*: But at length, in less than a Year's space, he was depriv'd both of his Crown and Life by *William* Duke of *Normandy*, for Repudiating his Daughter whom he had Married. *Edgar*, seeing himself, by these Revolutions, frustrated of all Hopes to possess the Crown, resolv'd to return to *Hungary* with his Mother and Sisters, and accordingly Embark'd; but the Fury of the Winds cast them into a Port in *Scotland*, which ever since hath been call'd the *Queens-Ferry*, in Memory of *St. Margaret*.

Malcolm King of *Scotland* no sooner heard, that a Storm had forc'd some Strangers into his Dominions, than he sent to know what they were; and, being inform'd, went to the *Ferry* himself with a great Train of the Nobility, and Conducted them in great Pomp and Splendour to his Palace at *Edinburgh*, and became so enamour'd of the Princess *Margaret*, that in a few Days after he sought her in Marriage, which her Parents willingly consented to; so the Nuptials were solemniz'd after the *Octave* of *Easter* in the Year 1066. 'Tis so difficult a Matter to be Great and Holy at the same Time, that the Scripture mentions it as a Miracle, calling him happy who in Plenty could keep the Purity of his Heart, and affirming him worthy of Praise, because he had done Wonders in his Life-time. Now it must be acknowledg'd, that if ever any deserv'd that Praise, this Young Princess did; for she was no sooner seated upon the Throne, but she reform'd her whole Court, her Palace, Furniture, Officers, Maids of Honour, Table, and all that appear'd Externally were indeed suitable to the State and Dignity of a Great Queen; but she banish'd from her Court all the Disorders and Impieties, that are commonly to be met with at the Courts of Princes. Her First Care was taken up to make Choice of a Vertuous, Prudent and Experienc'd Director or Confessor; and, having begg'd God's Assistance for her Direction, she made Choice of *Turgot* Prior of *Durham*, a Person of Exemplary Vertue, known Prudence and Eminent Learning, of a ready Wit to clear Intrigues, and of a sound Judgment free from all byass'd Opinions. This Person she made Bishop of *St. Andrews*, and Metropolitan of the whole Kingdom; and, tho' he was one that look'd very narrowly into the Faults and Failings of those who were committed to his Care, he could find little or none in the Queen: But, as it is a Peculiar Quality of a Tender Conscience to acknowledge Defects where there are none, she suspected even her best Actions, and would often upbraid him with his too great Lenity, saying, That Princes were the most unhappy Persons in
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the World, since Truth and Liberty of Speech had no Access to their Palaces, and was only to be found in Histories or in the Houses of mean Persons, to whom the Truth is frankly told. Having reform'd her Court, her next Design was to reform the whole Nation, which at that time was become very Barbarous by reason of the long Wars. She desir'd therefore her Confessor to give her an Account of the State of the Kingdom. This good Prelate, being overjoy'd with the Queen's good Intentions, freely told her, That Quarrels, Feuds and Murther rag'd amongst the Nobility, Rapin amongst the Commons, and Incontinency amongst them both; that many Churches were gone to Ruin, by the Carelessness of the Clergy; that the Precepts, for observing the Institution of *Lent* and of *Easter-Communion*, were violated; that there was great Want of Prelates and Curates; and that many of those that were, had neither Vertue, Learning nor the other Qualities necessary for the Faithful Discharge of their Calling. Then he said to her, "Thus, Madam, I have given you the true State of your Kingdom, and the fair Field that God has offer'd you, wherein you may reap a Plentiful Harvest. The good Queen, nowise surpris'd at this dismal Account of the State of the Nation, told him, "Father, I well know, that this Enterprize, tho' it be difficult, is not impossible, and therefore I hope God will provide the Means to rectify all these Irregularities, and that you will imploy your outmost Endeavour to make my Designs succeed happily. This Wise Prelate perswaded her, above all things, to insinuate her self into her Husband's Spirit, and to bring him to a just Abhorrence of all these Disorders. The Queen, relishing this Advice, was so successful in the Management of her Husband, that she got him to do whatever she pleas'd: *Agatha* the Queen's Mother, and *Christian* her Sister were so powerfully touch'd with the King's happy Change and vertuous Actions, that they abandon'd the Court, and betook themselves to a Monastery, where they seal'd their good Life with a happy Death. The Queen, who knew how difficult a thing it was to keep her Conquests over her Husband, and how apt Men are to relent in their good Purposes, represented to him the many Abuses, that were committed in his Kingdom, such as, the Delays and Wranglings of Law-suits, the manifest Corruption of the Courts of Justice, the Insolency of the Soldiery who ruin'd the People and pillag'd the Country. The King having condescended to reform all these Abuses, the Queen sent for her Confessor the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, and commanded him to choose Priests fit to reform the Manners of the People. Whilst *Turgot* us'd his best Endeavours to execute these Orders of the Queen, she study'd seriously how to redress some Abuses, that had crept in about the Court. The First was about *Lent*, the People had been accusom'd to begin their Fast upon *Monday* after the First Sunday of *Lent*, and alledg'd for their Warrant that the Church commund'd them to fast only Six Weeks. Whereupon the Queen, who had a ready Wit, answer'd them, That since it was never the Practice of the Church to Fast on *Sundays*, there remain'd only Thirty Six Days, and consequently to supply those Days, that were defalk'd from the Forty Days Fast, instituted in Remembrance of that which was kept by our Blessed Saviour in the Desert; it was necessary to anticipate Four Days of the foregoing Week. Her next

Care was to restore the Custom of *Easter-Communion*, which had been altogether neglected by them. Another very great Abuse she reform'd by an innocent Stratagem; They were accustom'd after Meat to run from the Table, without giving Thanks to God for the Blessing they had receiv'd; upon which she order'd, that a great Glass of Wine should be fill'd to every one that would stay for the Blessing, which was the first Rise of the Custom of the *Grace-Drink*, which still remains amongst us by an Ancient Law made by *Evenus* the Third. All Noblemen, Gentlemen and others, who had any Lands, had the Liberty of having the First Night of every Bride that was Married to their Tenants: For Abolishing of this Abominable and Wicked Custom, our Queen order'd, That every Landlord should be oblig'd to take from his Tenant a Mark of Gold at his Marriage, as the Price of the Bride's Maidenhead. She caus'd a great many other unjust Laws to be abolish'd; but nothing was so commendable in this excellent Princess, as her Zeal for the Church, her Charity to the Poor and her Care of Orphans. Her Zeal for the Church appear'd in her Erecting the Bishoprics of *Murray* and *Caitbness*, and endowing the other Four Bishoprics, viz. *Murthlack*, *Galloway*, *St. Andrews* and *Glasgow*, which were almost ruin'd, with several Lands and Revenues. She likewise caus'd re-edify all the Churches that were ruin'd by the Wars, furnish'd those that were unprovided with Ornaments, built several new Churches, amongst which was that Stately Church at *Dumfermling*, Erected in Honour of the Blessed Trinity, which she enrich'd with many Jewels of great Value, with Vessels of Gold and Silver curiously wrought, and with a Black Cross full of Diamonds, which she brought out of *England*. Her Charity to the Poor appear'd in her frequent treating of them in a large Hall, where she commonly conven'd about Three Hundred of them: After which she caus'd shut the Doors, and she brought them their Victuals and serv'd them at the Table; then she distributed a large Sum of Money amongst them; besides this, she wash'd and dress'd every Day the Sores of Six of the greatest Objects of Charity that she could find. And lastly, she took extraordinary Care of all Fatherless and Motherless Children, and if she chanc'd at any time to go Abroad about the Affairs of the Kingdom or her Devotions, a Troop of Widows and Orphans circled her on all Sides as their common Mother; She heard them with incomparable Sweetness, and permitted none to go away empty handed; She kept alwise Nine of them with her, and fed them with her own Hand. In one Word, this Princess reform'd her Court and Kingdom to such a Degree, that Christianity seem'd to appear, under her Reign, with the same Purity and Lustre that it did in the Primitive Times: But her constant Watchings, Fastings, Mortifications and other Acts of Devotion weakned her so, that she sunk under the Burden.

Four Days before her Death she appear'd sadder than usual, and told those that were by her, That there had hapned to the Kingdom of *Scotland* the greatest Misfortune, that had been heard of for a long Time. This made them think that the Queen was Raving; but the contrary was found by the Event; for Two Days after she spoke that to them, News came that her Husband and her eldest Son were kill'd at the Castle of *Anwick*, by the Treachery of the Governour. The Violence
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of her Sickneſs did relent the laſt Day of her Life, and allow'd her ſo much Strength as to go to the Chappel, where ſhe heard Prayers and receiv'd the Holy Sacrament. In the mean time her Son *Edgar* came from the Camp, and, as he diſſembled the Death of his Father and Brother, ſhe conjur'd him to tell her the full Truth. He had no ſooner given her an Account of all that paſt, but ſhe ſaid, "I thank thee, O my God, that, in this laſt Period of my Life, Thou mak'ſt my Soul paſs thorow thoſe terrible Trials; but I hope they will ſerve to cleanſe and refine it, and conſume the Droſs of my Sins. Then, letting a few Tears drop, ſhe addreſs'd her ſelf thus to our Saviour, "O my Saviour *Jeſus*, who, by the Will of Thy Father and Co-operation of the Holy Ghoſt, has by Thy Death quickned the World, blotted out my Sins, and deliver'd me from all Evils by Thy Sacred Body and Precious Blood, grant, that I may adhere to Thy Holy Commandments, and never permit me to be ſeparated from Thee.

Theſe were the laſt Words ſhe ſpoke: After which ſhe render'd her Soul to her Creator, in *Edinburgh* Caſtle, the Tenth of *June* about the End of the Eleventh Age. Her Body was carried with Royal Pomp to the Monastery of *Dumfermling*, and Inter'd in the Church of the moſt Holy Trinity, which ſhe had built her ſelf. God bleſs'd this Queen's Marriage with a Fair and a Numerous Iſſue; for ſhe bore to the King Six Sons and Two Daughters. The Firſt, call'd *Edward*, died with his Father at *Anwick*; the Second, call'd *Ethelred*, died Young; the Third, call'd *Edmond*, retir'd himſelf to a Monastery; the other Three, *Edgar*, *Alexander* and *David* Reign'd ſucceſſively one after another, continuing all of them in the ſame Courſe of Goodneſs. The Names of the Two Daughters were *Maud* and *Mary*. *Maud*, having gone into the Cloyſter where her Grand-mother *Agatha* and her Aunt lived, could hardly be perſwaded to come out of it; but at length ſhe was brought out and married to *Henry* King of *England*, Son to *William* the Conqueror, from whom are deſcended all the Emperors, Kings and Princes who glory to have drawn their Grandeur from the Illuſtrious Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *Tork*, United in the Perſon of *John* of *Gant*. This Lady, having liv'd 17 Years with her Huſband, died at *Weſtminiſter* the Firſt of *May* in the Year 1118, and was Buried on the Right Hand of *Edward* the Confessor, having this Epitaph upon her Tomb,

Proſpera non lætām fecere, nec æſpera tristem:
Æſpera riſus ei, proſpera terror erant.
Non decor effecit fragilem, non Sceptra ſuperbam:
Sola potens humilis, Sola pudica decens.
Maii prima diēs noſtrorum nocte dierum,
Raptam perpetuum fecit inire diem.

The other Siſter *Mary* was Married to *Euſtace*, Count of *Bulloign*, Brother to *Godſry* King of *Jeruſalem*; from whence the Dukes of *Bulloign* and *Avergn*, and *Henry* the Third King of *France*, by his Mother *Charaine de Medites*, are deſcended. She bore him only one Daughter. Nam'd *Maud*, who was Married to *Stephen* King of *England*, and lies Buried at *Bermondſey* Abby in *Southwark*, with this Inſcription upon her Tomb,

*Nobilis hic tumultata jacet, Comitissa Maria
 Artibus hæc nituit, larga, benigna fuit.
 Regum sanguis erat, morum probitate vigeat;
 Compatiens inibi, vivat in arce Poli.*

Alexander the Third, King of Scotland, having assembled the Nobility and Clergy, after many Prayers and solemn Processions, caus'd the Bones of this Holy Queen to be rais'd, she being his Great Great Grand-mother, and put them in a Chest of Silver, which he Adorn'd with many Precious Stones, and plac'd it near the High Altar. At the Time of the Reformation this Chest was sent to the Castle of *Edinburgh*: But the Popish Clergy, being afraid that they might Seize upon it there, caus'd Transport it to the Baron of *Dury's* Castle. This Lord of *Dury*, a Reverend Father, Priest and Monk of *Dumfermling*, who, after his Monastery was Pillag'd and the Religious forc'd to fly away, dwelt in the Castle, kept it till the Year 1597. and then deliver'd it to the Jesuites, that were at the time Missionaries in *Scotland*, who Transported it over to *Antwerp*, where *John Malderus* Bishop of that City, having himself examin'd these Fathers upon Oath, gave an Authentic Attestation under the Seal of his Office, dated the Fifth of *September* 1620. and permitted it to be expos'd to the Public View. The same Relict was acknowledged by *Paul Boudat*, Bishop of *Arras*, the Fourth of *September* 1627. In Testimony whereof he offer'd Fourty Days Indulgence to all those, who should pray before this Relict. And lastly, upon the Fourth of *March* in the Year 1645. Pope *Innocent* the Tenth, in the First Year of his Pontificate, gave a Plenary Indulgence to all those, who, having first Communicated, would Pray before this Relict in the Chappel of the *Scots* College of *Dorway*, for the ordinary Ends prescribed by the *Romish* Church, upon the Tenth Day of *June*, which is the Festival kept by the Church of *Rome* for this Illustrious Princess.

I have added this History of her Relicts, that the Reader may thereby see the great Devotion and Respect, that is paid to her Ashes by the Church of *Rome* to this very Day. Besides our Author, *Turgot* her Confessor wrote her Life, which is lost; and several others have done it since, as *Molanus Capgravius*, &c. But the Reader may judge what sort of Lives they are, when our *Camerarius* taxes them for being full of Fabulous Narrations; yet he himself tells us very gravely (*d*), That one Day *St. Margaret's* Bible, which was richly cover'd with Jewels and Precious Stones, falling into the Water by the Negligence of her Servants, was 24 Hours afterwards fish'd up, the Paper not being so much as wet; and that some Oyl, which was brought to her from Mount *Sinai*, being spilt not far from *Edinburgh*, a Fountain immediately sprung up in the Place, upon which till this Day several Drops of Oyl swims that cures several Outstriking of the Skin, and that when this Oyl is taken away, the same Quantity still comes again, and that 'tis never more or less; and the Truth of this he proves from its being call'd *St. Catharine's Well* (which was her Name as it seems, who came from Mount *Sinai* with the Oyl) and a Chappel, that was built to the Honour of *St. Margaret*, near to the Well.

Our

Our Author, as I have said, has likewise given us the Life of *St. David*, *St. Margaret's* youngest Son. His Two Brothers *Edgar* and *Alexander*, who succeeded one another in the Crown, follow'd soon after their Mother. *Edgar* was of a Sweet and a Tractable Nature; and *St. Elred*, our Author, makes upon him a short Panegyric, saying, That he perfectly resembled his Grand-Uncle *St. Edward* surnam'd *the Confessor*. *Alexander* had such tender Affection to the Poor, that they appear'd the Objects of his most sensible Pleasures. These Two Princes, having in a short time compleated their Race, left the Crown to our *David*.

This Prince, during his Brother *Alexander's* Reign, staid in Eng-^{An Account of St. David}land with his Sister *Maud*, and Married *Maud* the Daughter of *Waltheof* Earl of *Huntington* and *Northumberland*; which Daughter he had by *Judith*, Niece to *William* the Conqueror by his Sister on the Mother's Side. Upon the News of his Brother's Death he came to *Scotland*, and was Crown'd King at *Scoon* in the Year 1123. This King, according to the Example of his Parents and Predecessors, was a Good and Virtuous Prince, and made it his Delight to Administer Justice to the Honour of God, and the Good of his whole Kingdom. During all his Good-Brother's Time *Henry* King of *England*, he had no Wars either Abroad or at Home, for they liv'd in great Peace and Amity together: But after his Death, King *Stephen*, who had Usurp'd the Crown of *England*, sent to King *David*, to come to do him Homage for the Lands of *Huntington* and *Northumberland*, which became annex'd to the Crown of *Scotland* by his Wife, who was the Heiress of these Counties, threatening, That, if he refus'd to do it, he would invade his Kingdom with all the Extremities of an open War. To this, King *David* answer'd, That, during the Life of King *Henry*, and since his Death, he had paid Homage for these Counties; but he knew no Right he had to them as long as his Niece, the Empress *Maud*, was alive. The Justice and Equity of this Answer of King *David* is the more to be admir'd, considering that King *Stephen* was in Possession of the Kingdom, and that his Wife was also Niece to King *David*, by his Sister *Mary* Married to *Eustace* Earl of *Bulloign*; so that he was Uncle both to *Maud* the Queen and *Maud* the Empress: Yet, notwithstanding the Equality of this Relation, he, being mov'd from the Justice of the Title, adher'd to the Interest of his Niece the Empress. Upon this, King *Stephen* sent a great Army into *Northumberland*, under the Command of the Duke of *Glocester*, by which he almost laid that whole Country in Ashes. King *David*, hearing of this, sent an Army to invade the Borders of *England*, under the Command of the Earls of *March*, *Montieth* and *Angus*, who met the Duke of *Glocester's* Army at *Allerton*, where it was fought bravely upon both Sides; but at length the *Scots* had the Victory, and the Duke and a great many Noblemen were taken Prisoners and brought to *Scotland*, and King *Stephen* was forc'd to Redeem them with a good Sum of Money. In Revenge he came and wasted *Northumberland* a-new with a Powerful Army. Upon which King *David* rais'd another Army, with whom he march'd into *England*; but, being met at *Roxburgh* by *Ibruslan* Arch-Bishop of *Tork*, whom King *Stephen* had made his Lieutenant in the North of *England*, a Peace was concluded for 4 Months, upon Condition, That the Counties of *Huntington* and *Northumberland*

should remain in the Peaceable Possession of Prince *Henry* King *David's* Son: But the King of *England* refusing again from this, King *David* entred into those Counties with his Army, and expell'd all the *Englishmen* that were in them. Upon this the King of *England* came with a great Army to *Roxburgh*, but, finding his Men not willing to Fight, a Peace was concluded upon these Conditions, That the King of *England*, on the one hand, should permit Prince *Henry* to enjoy peaceably the Counties of *Huntington* and *Northumberland*, as belonging to him in Right of his Mother, and the County of *Cumberland* as belonging to him in Right of his Father; And that, on the other hand, Prince *Henry* should do Homage, and take an Oath of Fealty to the King of *England* for these Counties.

The Peace being concluded in this manner, King *Stephen* return'd to *Kent*, and King *David* staid for some Time at *Carlisle*, repairing the Walls of that City. In the mean time Prince *Henry* died in the Year 1152, leaving Issue behind him Three Sons, *Malcolm*, *William* and *David*, and Three Daughters, *Adama*, *Margaret* and *Maud*. His Death was much lamented by all Estates and Degrees of the Realm, leaving them in a most sensible Grief, which they came to testify to the King: But this Generous Prince, who had a Martial Spirit, and so strongly fortify'd against his Passions, that he had arriv'd to an Heroic Temper and an immoveable Constancy, did not so much as change his Countenance, nor spoke one Word that favour'd of Weakness; but on the contrary he took Occasion to give them a fair Lesson upon the Conformity that we ought to have to the Will of God, and on the Submission that we are oblig'd to render to His Decrees; for, addressing himself to them, he said,

" My Lords and Gentlemen, My Father and Mother, who liv'd
 " such Lives that Death and Maladies could not deject them, and which
 " the Goodness of God preserves to his Servants in the Eternity of
 " Glory, taught me, from my Infancy, to observe a Ray of the Divine
 " Providence in the darkest Night of my Afflictions, and to believe,
 " that that Powerful Worker does nothing but for a good End, tho'
 " hid from the Weakness of our Spirits; so that, Meditating every
 " Day upon this Holy Maxim of my Parents, I have endeavour'd not
 " to lose my Repose for the most cruel Disgraces that can arrive, and
 " to receive both Prosperities and Adversities with an Equality of
 " Mind from the Hand of God. That I may not dissemble with you,
 " I confess, that at first I was touch'd with Affliction; but calling to
 " Mind that Maxim, I endur'd it with less Pain and Contradiction:
 " And, as I have study'd every Day to make new Progress in this Sci-
 " ence of the Conformity of our Wills to that of God, I do acknow-
 " ledge, that by His Grace I am arriv'd to that Point of Tranquillity,
 " that the most grievous Events are so far from afflicting me, that they
 " rather comfort me. I should abuse my Leisure and your Patience,
 " if I should endeavour to let you see what hard Trials Heaven has
 " put me to. My Father, whom I lov'd more than my Life, paid that
 " Tribute to Nature. If Heaven could have been contented with
 " Tears, it had never rob'd us of that Good and Common Father of
 " the Poor. Death, to execute the Decrees of its Sovereign, did also
 " Seize my Mother; I speak nothing of her Vertue, it being sufficiently
 known

" known to you. We lose with Regret what we possess with Love.
 " My Brothers, who lov'd me with a peculiar Tenderneſs, were ſnatcht
 " from me ; My Wife, whom I honour'd and cheriſh'd above all things
 " on Earth next to God, was likewise taken from me by Death ; The Son
 " hath now follow'd his Mother ; we muſt all go the ſame way : But
 " one thing ought to comfort us, That God, of His Infinite Goodneſs,
 " has prepar'd Goods for us that exceed our Hopes, if we do not loſe
 " them by our Sins. To conclude, I have reaſon to rejoice, that God
 " had given me a Son, who, according to your Judgment, and confe-
 " quently of all the People, was belov'd in his Life, and lamented af-
 " ter his Death. I do not regret the Loſs of a Treafure which I have
 " poſſeſs'd ſo ſhort a Time, nor ſo many fair Hopes that are now eva-
 " niſh'd, nor that dear Part of my Heart torn from me. I cannot com-
 " plain of Injuſtice, God has re-demanded what I held of His Good-
 " neſs ; I think to follow him, and hope to be quickly deliver'd from
 " the Miſeries, Anguiſhes and Diſgraces that are mingled amongſt the
 " greateſt Pleaſures of the World, to begin an Eternity of Pleaſure in
 " Heaven.

Having thus ended his Speech to them, he cauſ'd *Malcolm*, Prince
Henry's Eldeſt Son, to be Proclaim'd Prince of *Scotland*, and made *Wil-*
liam, the Second Son, Earl of *Northumberland*. King *David* all this
 while remain'd conſtant to the Empreſs his Niece, and aſſiſted her in
 her Wars againſt King *Stephen*, who was overthrown and taken Priſo-
 ner in a Battle near unto *Lincoln*. At length *Geoffry Plantagenet* Earl
 of *Anjou*, the Empreſs's Second Husband, dying, *Henry* her Son, being
 about 16 Years old, but of a Spirit far beyond his Age, began to look
 after his own; and to that end made a Journey Northward towards
Scotland, to combine with King *David* his Grand-Uncle, and to require
 his Aid and Support, againſt the preſent uſurping King, for the get-
 ting of the Kingdom of *England* his own Inheritance. King *David* re-
 ceiv'd him courteouſly, and beſtow'd the Honour of Knighthood upon
 him at *Carlile*, and, with the Conſent of all his Nobility, freely and
 without Pay or Wages join'd with him againſt King *Stephen* ; but upon
 Treaty, by the Mediation of *Theobald* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and
 other Lords, there was a good Agreement made betwixt them, it being
 expreſſy provided, That this Prince ſhould ſucceed King *Stephen* in the
 Throne of *England*. After this, King *Stephen* surviv'd not long ; but,
 having ever ſince the Beginning of his Reign been encumbred with
 War, and led a Life full of Vexation and Trouble, he died in the Nine-
 teenth Year of his Reign. Not long after, King *David* fell Sick, and,
 finding Death approaching, he cauſ'd carry him to the Church to re-
 ceive the Bleſſed Sacrament ; for he would not ſuffer it to be brought
 to him. Being come to the Church, he made a ſhort and a fervent
 Exhortation to all thoſe that were about him, to be Serious in their
 Devotions with him. Then, having heard Divine Service, he receiv'd
 the Bleſſ'd Sacrament upon his Knees. Thoſe who fear God in their
 Life have nothing to fear at Death. This Holy Monarch beheld it a
 coming with a Serene Eye, and welcom'd it with a calm and pleaſant
 Countenance, as a Herald coming from his Sovereign to bring him the
 News of an Eternal Peace. Then with theſe Words, which were the
 laſt that he ſpoke, "*Jeſus* my Saviour, I render Thee the Kingdom
 " where-

“ wherewith Thou didst entrust me, put me in Possession of that where-
 “ of all the Inhabitants are Kings. He happily past to enjoy the Re-
 wards that his Royal Vertues had acquir'd, in the Year of our Lord
 1153, and was buried at *Dumfermling* with Royal Pomp and Splendor.

Never was there a Prince of a more Liberal and Charitable Temper; for, besides the great Sums of Money which he distributed in private amongst the Poor, the Historians say, That he bestow'd Sixscore Thousand *Franks* in Pious Donations; He repair'd all the Monasteries, which were become ruinous either by Age or by the Wars; He Erected the Bishoprics of *Ross*, *Bricben*, *Dunkeld* and *Dumblane*, with the Abbies of *Jedburgh*, *Kelso*, *Melross*, *Newbottle*, *Holyroodhouse*, *Kinloss*, *Cambuskenneth*, *Dundrenan* and *Holmcultram* in *Cumberland*; He founded likewise Two Religious Houses at *Newcastle*, one for the *Benedictines*, another for the White Monks and Profess'd Virgins, Two Monasteries, one at *Berwick* and another at *Carlisle*; All which he provided with competent Revenues. In one Word, this Prince was endow'd with so many rare Qualities, that I would weary the Reader's Patience, if I should narrate all that the Historians have said in Praise of him; so that I shall only mention what is said of him, by Three very Eminent ones.

The First is our Author St. *Ælred*, who says (e), That he was Charming in his Sweetnesses, Affable to all those who were to treat with him; Punctual in maintaining of Justice, and in not permitting it to be byass'd for any Occasion whatsoever; And that he was perfectly like the King whose Name he bore, a *Man according to God's own Heart*. The Second is Bishop *Spotiswood* (f), who says, That this King, in all his Actions both Public and Private, liv'd beyond all Censure; so, as it is truly said of him, that the most Learn'd Wits, who have gone about to frame the Character of a Good King, could never devise nor imagine such an One, as he did express himself in the whole Course of his Life. The Last is *Buchanan* (g), “ This King (says he) died in “ the Year 1153. the 21st of *May*. The Fright and Consternation of “ the People cannot be express'd, unless we say, that every one seem'd “ to have lost his own Father, by losing this Prince, who had in his “ Lifetime surpass'd in Vertue all our other Kings; He prepar'd himself “ some Years to end it Piously, which much increas'd the high Esteem “ that was conceiv'd of his Merits; He equal'd all his Predecessors “ in Military Science, and in Peace excell'd them all in the Art of Go- “ vernment, and in the Practice of all other Royal Vertues; so that “ the Greatest Spirits, which have made it their Business to give us the “ Model of an Accomplish'd Prince, cannot frame a more Perfect Idea “ than that of this Monarch.

An Account
of his other
Writings.

Our Author's Life of St. *Margaret* is extant, in the Third Tome of *Surius*, upon the 10th Day of *June*; and that of St. *David* is extant in MSS, in the *Cotton Library* at *London*, both in Elegiac Verse and in Prose. Besides these Two Lives, our Author St. *Ælred* has written the History of the Life and Miracles of St. *Edward the Confessor*, Publish'd, amongst a Collection of *English* Writers, at *London* in the Year 1652: He has likewise written the same Life in Elegiac Verse, which is extant in MSS, in *Caius College* in *Cambridge*; The Genealogy of the *English*

(e) Ubi sup. in Vlt. S. Dav. (f) Hist. of the Church of Scotland. Book 2. Pag. 37. (g) Hist. Scot. Lib. 7.

Engliſh Kings, Publish'd in the former Collection of *Engliſh* Writers ; An Account of the Battle given by King *Stephen* near to *Lincoln*, Publish'd in the ſaid Collection ; An Account of the Inſpir'd Virgin of *Wathun*, Publish'd in the ſame Collection ; Thirty Sermons upon the 13th Chapter of the Prophet *Iſaiab*, giving an Account of the manifold Miſeries and Calamities of the *Babylonians*, *Philiftines* and *Moabites* ; The Looking-Glaſs of Charity, divided into Three Books, with an Abridgment of the ſaid Book, which is full of Solid Maxims concerning the Love of God and other Chriſtian Vertues ; A Treatiſe of Spiritual Friendſhip, written by way of Dialogue, wherein he ſhews, that there can be no Friendſhip but amongſt Chriſtians and Vertuous People ; 25 Sermons upon divers Subjects ; A Rule for Monks, Publish'd by *Holſtenius*, and amongſt the Works of St. *Auguſtin*, who for a long Time was thought to have been the Author of it ; Several Sermons amongſt St. *Bernard's* Works ; The Lives of St. *Bridget* and S. *Ninian*, both extant in MSS. in the *Cotton Library*. *Dempſter* makes mention of 200 Epiſtles that were written by him : But I know not if ever they were extant, tho' he be pretty exact in the Catalogue of his other Works.

After our Author had ſpent ſeveral Years in a Religious Retirement, and had Govern'd his Monastery with great Wiſdom and Prudence, for 16 Years, he died upon the 12th Day of *January* in the Year 1166. His Death
and Character.

M. *Du Pin* is of the Opinion, That the moſt of the Lives, that are attributed to this Holy Abbot, were written by *Surius*. His Sermons, and other Works are written in a Lively, Noble and Cloſe Stile ; and he has ſo well imitated St. *Bernard* in his Way and Manner of Writing, that the very Thoughts, which he has ſtohn from him, by the handſome Turn that he gives them, ſeem to be entirely his own.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *Hiſtoria de Vita & Miraculis S. Edwardi Regis & Confessoris extar inter 10 Scriptores Anglicos.* Lond. 1652. Fol. Pag. 369.
- II. *Habetur MSS. etiam ab eo Conſcripta Vita S. Edwardi Regis Carmine Elegiaco ad Laurentium Abbatem Weſtmonaſterienſem, in Colleg. Convil. & Caii Cantab. in 4to.*
- III. *Genealogia Regum Anglorum.* Lond. 1652. ubi ſup. Pag. 347.
- IV. *De Bello Standardii Tempore Steph. Regis, Anno 1138.* ibid. Pag. 337.
- V. *Hiſtoria de Sanctimoniali de Wathun,* ibid. Pag. 414.
- VI. *Sermones de Tempore & de Sanctis.*
- VII. *In Iſaiam Prophetam Sermones* 30.
- VIII. *Speculum Charitatis Lib. 3. cum Compendio ejuſdem.*
- IX. *Tractatus de Puero Jeſu Duodecenni in illud Luc. 2. Cum Faſtus &c. Editus a Davide Camerario de Doctrina, Pietate & Fortitudine Scotorum Cap. 41. Pariſiis 1631. in 4to.*
- X. *De Spirituali Amicitia Lib. 3. Opuscula iſta, a Sermonibus de Tempore incluſive enumerata, prodierunt cum Notis Rich. Gibbon Jeſuitæ Duacii, & exinde in Biblioth. Pat. Tom. 32. Pag. 1.*

- XI. *Regul. ad Inclusas seu Moniales in Collectione Regularum Holsteniana*
Pag. 3. Pag. 109.
- XII. *Tractatus de Dominica infra Octavas Epiph. & Sermones 11. de One-*
ribus Isaie inter S. Bernard. Opera.
- XIII. *Contra Errores Pet. Abail: inter Opera S. Bernard.*
- XIV. *Vita Davidis Scotorum Regis Ext. MSS. Prof. & Carmine Elegiaco*
Scrip. Bib. Cotton. Julius A. 11. Vespasianus A. 184. Catalog. MSS.
Oxon. Tom. 1. Par. 1. Numb. 1502.
- XV. *Vita S. Brig. Scot. Ext. Bib. Cotton: Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom: Par: 1.*
Pag: 1052.
- XVI. *Vita S. Niniani Episcopi Ext. MSS. in Bib: Cotton. ibid.*
- XVII. *Vita Margaretæ Reginæ Scotiæ apud Sur. Tom. 3. d. 10. Junii.*
- XVIII. *De Anima.*
- XIX. *Sagitta Jonathæ.*
- XX. *Epist: 200. Vid. Dempst: Hist: Eccles: Gent. Scot: Lib. 5. Pag. 250.*

THE

T H E
LIFE of *ADAM SCOT*,
A Canon Regular of the Order of
Premontre.

THIS Author was Born in the Reign of King *David* (a), by which means he had the Happiness of living in a Time, when ^{His Birth and Education.} Vertue and Learning was highly encourag'd, as it appears from what we have said of that Prince. We know nothing of the Year of his Birth, and the Circumstances of his Education, this Author having escap'd the diligent Search of our Two great Biographers, *Dempster* and *Camerarius*: But it appears from his Works, That he had very diligently apply'd himself to the *Belles-Lettres*, the Study of the Sacred Scriptures and Theology. Having entred into Holy Orders, and ^{He enters into Holy Orders.} hearing of the Order of *Premontre*, which had been newly Erected and Confirm'd by Pope *Honorius* the Second, he was so enamour'd with their Rules and Method of Living, that he resolv'd to spend the rest of his Days amongst them; and for that end he went Abroad, and entred himself into that Order. ^{He goes Abroad and becomes a Canon Regular of Premontre.}

The First Founder of this Order was St. *Norbert* a Native of *Santen*, a Village in the Country of *Cleves*, who, after he had pass'd the Course of his Studies, was call'd to the Court of the Emperor *Henry* the V. where he entred into Holy Orders, and was made Deacon and Priest in one and the same Day. After which he had several Benefices bestow'd upon him; but being inflam'd with a Holy Zeal of Converting of Heretics and Sinners, by the Permission of Pope *Gelasius* the Second, he quit all his Benefices and went Preaching from one Country to another. At length coming to the Bishopric of *Laon*, at the earnest Desire of the Bishop of that Place, he staid for some time in his Diocese, making Choice of the frightful Desert of *Premontre* for the Place of his Abode, to which he retir'd in the Year 1120. where he founded a new Order of Canon Regulars, who were call'd the *Canon Regulars of Premontre* from the Name of the Desert. This Order differ'd but little in their Rules, Manner and Way of Living from those of the *Canon Regulars*, founded by St. *Augustin*, only those of the *Premontre*, from their Habit, were call'd *Canonici Tunicati*, and those of St. *Augustin* *Superpelliceati*. Our Author, as I have said, enter'd into this Order, and was so fond of their Manner and Way of Living, that he wrote a large ^{An Account of his Works} Treatise, giving an Account of it, which was Publish'd at *Paris* in the Year 1518. During the Time of his Retirement, he compos'd many other Excellent Works, amongst which is his Treatise of *Moses Tabernacle*, wherein there is several Curious Observations for explaining the Description that *Moses* makes of it; some of which I shall give the Reader an Account of.

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Tis

'Tis well known, that God did Regulate the Manner and Way, by which He would be Worshipped by the Jews, before they came to the Land of Promise, and since they could not then build a Temple to the Lord, *Moses*, by God's Order, caus'd a Tabernacle to be made, of which we have the Description in the 25, 26, &c. Chapters of *Exodus*. For the forming a clear and distinct Idea of this Tabernacle, we must conceive a Plan of an Hundred Cubits in Length, and Fifty in Breadth, surrounded every where with Pillars, plac'd at an equal Distance from one another, the empty Places betwixt them having Curtains fix'd to these Pillars: Those that were at the Entry were much Finer than the other Curtains. The People were permitted to enter into the outmost Court of this Plan, when their Sacrifices were offer'd, that they might put their Hands upon the Head of the Victim, it being only Lawful for the Priests to enter into the other Parts of this Inclosure. At the Entry was plac'd the Brasen Altar, upon a Base of Stone a little rais'd. This and all the other Parts of the Tabernacle are at large described in the above-cited Chapters of *Exodus*. When the *Israelites* were encamp'd, the Tabernacle was always plac'd in the Middle of the Camp: For when God made Choice of this People, He became not only their Protector, but their King; for *Moses* had no other Character than the Interpreter of His Orders, and the Captain or Leader of the *Israelites*, He having reserv'd to Himself alone the Sovereign Authority. And this is evident from His Orders to *Moses* about the Forming of the Tabernacle, *Exod: Chap. 25. V. 8. and 9. Also they shall make Me a Sanctuary, that I may dwell amongst them; According to all that I shew thee, even so shall you make the Form of the Tabernacle and the Fashion of all the Instruments thereof.* Which makes the Jews say, That the Tabernacle was at one and the same time the Temple of their God and the Palace of their King, where God resided to Govern and be Ador'd by them. To this Title of their King God added that of being their General, calling Himself the Lord of Hosts, and a Terrible Warrior: So that as the Middle of their Camp was the most proper Place of the Tabernacle or Tent of their God, King and General, so it has something in it that is very Sublime and Majestic; and under this Image or Representation He frequently represents Himself to the Prophets. For understanding the Descriptions that the Prophets make, 'tis necessary to understand the Manner of the *Israelites* Encampments.

The Camp, or the People of *Israel*, whom the Scripture frequently calls the Army of God, was alwise drawn up in the Form of a Square; and the *Israelites* were divided into Four Bodies, who had at their Head the Four Tribes of *Juda*, *Reuben*, *Ephraim* and *Dan*: Every one of those Tribes Commanded One of the Sides of the Camp and Two other Tribes, and all the Twelve Tribes were distinguish'd from one another by their Standards or Ensigns; but we shall only take Notice of those of the Four Principal Tribes; That of *Juda* had the Figure of a Lyon; That of *Ephraim*, the Figure of an Ox; That of *Reuben*, the Figure of a Man's Head; And that of *Dan*, the Figure of an Eagle with a Serpent. The Reason, that the Jews give for the Tribes taking these Figures, is, because they are the Four most Perfect Species of Animals, the Lyon being the most Noble of all the Beasts of Prey, the Ox of all
the

the Beasts of Burden, the Eagle of all the Birds, and Man is the Master-Piece of Heaven. They say likewise, that the Cherubims, that were plac'd upon the Ark, had the Figures of these Four Standards, so that the Ark was the Chariot of the Lord of Hosts; and it was under this Representation that God made Himself known to the Prophet *Ezekiel*, and by this means that Difficult and Magnificent Vision in the First Chapter of *Ezekiel* is easily explain'd. And from this Rule, and some few Observations of the like Nature, F. *Lamby* has of late taken the Occasion of Explaining all the Visions of the Prophets in his Third Book of the Description of the Temple of *Jerusalem*. Several other useful Observations are to be found in our Author's Account of the Tabernacle, with all the Mystical and Allegorical Meanings of the several Parts of it. Besides this Book, our Author has written a Commentary upon St. *Augustin's* Rule; A Book of the Three kinds of Contemplation; And Fourty seven Sermons, which were all Printed at *Antwerp* in the Year 1659. in *Fol.* And F. *Andin* tells us (b), That there is still extant in MSS. in a Bibliothec of the *Celestine* Fathers, 53 Sermons, and a Soliloquy of the Soul. Amongst these Sermons there is one upon the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, wherein he favours the Opinion of the Church of *Lyons* against St. *Bernard*, but without naming him: The Rise and Progress of which Controversy I shall give the Reader in a few Words.

The Canons of the Church of *Lyons* having brought into their Church a New Feast for the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, St. *Bernard* was extremely offended at them for it, and wrote a Letter to them, wherein he tells them (c), "That the Church of *Lyons* had been always above all the other Churches of *France*, not only from the Dignity of her See, but from the Order that she had always observ'd; for there never was a Church wherein there was a better Regulated Discipline, greater Purity of Resolutions, a better Establish'd Authority, a more Venerable Antiquity, and chiefly in the Ecclesiastic Offices, in which she never acquiesc'd to any Innovation; nor suffer'd her self to be disfigur'd by any Change, which makes us wonder and admire that some amongst you have brought in a New Feast which is unknown to the Church, and is not sustain'd by any Shadow of Reason, and noways Establish'd by any Ancient Tradition: Are we Wiser or more Devote than our Fathers? And is it not a dangerous Presumption in us to do that, which they thought not proper to do in their Prudence? But you'll say, That we ought to honour the Mother of our Lord. That which you say is Reasonable; but the Honour of a Queen requires Discretion. This Royal Virgin has no need of a false Honour, being endow'd with so many Titles and Qualities that are truly Honourable; Honour the Purity of her Flesh and the Holiness of her Life, Admire the Fruitfulness of a Virgin, Adore her Divine Son, Praise her for having the Advantage to have Conceived without Concupiscence, and to have brought forth our Lord without any Trouble or Pain; Say, That the Angels respected her; That the Nations desir'd her; That the Patriarchs and Prophets knew her; That she was Chosen out amongst all Women, and Preferred before all the Creatures. The Church has Taught me to

The History of the Controversy about the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin!

“ Celebrate, with all due Veneration, the Day upon which she was taken out of this World and receiv’d into Heaven with Joy inexpressible. The same Church has Taught me to Honour the Day of her Birth, being perswaded with her, that she was Sanctify’d in the Womb of her Mother, as *Jeremy* and *St. John the Baptist* were; for this Grace being granted to some Mortals, we ought not to doubt but that it was likewise given to the Holy Virgin: Yes, the Mother of our Lord was Holy before she was born, and the Holy Church is not deceiv’d in Believing that the Day of her Birth is Holy, and in Celebrating it solemnly every Year. I am likewise perswaded, that she receiv’d such Abundance of Graces, that she was not only Sanctify’d in her Birth, but likewise that, in the whole Course of her Life, she was free of Sin, which was never granted to any of the Children of Men. --- Now what can we add to these Honours? Yes, say they, we can Honour her Conception, which preceeded her Birth; for if this Conception had not preceeded, we could never have Honour’d her Birth. By the same Reasoning, if any one should Celebrate the Feasts of her Father and Mother, and all her other Ancestors, without whom she had never been, we should have so many Feasts, that their great Number would agree better with the other Life than with this. But we are told of a Writing, wherein this Feast is Authoriz’d, as ’tis pretended, by a Divine Revelation, as if a Writing of the same nature might not be forg’d, wherein ’tis suppos’d, that the Virgin commands the same thing to be done for her Ancestors. For me, I do not easily believe these sorts of Writings, which are not sustain’d by Reason or any certain Authority; for, What kind of a Consequence is it, that the Conception must be Holy, because it preceeded a Holy Birth? Was it made Holy for having preceeded it? From whence came this Holiness to it to be communicated to the Birth? On the contrary, Is it not, because this Conception was not Holy, that she was Sanctify’d after her Conception, that her Birth might be Holy? -- From whence comes then this pretended Holiness of this Conception? Will they say, that she was preveen’d by Grace, that she might be conceiv’d Holy? -- But she could not receive the Grace of Holiness before she was, and she could not be before she was conceiv’d. It perhaps will be said, that she was Conceiv’d and Sanctify’d in the same Moment: But this likewise cannot be reasonably sustain’d; for, How can Holiness be found with Sin? And how can it be deny’d but Sin is where Concupiscence is? Unless it be said, that she was Conceiv’d by the Holy Ghost, which no Person ever yet has dar’d to say. --- Thus, not being Sanctify’d before her Conception, because she was not, nor in her Conception, because it was in Sin, it must be acknowledg’d, that it was in her Mother’s Womb after her Conception, and that her Birth was Holy, tho’ her Conception was not; and in effect, the Privilege of being Conceiv’d in Holiness only belongs to *Jesus Christ*; and all the other Sons of *Adam* are Conceiv’d in Sin. This being, What Reason can be brought for the Feast of the Conception? How can it be maintain’d, that a Conception, which is not by the Holy Spirit, but rather by Sin, is Holy? Or how can we Celebrate the Feast of the Conception, which is not Holy? The Church cannot approve of a Feast, which

puts

“ puts such an Honour upon Sin, or that Authorizes a false Holiness ;
 “ neither is it to be thought, that the Church would approve of a No-
 “ velty so contrary to her Constitution ; for such a Thought would be
 “ the Mother of Rashness, the Sister of Superstition, and the Daughter
 “ of Folly. Then he tells them, That if the Establishing of such a
 Feast had been thought proper, they should have consulted the See
 of *Rome* about it, and not to have follow’d, with Precipitation and
 without Deliberation, the Simplicity of some Ignorant People. After
 this he tells them, That he was inform’d, that this Error had been
 establish’d in several other Places ; but that he had conceal’d his Re-
 sentments, looking over, with a Charitable Eye, a Devotion which pro-
 ceeded only from a Stupidity of Soul, and a mistaken Love to the Blef-
 sed Virgin ; but, finding this Superstition Establish’d in so Illustrious
 and Famous a Church, of which he was a Son, he thought it his Duty
 to be no longer Silent.

Upon this Letter of *St. Bernard*, the Controversy began to be very
 hotly Disputed amongst the Clergy, some maintaining the Immaculate
 Conception, and others *St. Bernard’s* Opinion. The First, that appear’d
 against *St. Bernard*, was an Anonymous Author, who was thought to
 be *St. Anselm*. This Author Reason’d against *St. Bernard* with a great
 deal of Modesty, without naming him. Not long after *St. Bernard’s*
 Death, which hapned upon the 20th of the Month of *August*, in the
 Year 1153. an *English* Monk, call’d *Nicolas*, wrote a Treatise against his
 Letter, with some unbecoming Reflections ; but he was sufficiently an-
 swer’d by *Peter* Abbot of *Celles*, and *Poton* Priest and Monk of *Prom*,
 who not only wrote against the bringing in of the Feast of the Imma-
 culate Conception of the Virgin, but likewise against that of the most
 Holy Trinity and the Transfiguration, which were brought in about
 the same Time. In the following Age, *John Belet*, and *William Du-*
rand Bishop of *Munde*, wrote against this Feast : But at length, after
 many Debates for and against it, ’twas approv’d of in the Council of
Basle, in the Fifteenth Century. Father *Mabilion* has observ’d upon
 this Debate, that *St. Bernard*, in his Letter, takes the Conception for the
 First Instant that the Body of the Blessed Virgin was conceiv’d, and
 not, as the School-Men afterwards did, for the very Moment of the U-
 nion of the Soul with the Body ; and herein he did not differ from them,
 who think that she was Sanctify’d at that Moment, but only from those,
 who thought she was Sanctify’d before she was Animated, as it ap-
 pears from his Comparisons ; so that it must be acknowledg’d, that *St.*
Bernard was no wise favourable to the Opinion of the Immaculate Con-
 ception of the Blessed Virgin.

All our Author’s other Sermons are Moral Exhortations, upon the
 Principal Duties of the Christian Religion. Having attain’d to a very
 good Age, he died in the Year 1180. in a Monastery of his Order in
France. He is said to have been a Man much given to Devotion and
 Retirement ; and by his Writings it appears, that he was very well seen
 in the Rites and Ceremonies of the Jews, and in the Allegorical and
 Mystical Way of Explaining the Sacred Scriptures.

His Death
and Chara-
cter.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *Commentarius in Regulam D. Augustini.*
 - II. *Tractatus de Triplici Tabernaculo Moysis.*
 - III. *De Triplici Genere Contemplationis.*
 - IV. *Sermones 47, varii Argumenti. Prodierunt Opuscula ista Antwerpi 1659. in Fol.*
 - V. *Prodierunt antea Tractatus duo Medii & Sermones 14. De Ordine & Habitu Præmonstratensi. Paris. 1518. in Fol.*
 - VI. *Sermones alios 53. & Soliloquium de Anima, apud Cælestinos Meduntinos MSS. extare Fidem facit Cas. Auditus ipse Præmonstratensis. Supplement: Pag. 442.*
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THE
LIFE of RICHARD,
Abbot of St. *Victore*.

RICHARD of St. *Victore* (a) was Born in the Reign of King *David* the First. In his younger Years he apply'd himself closely to the Study of the *Belles-Lettres*, the Sacred Scriptures and the Mathematics; and, having finish'd the Course of his Studies, he resolv'd to improve himself further by Travelling: So leaving his Native Country he went over to *Paris*. At that Time, *Hugh*, Abbot of St. *Victore*, was the most Famous Person in *France* for Learning, which made our Author retire himself from the World into that Monastery; that he might be further instructed in the Sacred Scriptures under so great a Master. Having study'd for some time in this Monastery, he took upon him their Habit, enter'd into Holy Orders, and was so much esteem'd by them for his Piety and Learning, that, upon the Death of his Master, they unanimously chos'd him to be their Prior, in the Year 1164. In which Station he continued for Nine Years. During which Time he compos'd a great many Excellent Treatises upon the Sacred Scriptures, and upon the Duties and Exercises of a Christian Life: But I shall only give the Reader an Account of those, which I think are the most Curious and Instructive amongst them, which are Three Treatises of Criticism and History: The First is a large Description of *Solomon's Temple*; The Second is an Account and Description of *Ezekiel's Temple*; And the Third is solving the apparent Contradictions in the Books of the Kings and Chronicles, about the Reigns of the Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*.

His Birth and Education.

He goes over to France.

He retires to the Monastery of St. *Victore*, and enters into Holy Orders.

An Account of his Works

When, by the Valour of *David*, all the Enemies of the *Israelites* were overcome, and a durable Peace settled amongst them, that Religious Prince resolv'd to build a Temple to the Lord in place of the Tabernacle. God approv'd of his Design; but he reserv'd the Execution of it to his Son *Solomon*, permitting *David* only to prepare the Materials. After his Death, his Son began this Great Work, and in Seven Years Time Finish'd it, with an incredible Magnificence and infinite Expenses. He plac'd it upon Mount *Moria*; brought the Ark to it, and made the Dedication with all imaginable Pomp; and God was pleas'd to add to the Pomp and Splendour of this Feast several Miracles, whereby He manifested to them, that He would Honour that Temple with His Presence, and be Ador'd there: This Temple Represented the Tabernacle, that's to say, That that, which was compos'd of Bars and Skins in the one, was of Stone-work in the other: There were Two Parts in this Temple, which were call'd like those of the Tabernacle, the one the *Holy*, and the other the *Holy of Holies*. This last was Twenty Cubits square, the Ark was plac'd in it; and, because God gave His Answers there to the High Priest when he consult'd Him, this Place was likewise call'd the *Oracle*, and was only separated from

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(a) Vid. M. Du Pin Bib. des Aut. Eccles. Tom. 9. Pag. 217. Guil: Cave Hist. Liter. Par. 1. Thom. Dempster Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Pag. 362.

the *Holy* by a Vail. In the *Holy* was plac'd the Áltar of Gold, the Táble of the Shew-Bread and the Golden Candlestick, in the same Situation as in the Tabernacle. The Entry to the Temple was shut by a Vail, before which, there was a Porch or Vestible, where the Two Famous Brazen Pillars *Jachin* and *Boaz* were, whose Names signify, that God Himself was the Sustainer or Pillar of the Temple. Besides the Courts that were on each Side and behind the Temple, there was a square one before it, very Spacious; in the Middle of which was the Altar where the Sacrifices were perform'd. This Altar was much Higher and Greater than our Modern Altars: The Victims were not slain upon it, but were consum'd by the Fire, after their Blood was spilt at the Foot of the Altar, which was surrounded with a Fosse, out of which this Blood ran, by Subterraneous Canals, to the Torrent of *Cedron*. This Altar was of a square Figure, and had a Fire always burning upon it; it was Twenty Cubits square, which makes near 34 Foot, and Ten Cubits high, which makes near 17 Foot. In the Court likewise was the Brazen Sea, which was much larger than that of the Tabernacle: It was reserv'd only to the Priests; and the People had not the Liberty of Entering in unto it, but when they presented some Victim, upon the Head of which they were oblig'd to put their Hands, when they presented it; and for this Reason it was call'd the *Court of the Priests*. At the Entry to this Court was the King's Apartment, upon the Right Hand of the Eastern Gate. This Court was surrounded with another Court, which was call'd the *Court of Israel*, because it was only for the *Israelites* or those who had embrac'd the Law; and neither durst they enter into it but when they were Pure. These Two Courts were Adorn'd with Magnificent Buildings, distinguish'd into Apartments, Galleries and Chambers; and each of these had their appropriate Uses. Some were for the Priests that were in the Exercise of their Functions, which lasted from one Sabbath to another; during which time they were not permitted to go out of the Temple: There were likewise several Pious Persons, that had Consecrated themselves to Prayer and the Service of the Temple, who were lodg'd in these Apartments, such was *Anna*, whom St. *Luke* makes mention of, who never departed from the Temple. Others of them were for keeping what belong'd to the Temple, for Example, the Oyl for the Lamps, the Salt and Wine for the Victims, the Sacerdotal Ornaments and all their different Vessels. Other Places were for washing of the Victims. And lastly, here was the Hall, where the Sanhedrim sat. By all which we may easily judge, what vast Edifices were requisite for this. At the Sides of each of the Ports of these Courts were great Vestibles. The Court of the Priests had Three Gates, One to the East, Another to the North, and a Third to the South. 'Tis thought, that, in the Vestible to the Eastern Gate, the Trunks lay that receiv'd the Alms, which was call'd the *Gazophylacium*, or the Place of the Treasure. The Court of the *Israelites* had One Gate to the East, Three to the South, and Three to the North. This Court, which was of a square Figure, had, at every Angle, a House for dressing of Meat; the Two towards the West were for the Use of the Priests, and the Two towards the East were for boiling the Portions of the Victims, which they who Sacrific'd, were oblig'd to eat, and which they could not eat out of the

the Temple. Lastly, there was a prodigious large Court, which was outmost of all, and call'd the *Court of the Gentiles* from their being permitted to enter into it. This Court had, all round, large and spacious Galleriës; and that which look'd to the East was call'd the *Gallery of Solomon*, where the People assembled in the Winter-Season, it being free from the Northern Winds; and the Gospel tells us, that our Saviour sometimes Preach'd here. Now, tho' this Court was open to all the *Gentiles*, yet it went not the length of that of the *Israelites*; for, about Ten Cubits from their Wall, there was a Balustrade of Stones, of Three Cubits height; in the empty Spaces of which there were plac'd Pillars, upon which there was engraven, in *Greek* and *Latin*, a Prohibition for any, who were not Pure, to advance further; and it was here, where the humble *Publican* was seen by the Proud *Pharisee*.

The Temple, which the Prophet *Ezekiel* describes in his Visions, in the xl. and following Chapters of his Prophecies, is almost like unto that of *Solomon's*, being Situated upon the Mount *Moria*, and having a City to the South, which was the Ancient *Jerusalem* built upon *Zion*; and, since *Chaldea* is to the East or North-East of *Palestine*, it appear'd to the Prophet, that, coming from thence, he entred by the Eastern Gate. At first, he found a Wall that surrounded all this Building, which was Six Cubits high and Six Cubits thick. From thence to the Outer-Court, there was a Space of Ground of 50 Cubits. This Court was of a square Figure, and garnish'd with Porches; and each of the Walls, measur'd within, were 500 Cubits in Length and Breadth, but their Height is not set down. There were, in the Middle of each of those Walls, Three Gates, One to the East, Another to the South, and a Third to the North; each Porch was 50 Cubits in Length and 10 in Breadth, comprehending the Thickness of the Two Walls, which were of a Cubit each of them; so the void Space, thorow which he pass'd, after having gone up 7 Steps, was 8 Cubits in Breadth. Above the Gate were Six Chambers, Three on each Side, Situated according to the Length of the Two Walls; each Chamber was Six Cubits in Length, and as many in Breadth, with a Rebord of One Cubit. By whatever Gate of the Outer-Court you pass'd thorow in a straight Line of 100 Cubits, you came to One of the Gates of the *Priest's Court*; to which you went up by Eight Steps; and which in all other Things was like that of the Gate of the Outer-Court. The *Court of the Priests* was 250 Cubits in Length, and 200 in Breadth; and it was cut in its Length by the Space of Ground where the Temple was built, and contain'd the *Holy of Holies*, with void Spaces, Chambers and Galleriës on each Side.

I have given the Reader this General Idæa of these Two Temples, it being impossible to form a clear and distinct one of them, without Representing them to the Eye in Draughts, and making large Descriptions of them, which our Author has perform'd with great Exactness and Labour. I shall now proceed to give an Account, from his Book of the apparent Contradictions between the Books of the *Kings* and *Chronicles*, of several Chronological Difficulties which he has solv'd.

'Tis said in the 1st of the *Kings*, Chap. xvi. V. 23. *In the One and Thirtieth Year of Asa King of Judah began Omri to Reign over Israel, and Reign'd 12 Tears.* By this, *Omri* must have outliv'd *Asa*, who Reign'd

only 41 Years, and *Jehosopbat*, *Asa's* Son, must have begun his Reign; whereas *Abab*, *Omri's* Son and Successor, is said to have begun his Reign in the 38th Year of *Asa*, and *Jehosopbat* his, in the 4th Year of *Abab*; see 1 *Kings* xvi. 29. and xx. 41. Our Author solves this Difficulty thus. *Zimri* dying in the 27th Year of King *Asa's* Reign, the People of *Israel* were divided into Two Factions, One following *Tibni* the Son of *Ginath*, and the other *Omri*, see 1 *Kings* xvi. 15, 21. *Tibni*, *Omri's* Competitor, being dead, *Omri* began to Reign alone in the 31st Year of *Asa's* Reign; so that the beginning of his 12 Years Reign does not commence from this, but from the beginning of his Dominion, or Competition with *Tibni*, which was the 27th Year of *Asa's* Reign. I shall not weary the Reader's Patience with several other Difficulties of this nature, that are to be found in our Author and in many other Chronologers, but only confine my self to Three, which appear so extremely difficult, that a late Chronologer (*b*) with great Boldness has affirm'd, that they can never be solv'd but by the Assistance of the Spirit of God. The First is this, *Baasha*, King of *Israel*, is said to have built *Ramah* in the 36th Year of the Reign of *Asa*, King of *Judah*, 2 *Chron.* xvi. 1. In the Six and Thirtieth Year of the Reign of *Asa* came *Baasha*, King of *Israel*, up against *Judah*, and built *Ramah* to let none pass out or go in to *Asa* King of *Judah*. Now 'tis said 1 *Kings* xvi. 6. 8. That *Baasha* sleep'd with his Fathers, and was buried in *Tirzah*, and *Elah* his Son Reign'd in his stead. In the Six and Twentieth Year of *Asa*, King of *Judah*, began *Elah*, the Son of *Baasha*, to Reign over *Israel* in *Tirzah*, and Reign'd Two Years. So that, by this means, *Baasha* fortify'd the Town of *Ramah* Ten Years after he was dead. Our Author is of the Opinion, that there is some Mistake here in the Copies; and in this he is follow'd by a great many others, such as, *Cajetan*, *Lucidus* and *Melchior Canus* (*c*): But this Solution is of a dangerous Consequence; for, as *St. Augustin* observes, if we acknowledge but One Lie in the Scriptures, we annul their Authority. *Tremellius* and Arch-Bishop *Usser* therefore have given a better Answer, by saying, that (*d*) sometimes Kingdoms have their Designations from the People, and sometimes from the Persons that Reign over them; so that here, by the Reign of *Asa*, is to be understood the Kingdom of *Judah*: An Instance of which we have in 2 *Chron.* xv. 10. where we read, that *Asa* had return'd to *Jerusalem*, from the *Ethiopic* War, in the 15th Year of his Reign; yet in the last Verse of that Chapter 'tis said, That there was no War unto the 35th Year of the Reign of *Asa*; where, by the Reign of *Asa*, the Kingdom of *Judah* must be understood, otherwise there would be a Contradiction here likewise, which is easily solv'd upon this Supposition; for, adding to the 15th of *Asa*, the 17 Years of *Reoboam*, and the 3 of *Abijah*, you have the 35 Years of the Kingdom of *Judah's* being separated from that of *Israel*. The Second Difficulty is from these Words, 2 *Chron.* xxii. 2. Two and Forty Years old was *Abazia* when he began to Reign, and he Reign'd One Year in *Jerusalem*, and his Mother's Name was *Atbaliab* the Daughter of *Omri*. Now *Foram*, *Abazia's* Father, liv'd only 40 Years, as it appears from 2 *Chron.* xxi. 20. where 'tis said, That *Foram*, when he began to Reign, was Two and Thirty Years old, and Reign'd

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(b) Matth. Beroald. Chron. Lib. 3. Cap. 5. (c) Cajetan, in 2 Paralipom. Cap. 15. & 16. Jo: Lucid: Lib: 2. Teatpor. C. 9. Melch. Canus Loc. Theolog. Lib. 11. Cap. 5. (d) Jacob Usser. Chron. Sacr. Pag. 9.

in *Jerusalem Eight Tears*, and liv'd without being desir'd. So that *Abazia*, by this, must have been Born Two Years before his Father. And here our Author still lays the Fault upon the Transcriber and the Copies. And of late *Dionysius Petavius* says (e), There is a Necessity of acknowledging a Mistake in the Numbers, and that 22 should be read for 42; And this Conjecture, he confirms from Pope *Sixtus's* Edition of the *Septuagint*, which has only 20 for 40. And Arch-Bishop *Usher* (f) is very inclinable to believe, that this is the true Solution of this Difficulty, not only, because the *Hebrew* Numeral Letters may be very easily mistaken for one another, but likewise from having found it so in some *Syriac* Bibles. The Third Difficulty is taken from these Words of the 2 *Kings* xxiv. 8. *Jehojachin was Eighteen Tears old when he began to Reign*. But in 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 9. 'tis said, that *Jehojachin was Eight Tears old when he began to Reign*. Our Author thinks, that he began his Reign at 8 Years, and Reign'd 10 Years when his Father was alive, and after his Father's Death, which was the Eighteenth Year of his Age, he Reign'd alone 3 Months and Ten Days.

Besides these Books, he has write a Treatise upon the Tabernacle; A Commentary upon the *Psalms*; A Commentary upon the Song of *Solomon*; Questions upon some difficult Places of the Epistles of *St. Paul*; A long Commentary upon the *Apocalypse*; A Treatise upon the Trinity, divided into Six Books; A Treatise, dedicated to *St. Bernard*, upon the Attributes that are appropriated to Each of the Three Persons of the Trinity; A Treatise upon the Incarnation; Two Treatises upon *Emanuel*, or a Commentary upon these Words of *Isaiah*, *A Virgin shall conceive and bring forth a Son, and thou shalt call his Name Emanuel*. In this Treatise he proves against a *Jew*, that these Words can be only understood of *Jesus Christ* and the Blessed Virgin. The *Jews* Principal Objections against him deserve to be taken Notice of, together with his Answers, since they may serve as a Fond for any One, who has Occasion to Reason with the *Jews*, in Defence of the Christian Religion.

Our Author, who was a great Master of the Mystical and Allegorical Theology, had Expounded this and several other Passages of the Old Testament, as express Prophecies concerning Our Saviour. Upon which this *Jew* tells him, That the Literal Sense of the Scripture is only to be regarded, and that the Mystical and Allegorical Sense can never make any solid Argument. To this our Author Replies, That it was the Custom of their Fore-Fathers the *Jews*, to give Allegorical and Mystical Interpretations of the Scripture; and that it was against the nature of Prophecies, that they should be taken in a Literal Sense; and it must be acknowledg'd, that, to form a right Judgment of the Reasonings of *Jesus Christ* and his Disciples, in the New Testament, we must have Recourse to the Practice of the *Jews* at that Time; and if it be prov'd, that this Manner of Reasoning, and Applying to the *Messias* certain Passages of Scripture, is agreeable to the Usage of that Time, they cannot, without great Injustice, be blam'd; and this our Author gives several and undeniable Instances of. And a late Learn'd Critic (g) has observ'd, That the *Jews* do renounce what was done by their

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(e) Petav. Ration. Temp. Par. 2. Lib. 2. Cap. 11. (f) Ubi sup. (g) Vid. F. Simon; Criti. Hist. of the Text of the New Test: Par. 2. Pag. 36.

their Predecessors, when they object against the Disciples of *Jesus Christ*, that their Expositions are not purely Literal but Allegorical, and that there can nothing be concluded from an Allegory; for, if we Consult the Ancient Books of the *Jews*, especially the *Chaldaic Paraphrases* and the *Medraschim*, or Ancient Allegorical Commentaries, they have, in those Works, attributed to the *Messiah* many Places of Scripture, which seem to have a quite different Sense, if the Letter be only consider'd. 'Tis true, that that which is merely Allegorical cannot suffice, as a Positive Proof for the Confirmation of a Religion; but when those Allegories are founded on Tradition, they may be us'd and apply'd to Matters of Fact, which are already agreed upon by that Tradition; And in this manner, all the Objections of the *Jews* may be Answer'd, without a particular Enumeration of those Passages, which they pretend to have been falsely apply'd to our *Messiah* in the New Testament; for they cannot abdicate that Principle which is taken from their own Doctors and their Custom; lest they themselves should Renounce the Belief of a *Messiah*.

After this General Objection, our *Jew* comes to the Particular Passage of *Isaiah*, which St. *Matthew* has apply'd to the *Messiah*, and render'd after this manner, *Behold, a Virgin shall conceive and bring forth a Son, and they shall call his Name Emanuel*, for which he accuses the Evangelist of a false Citation, and a Misapplication of the Prophet's Words; for, says he, the *Hebrew* Word, *Alma*, does not signify a Virgin, as St. *Matthew* has render'd it, but simply a Young Woman, whether she be a Virgin or not, and this he proves from other Places of Scripture. In Answer to this, our Author proves, from St. *Jerome's* Commentary upon *Isaiah*, *Lib. 3. Cap. 7.* that the Word, *Alma*, does properly signify a Virgin, and also a Virgin hid or shut up; and that it has likewise that Signification in the *Carthaginian* Language, which derives its Original from the *Hebrew*. And, as to what the *Jew* Objected, that in the *Hebrew* it was not, *They shall call*, but, *Thou shalt call*, which does regard the Young Woman, who was to call her Son *Emanuel*, he proves, from several Ancient Interpreters, that it was alwise render'd, *They shall call*. Then, as to the Misapplication of this Passage, which the *Jew* says is to be understood of *Hexekiah* the Son of *Abaz*, because *Samaria* was Invaded under his Reign, he proves, that *Abaz* was far advanc'd in Years, before he came to the Kingdom: But upon the whole it must be acknowledg'd, that many of the Revelations of the Prophets refer'd not only to the History of their Times, but were likewise Types of *Christ* and His Kingdom; for, as St. *Jerome* observes, 'tis usual, for the Holy Scripture, to describe the Truth of Future Things by Types. Thus *Porphyry*, who was a great Enemy to the Christian Religion, said, There was nothing in the Book of *Daniel*, but what was Historical, and apply'd to *Antiochus* that which the Christians Expounded of Anti-Christ, and the End of the World. The Christians nevertheless did not wholly reject the Interpretation given by *Porphyry*, but they affirm'd, that *Antiochus* was a Type of Anti-Christ.

Our Author has likewise written a Treatise upon the Power of Binding and Loosing granted to the Church; A Discourse upon the Sin against the Holy Ghost; Explications of several difficult Passages of Scripture, dedicated to St. *Bernard*; A Discourse, explaining in what Sense

Sense the Holy Spirit is call'd the Love of the Father and the Son ; A Treatise upon the Difference betwixt Mortal and Venial Sins ; A Treatise upon the Means for Exterminating Evil, and Propagating of Good Habits ; A Discourse upon the State of the Internal Man ; Three Books upon the Erudition of the Internal Man, or of Spiritual Exercises upon the Dreams of *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Daniel* ; A Treatise of the Preparation of the Soul for Contemplation ; Five Books of the Grace of Contemplation, rais'd from the Ark that was in the Tabernacle, with an Appendix containing some Allegories upon the Tabernacle ; A Discourse, or Meditation upon the Day of Judgment ; Another Discourse upon the Day of Judgment ; A Treatise upon the Degrees of Charity ; Another upon the Four Degrees of violent Charity ; A Discourse upon the Two *Paschs* ; A Sermon upon *Easter* ; A Discourse upon the Baptism of *Jesus Christ* ; A Sermon upon the Effusion of the Holy Ghost ; A Discourse comparing *Jesus Christ* to a Flower, and the Blessed Virgin to a Branch ; Another upon *Jesus Christ's* being the Standard of the People ; Two Discourses, the one upon the Difference between the Sacrifice of *Abraham* and that of *David*, the other between the Difference of the Sacrifice of *Abraham* and that of *Mary*. In all those Writings there are a great many excellent Directions for a Spiritual Life, after the Mystical way. Thus upon the xc. Psalm he says, that the just Man is assaulted by Seven Temptations, an Importunate one, a Dubious one, a Sudden one, an Hidden one, a Violent one, a Fraudulent one, and a Perplex'd one, according to that of *Job* Ch. v. V. 19. *He shall deliver thee in Six Troubles, and in the Seventh the Evil shall not touch thee.* In his Book of the State of the Internal Man, Chap. 35. speaking of the Parable of the Labourers of the Vine-yard in the xx. Chap. of *St. Matthew*, he says, That by the different Hours, that are mention'd, there are to be understood the different Degrees, by which a Man arrives to a Spiritual Perfection : In the Morning, the Light first appears ; about the Third Hour, the Day begins to be hot ; about the Sixth 'tis hotter ; at the Ninth, the Sun begins to decline, and the Heat to abate ; about the Eleventh, the Heat and Light of the Day declines. What is the Morning then, but the Illumination of the Eternal Truth ? What is the Beginning of the Heat, but the Receiving of the Influences of the Sun of Justice ? And when 'tis hotter, then is the Fervor of Delight. What is the Declining of this Heat, but the Abomination of Vanity ? What is the Twilight, but the Mortification of our Carnal Desires ? The Morning therefore makes the discerning of Good and Evil ; the Third Hour the Desire after Goodness ; the Sixth a more fervent Desire after Goodness ; the Ninth a Loathing at the Vanity of all Created Goods ; and the Twilight makes an entire Oblivion of Evil. In the Morning the Intellect is illuminated ; at the Third Hour the Consent is corrected ; at the Sixth the Affection is inflam'd ; at the Ninth the Senses are bridled ; at the Eleventh our Carnal Desires ; and at the Last Hour we receive our Wages, having attain'd to the height of Perfection.

I have given these Two Instances of our Author's Mystical way of Expounding the Scriptures, and which can only be understood by the *Mystics*, that the Reader may thereby judge of them. At length, after our Author had Govern'd his Monastery for Nine Years, with great Prudence and Wisdom, he died upon the 10th Day of *March*, and lyes ^{His Death and Character.}

Buried in that Monastery, with this Inscription upon his Tomb,

*Moribus, Ingenio, Doctrina clarus & Arte,
Pulvereo hic regeris, docte Richarde, situ.
Quem tellus genuit, felici Scotica partu
Te fovet in gremio Gallica terra suo.
Nil tibi Parca ferox nocuit, que flamina parco
Tempore tracta gravi rupit acerba manu.
Plurima namque tui superant monumenta laboris,
Que tibi perpetuum sunt paritura decus;
Senior ut lento sceleratas Mors petit ædes:
Sic propero nimis it sub pia tecta gradu.*

Camerarius says (b), That, when he was upon his Death-bed, he was troubled with a constant Vomiting; and, having desir'd the Sacrament, they brought him an Unconsecrated Wafer, being afraid that he should vomit the Body of our Lord if he got a Consecrated one: But, knowing this by a Divine Revelation, he said to them, *God forgive you, my Brethren; Why do you deceive me?* Upon which they immediately brought him a Consecrated one; and having ador'd it with all Humility, he said, *I have opened my Mouth, and I have receiv'd the Spirit; let the Son ascend to the Father, and my Soul to the Lord who gave it:* And then immediately this Sacrament vanish'd, and he expir'd. But whatever Truth be in this, 'tis certain that he was a Person of great Piety and Devotion, a great Master of Mystical Theology, well seen in Archæology, Chronology and the Metaphysics. And M. Du Pin says of him (i), That he shews a great deal of Subtilty in his Theological Treatises, and argues Methodically, with an Exactness befitting an able Logician; and that his Critical Pieces are very accurate for his Time, but that his Style is not very lofty: And upon this Account it is, that his Treatises of Piety, tho' full of excellent Matters, have not all the Grandeur, nor all the Energy that might be wish'd for. Cardinal Bona, in his Account of the Authors whom he makes use of in his Book *de Divina Psalmodia* (k), gives this Character of our Author. *Richardus a S. Victore, Vir scientia cautus, lingua disertus, Divinæ contemplationis subtilissimus Magister.*

(b) De Scot. Fort. Doct. & Piet. Pag. 114. (i) Bib. des Aut. Eccles. Tom. 9. Pag. 217. (k) Romæ 1653.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *DE Exterminatione Mali & Promotione Boni.*
- II. *De Statu interioris Hominis. Lib. 3.*
- III. *De Eruditione interioris Hominis. Lib. 3.*
- IV. *Benjamin Minor, id est, de Præparatione ad Contemplationem.*
- V. *Benjamin Major, id est, de Gratia Contemplationis. Lib. 5.*
- VI. *Allegoriæ Tabernaculi Fœderis.*
- VII. *De Trinitate, Lib. 6.*
- VIII. *De Tribus Appropriatis Personis in Trinitate, ad S. Bernardum.*
- IX. *De Incarnatione Verbi ad eundem.*

X. De

- X. De Emanuele, Lib. 2.
 XI. Exceptionum Lib. 4.
 XII. De Potestate Ligandi & Solvendi.
 XIII. De Contemplatione Plagarum in fine Mundi.
 XIV. De Judiciaria potestate in finali Judicio.
 XV. De Spiritu Blasphemie.
 XVI. De Gradibus Charitatis.
 XVII. De Quatuor Gradibus violentie Charitatis.
 XVIII. De Gemino Paschate.
 XIX. In Die Paschae Sermo.
 XX. Decluratio difficultatum Scripturae Sanctae, ad S. Bernardum.
 XXI. Quomodo Spiritus sit Amor Patris & Filii.
 XXII. De Differentia Peccati Mortalis & Venialis.
 XXIII. De Super-Excellenti Baptismo Christi.
 XXIV. De Missione S. Sancti Sermo.
 XXV. De Comparatione Christi ad Florem & B. Mariae ad Virgam.
 XXVI. Quomodo Christus ponitur in Signum Populorum.
 XXVII. De Differentia Sacrificii Abraham & Davidis.
 XXVIII. De Differentia Sacrificii Abraham & B. Mariae.
 XXIX. Explanatio Difficultatum ex Tabernaculo Foederis.
 XXX. De Templo Solomonis ad Literam.
 XXXI. De Concordia Temporum in Libros Regum.
 XXXII. Explanatio variorum Locorum in Psalmis.
 XXXIII. Explanatio Libri Cantica Canticorum.
 XXXIV. De Visione Ezechielis.
 XXXV. De Templo Ezechielis.
 XXXVI. Detectio Dubiorum in Apostol.
 XXXVII. In Apocalyp. Job: Lib: 7.

All these Works are extant in Two Volumes in Folio, Printed at Paris in the Year 1518. and in 1540. as also at Venice in 1592. at Cologne 1621. and at Rouen 1650.

T H E LIFE of GODRICUS, Bishop of St. Andrews.

GODRICUS, Bishop of St. Andrews, was born in the Beginning of Malcolm Caimmor's Reign. His Father's Name, if we may believe Dempster, was Awillard, and his Mother's ^{His Birth, Parentage and Education.} *Ra-
duenna* (a). In his Younger Years, he was brought up a Merchant; but, this

R r 2

(a) Vid. Dempst: Hist: Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 7. Pag. 306. Vid. etiam Matth. Paris in Richard. II. Matth. West. ad Annum 1110. Gerard. Vossius de Histot: Lat. Moreti Dist. Geogr. & Histot: Camer. de Fortitud. Piet. & Doct. Scot. Pag. 160.

He goes to
Rome and
Palestine.

He returns
to Scotland,
and retires
from the
World.

He makes a
Second
Journey to
Palestine.

And upon
his Return
is made Bi-
shop of St.
Andrews.

He Anoints
King Edgar.

An Account
of this Cu-
stom of
Anointing
Kings.

this Employment, being nowise suitable to his Genius and Inclinations, he apply'd himself to the Study of the *Belles-Lettres*; and, having finish'd the Course of his Studies, he went straight to *Rome*, where he staid for some time. From thence he went to the Holy Land, where he paid his Devotions at our Saviour's Sepulchre. Upon his Return to his Native Country, he retir'd from the World into a solitary Place, near to *Durham*, where he led an Hermitical Life for several Years. At length, having entred into Holy Orders, 'tis said, that St. *Cuthbert* appear'd to him in a Dream, and desir'd him to make another Journey to the Holy Land. Our Hermite, taking this to come from God, made a Second Journey to *Palestine*; and, having safely return'd to his Native Country, he was made Bishop of St. *Andrews*. Arch-Bishop *Spotiswood* makes this *Godricus* succeed to *Turgot* (b), and says, that he anointed King *Edgar* in the Year 1098. so that he must have anointed him before he was made Bishop of St. *Andrews*, which is altogether improbable. And, since all our Historians unanimously affirm that he did Anoint King *Edgar*, 'tis more probable, that *Turgot* did succeed to *Godricus*. And, in a MSS. History, which I have by me, of the Bishops of St. *Andrews*, he is plac'd immediately before *Turgot*. And *Fordon* (c) says, That *Turgot* was Consecrated Bishop of St. *Andrews*, in the Year 1109. which is the last Year of King *Edgar*'s Reign. Our Historians tell us likewise (d), That Bishop *Godricus* Anointed King *Edgar* after the manner of other Christian Princes, which Rite had not been formerly us'd in the Coronation of our Kings; and that this Privilege was obtain'd from Pope *Urban* the Second, at the Desire of Queen *Margaret*; and confirm'd afterwards by Pope *John* the Second. By all their Calculations, this Ceremony was perform'd by our Bishop, before *Turgot* was Consecrated.

This Custom of Anointing of Kings was very Ancient amongst the Jews (e); for we find, upon the making of *Abimelech* King, in the Sacred Scriptures, *Judg.* Chap. ix. That *Jotham* makes a Speech in an Apologue to them, with these Passages in it; *The Trees went to anoint them a King, and said to the Olive, Reign thou over us*; and again to the Bramble, *Come thou, and reign over us*: But the Bramble answer'd, *If in truth thou anoint me for your King, come and trust to my Shadow*. And this was about Two Hundred Years before the Beginning of their Kingdom in *Saul*, who with his Successors were Anointed; as also was *Hazael* King of *Syria*; and *Cyrus* King of *Persia* is call'd the Lord's Anointed, in the Prophecy of *Isaiah* Chap. xlv. V. 1. This Expression is frequently us'd in Scripture for Kings. With what Oil the Kings of the Jews, in their Establish'd Kingdom, were Anointed, is disputed among the Divines; some conceiving that the Oil, wherewith the Kings of *David*'s Posterity were Anointed, was that which was Consecrated for the Priests; and others that it was only with common Oil. But the First Opinion is generally embrac'd: And it is thought, that tho' by the Command of the Law, none might be Anointed with the Holy Oil but the Priests; yet, by some Dispensation with the Law, manifested by the Prophets, it was afterwards communicated to *David* and his Posterity:

And

(b) Spotisw. Hist. of the Church of Scotland, Book 2. Pag. 32. (c) Scoti Chron. Lib. 6. Cap. 24. (d) Spotisw. ubi sup. Lefly de Gestis Scot: Lib. 6. Pag. 218. Baland. History Book 12. Fol. 183. (e) See Selden's Titles of Honour, Part 1. Chap. 8. Pag. 107.

And the *Rabbins* deliver as much for a constant Cabal amongst them, grounding it upon that of *Zadok the Priest his taking a Horn of Oil out of the Tabernacle, and Anointing Solomon.* 1 Kings Chap. iv. V. 34. As to the Form of their Anointing, it was in that of a Crown, round their Heads; and as to the Priests, it was in the Form of a Greek *Chi X* as they call it, that is, a very Cross made by one Line, drawn by the Oil running downward on his Forehead, and another by Anointing him cross, or between the Eye-brows, which plainly describe a Rectangular Cross; but the Greek *Chi*, as now us'd, is like that of *St. Andrew's*, and of Oblique Angles. We are told by the same *Rabbins*, That this Holy Oil, which was Consecrated in *Moses's* Time, and us'd in this Unction, continued, without Diminution, until the Captivity, which is about Nine Hundred Years. But if the Reader be desirous to know more of the Anointing of the *Jewish* Kings, and the other Ceremonies of their Inauguration, he may be fully satisfy'd by the Eminently Learn'd Mr. *Selden*, in the Place above cited, and *Pineda*, *Serarius*, *Salianus*, *Genebrard*, *Fortunatus Scacchus*, and the Learn'd *Scikartus* (f).

From these Examples in the Holy Story, the Kings of Christendom took their Cust. in of being Anointed, and the Kings of Scotland were amongst the earliest of them; for *Adamanus*, Abbot of *Hy*, in the Life of *St. Columba*, who Flourish'd in the Year 560 (and *Adamanus* in the next Age) tells us, that an Angel of the Lord (g) appear'd to *St. Columba*, with a Book in his Hand, containing a Ceremonial for Regal Benediction or Ordination, and commanding him to Anoint King *Aidanus*: But *St. Columba*, having a greater Love for his Brother *Jogenanus*, refus'd it; upon which he was smitten by the Angel of the Lord, and the Impression of the Stroke remain'd upon his Side all the Days of his Life; and the Angel threatned to renew the same if he disobey'd. At length, after he had appear'd for Three Nights upon end, with this Book in his Hand, which he calls *Vitreus Ordinationis Regum Liber*, *St. Columba* went to the Island of *Fona* or *Hy*, and Anointed *Aidanus*. And since this Story may be as well believ'd, as that, which the *French* tell of their Holy Viol of Oil at *Rbeims* (h), which a Dove brought from Heaven to anoint their King *Cblovus* the First, which has never wasted since, tho' it has Anointed all the Kings of *France* from that Time; or that of the *English*, which the Blessed Virgin sent from Heaven, by a Golden Eagle in a Stone Vessel, to *Thomas* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, during the Time of his Banishment under *Henry* the II. for Anointing of their Kings. I say, that since this Story is of equal Credit with them, and that the Book from whence 'tis taken is not easily purchas'd, I shall give the Reader a full Account of it in *Adamanus's* own Words. *Alio in tempore* (saith he of *Columba*) *cum vir prædicabilis in Himbria commoraretur Insula, quadam nocte in ecclasiæ mentis Angelum Domini ad se missum vidit, qui in manu Vitreum Ordinationis Regum habebat Librum, quem cum vir venerandus de manu Angeli accepisset, ab eo jussus legere cepit. Qui cum secundum quod ei in Libro erat commendatum, Aidanum in Regem ordinare recusaret; quia magis Jogenanum Fratrem ejus diligeret; subito Angelus extendens manum, Sanctum percussit flagello: Cujus livor osum in ejus latere*

S i

latere

(f) *Pineda de Rebus Solomonis* Lib. 2. Cap. 6. *Serar.* ad *Judic.* Cap. 9. & 1 *Reg.* Cap. 10. *Salian.* *Annal. Eccles.* Tom. 3. *Ann. Mun.* 1962. *Geneb. Comment.* ad *Psalm.* 88. V. 21. *Fortun.* *Scach.* *Sacrorum Elizo Chriftmat.* *Myrothecii* Lib. 2. Cap. 53. *Scikar.* *de Jure Regio Ebraeorum* Cap. 1. *Theor.* 4. (g) *Adam.* *de S. Columba* Lib. 3. Cap. 3. (h) *Vid. Selden.* ubi sup.

latere vestigium omnibus suæ diebus permansit vitæ; hocque intulit verbum, Pro certo scias, inquit, qui ad te a Deo missus sum, cum Vitreo Libro, ut juxta verba, quæ in eo legisti, Aidanum in Regnum ordines; quod si obsecundare huic nolueris jussioni, percutiam te ittrato.

Hic itaque Angelus Domini cum per tres continuas noctes eundem in manu Vitreum habens Codicem apparuisset, eademque Domini jussa de Regis ejusdem Ordinatione commendasset; Sanctus verbo obsecutus Domini ad Jonam transnavigavit Insulam, ibidemque Aidanum iisdem adventantem diebus ad Regem, sicut jussus erat, ordinavit, & inter Ordinationis verba de Filiis & Nepotibus, Pronepotibusque ejus futura prophetizavit: Imponensque manum super caput ejus ordinans benedixit.

By this Story we find, the Custom of Ordaining our Kings has been long before King *Edgar's* Time; and as our Monarchs were very early in imitating the *Jews* in the Custom of Anointing, so were they in their Custom of Crowning. The eldest Time, whereto we find a Royal Crown or Diadem attributed, is the Age of that King *Pharaoh*, to whom *Moses*, being an Infant, was brought by his Daughter *Thermutis* (i): *Pharaoh*, says *Josephus* (k), put his Diadem upon the Child's Head, and the Child cast it to the Ground, and spurn'd it from him. By which it would appear, that it was One of the Ancient *Diadems*, which were only Fillets of Silk, Linnen, or some such thing, and was a very different thing from what a Crown now is or was. But the Ancientest Mention of a Royal Crown is, in the Holy Story, in that of the *Amalekites* bringing *Saul's* Crown to *David*, 2 Sam. Ch. i. V. 10. where 'tis call'd *Nexer*, being the same Word, by which the Crown of the High Priest is denoted by *Moses*; *Exod.* Ch. xxix. V. 6. What kind of Thing it was cannot be learn'd from that Text. If we should conjecture from the Use of other Kings in those Parts of *Asia*, yea in the Ages that are much latter than *Saul*, it must have been a Fillet. But if we take *Saul's* Crown to be of the same nature with *David's*, then it was certainly of Metal; for it appears, that *David*, out of the Spoils of the *Ammonites*, had such a Crown; the Words are 2 Sam. Ch. xii. V. 30. And he took their King's Crown from his Head (which weighed a Talent of Gold with precious Stones) and it was set on *David's* Head. See likewise 1 Chron. Ch. xx. V. 2. Some think, that *David* us'd to wear this Crown constantly; but that is altogether impossible; for, the Weight of it being an *Hebrew* Talent of Gold (which is of our Money near 4500 Pounds Sterling, and about 120 Pounds Weight) he could not wear it, and therefore some think, that by setting it on his Head is meant, that they held it over his Head, or near his Head: But then this Difficulty occurs; Why had the King of *Ammon* such a Crown, and how did he wear it? For solving of this, some Learn'd Men think, that it was not the Crown of *Hanun-Ben-Nabas* King of *Ammon*, whom *David* conquer'd; but of the *Ammonites* Idol, *Melchom* or *Molchom* (the same with *Moloch*) from the Head of which Statue this Crown was taken (l); for the Words of the Text are, *Waiiæcak etb-ætereth Melchom meail rofho*, That is, And he took the Crown of *Melchom* from his Head. And in the Vulgar Edition of the Bible, in One of the Passages above cited, 'tis render'd, Tulit *David* Coronam *Melchom* de Capite ejus, & invenit in ea auri pondo talentum & pretiosiss-

(i) Vid. Selden ubi sup. Pag. 121. (k) Jos. Archæolog. Lib. 2. Cap. 5. (l) Vid. Selden de Diis Syriis.

tiosissimas gemmas. And that Word, which, as an Appellative, signifies their King, as a proper Name, denotes their Idol, as 'tis to be seen in several other Passages of the Holy Scripture. This Crown of David they made use of till the Captivity; after which, for CCCCLXXX. Years no Governour in that Nation wore it; until *Aristobelus* began again to use it, about C. Years before *Christ*; and from that Time, their Kings continued to be Crown'd with it; till it ended in *Agrippa*, in *Vespasian's* Time.

In Imitation of this, our Historians say (m), That our *Fergus* the First, and all his Successors were Crown'd with a Crown of Gold; and that it was (n) *Militaris valli forma*, or a plain Circle of Plate, and that King *Achaius* added to that Plainness, about the Year of *Christ* DCCC. Four *Fleurs de Lis* and Four Crosses, *Quatuor Lilia Aurea, quatuor cum saluiferæ Crucis Aureis signis paribus intervallis discretis, Liliis paulo eminentioribus*, says *Boetius*. At the Inauguration of our Kings, they had likewise a Scepter deliver'd to them by the Bishop; and we find, both by Prophane and Sacred History, that the Scepter was an Ancienter Ensign of a King, than either the Crown or *Diadem*. Thus *Homer*, deriving the Kingdom to *Agamemnon*, says, That he had the Scepter from *Thyestes*, *Thyestes* from *Atræus*, *Atræus* from *Pelops*, *Pelops* from *Mercury*, *Mercury* from *Jove*, *Jove* from *Vulcan*, and *Thyestes* left it to *Agamemnon* to Rule both the Territory of *Peloponnesus*, and the Isles belonging to it. And the Old *Egyptians*, from whom, as our Historians say, we are descended, in their Hieroglyphic Expressions, understood *Osiris* by the Shape of a Scepter with an Eye on it. *Significantes*, says *Macrobius* (o), *hinc Deum Solem esse, Regaliq; potestate sublimem cuncta despicere; quia Solem Jovis Oculum appellat Antiquitas*. And, in the Sacred Story, we find *Jacob* saying, That the Scepter shall not depart from Judah, &c. until *Shiloh* come. That is, a King or Supreme Governour, as 'tis Interpreted by the *Rabbins*. This much I thought fit to say, concerning the Ancient Custom of Anointing and Crowning our Kings before *Godricus's* Time: By all which it plainly appears, that when 'tis said, that King *Edgar* was the First that was Anointed and Crown'd amongst our Kings, it must be understood, that he was the First that was Anointed and Crown'd, by a special Privilege from the Pope.

After King *Edgar's* Coronation, we hear no more of *Godricus*, but that: he wrote several Books, viz. Meditations upon the Psalter, Hymns upon the Saints, a Paraphrase upon *Job*, Scriptural Flowers, and a Book of the Life and Vision of St. *Ornus*. But I doubt mightily, if ever he wrote those Books, or if ever they were extant: But *Gerard Vossius*, *Moreri*, and several other Learn'd Men have made mention of this last Book, and 'tis upon their Credit, that I have class'd him amongst our Writers. What this St. *Ornus* was I know not, unless it be the Christian Poet *Orentius*, upon whom *Venantius Fortunatianus* wrote this Epitaph (p).

*Non hic nostra diu fugienti tempore Vita,
Quæ sub sine brevi vix venit, inde redit.
Ecce caduca volant præsentia Secula Mundi,
Sola Fides meriti nescit honore mori.*

S f 2

Claudi-

(m) Lefly, Boet. Buchanan, &c. (n) Boet. Lib: 2. & 10. (o) Saturnal. Lib: 1. Cap: 2. (p) Venan. Fortun. Lib: 4. Epigrammat. XXIV.

*Clauditur hic pollens Orentius ille sepultus;
 Cui Palatina prius mansit aperta Domus,
 Consiliis habilis, Regalique intimus Aulae,
 Obtinuit celsum dignus in arce locum.
 Vir sapiens, justus, moderatus, honestus, amatus,
 Hoc rapuit Mundo quod bene gessit homo.
 Sexaginta annis vix implens tempora lucis
 Conjuge Nicasia qua tumultante cubat;
 Cujus castus amor colit ipsa Sepulchra mariti,
 Nec placitura homini, sed dedit esse Dei.*

Dempster (q) thinks, that this last Verse is corrupted, the Poet's Meaning being, that *Nicasia* his Wife was resolv'd never to Marry again, but to lead a Religious Life, and therefore should be read thus,

Nec placitura homini se dedit esse Dei.

His Death
and Chara-
cter.

As for the Time of our Author's Death, in all Probability it was about the Year 1108. And we may very safely say, that he was a Person of great Piety and Learning, otherwise he had not been advanc'd to such a Station, under so Pious a Reign as that of Queen *Margaret*; and, in the MSS. History above cited, 'tis said, that he was gifted with the Spirit of Prophecy.

(q) Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 14. Pag. 513.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *DE Vita & Visione Orni.*
- II. *Meditationes in Psalterium.*
- III. *Hymni de Sanctis.*
- IV. *Paraphrasis in Job.*
- V. *Flores Scripturarum.*

THE

T H E

LIFE of *Joannes a Sacro Bosco*,
Professor of Mathematics at *Paris*.

THIS Gentleman was Born in *Nithsdale* (a), and, in his younger Years, apply'd himself very closely to the Study of the *Belles-Lettres*, Mathematics and Theology. Having finish'd the Course of his Studies, he entred into Holy Orders, and was made a Canon Regular of the Order of St. *Augustin*, in the Famous Monastery of *Holywood* in *Nithsdale*, from whence he has his Name of *Joannes a Sacro Bosco*. After he had staid for some Years in this Monastery, he went over to *Paris*, where he was admitted a Member of that University, upon the 5th Day of *June* in the Year 1221. under the Syndic of the *Scots* Nation. For the understanding of which, I shall give the Reader a brief Account of the first Rise and Establishment of this University (b).

His Birth
and Education.

He goes
over to *Paris*,
and is
made a
Member of
that Uni-
versity.

The Public Schools were first open'd at *Paris*, under *Charles* the Great, by our Country-man *Clement*, as I have observ'd in his Life; but they had not the Name or Form of an University till the Thirteenth Century. For a long time it consisted only of Two Faculties, One that Taught the *Belles-Lettres* and Philosophy; and the Other that Taught Theology, by explaining the Sacred Scriptures and the Book of Sentences written by *Peter Lombard*; for we find only those Two Faculties spoken of, in the Constitutions made in the Year 1215 by Cardinal St. *Stephen*, Legat from Pope *Immoent* the Third; and in the Act of Donation, made in the Year 1217. to the Religious Order, call'd the *Jacobines*, who had shortly after Two other Religious Orders join'd to them, for Teaching of Theology, viz. the *Minorites* and *Bernardines*: Sometime after, the Two Faculties of Law and Medicine were added to the University; and all the Four are mention'd in the Letter, that the University wrote in the Year 1253. to all the Prelates of the Kingdom, against the *Jacobines*, wherein they compare the Four Faculties to the Four Rivers that watred the Garden of *Eden*. At first they were only compos'd of Masters and Scholars, and there were no particular Ceremonies us'd for acquiring of either; the Time that they had employ'd in their Studies and their Capacity, being all that was requir'd in any Scholar for qualifying him to be a Master. But afterwards, several Degrees were establish'd, and a certain Number of Years fix'd upon, for Studying and Teaching, before they could obtain these Degrees. Pope *Gregory* the IX. was the First that distinguish'd them by the Designations of Batchelors, Licentiates and Doctors. The Batchelors Taught publicly, and were distinguish'd into Two Classes; The first Read and Explain'd the Scripture, and were upon that Account call'd *Biblici*; the Second were call'd *Sententiarii*, from their Explaining of *Peter Lombard's* Book of Sentences. After their prescribed Time of Teaching

The History
of this Uni-
versity.

T t

(a) Vid. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 17. Pag. 570. Camerar. de Doct. Piet. & Fort. Scot. Pag. 180. Rob. Monteith de Salimont Hist. des Troub. de Grand Brit. (b) Vid. M. Du Plu Bib. Nouv. des Aut. Eccles. Tom. 10. Pag. 171.

Teaching was over, they were first Licentiated, and then made Doctors, by the Chancellor of the Church of *Paris*. The Chancellors of *St. Genevieve* pretended to have the same Right, and in effect they enjoy'd it for some time; yet none of these Chancellors could give Degrees, but to those who had past the Course of their Studies in the Faculties, and undergone the common Examinations; in so much that *John d'Orleans*, Chancellor of *Paris*, having conferr'd the Degree of Doctor of Theology upon *Ferdinand*, Son to the King of *Aragon*, tho' his Quality might have pleaded an Exemption from their ordinary Rules, yet the University depriv'd him, and put another in his Place, which gave Rise to a Process betwixt the University and the Church of *Paris*; and which did not end but with the Death of that Chancellor. Their First Schools of Theology were in the Cloister of *Notre-Dame*, *St. Genevieve* and *St. Victor*; but afterwards they had them in several other Parts of the City, and Founded several Colleges for Public Lessons; so that, in the Middle of the Thirteenth Century, there were Twelve Professions of Theology, Three in the Cloister of *Notre-Dame*, Seven amongst the Secular Doctors, and Two amongst the *Jacobines*. The other Religious Orders afterwards augmented the Number, and the *Belles-Lettres* and Philosophy were Taught in a great many Schools; and the Overseeing of them all was committed to one, who, in an Edict of *Philippe le Bel* in the Year 1200. is call'd *Capitulum Scholarium*, and was afterwards call'd the Rector of the University. The Scholars and Masters were divided into Four Nations, viz. *France*, *Scotland*, *Picardy* and *Normandy*, who had their several Syndics, under whose Protection they liv'd. Our Author, as I have said, having entered himself into the University under the *Scots* Syndic, was, in a few Years after, made Professor of the Mathematics, which he Taught for several Years with great Applause, and has written the following Books.

He is made
Professor of
the Mathe-
matics.

An Account
of his
Works.

A Treatise of Algebra, a Fragment of which is extant in MSS. in the *Bodleian* Library at *Oxford*; A Treatise upon *Protony's* Astrology, a Fragment of which is likewise extant in MSS. in the same Library; A Treatise upon the Sphere, Printed at *Antwerp* in the Year 1566 in 8vo. and divided into Four Parts, in the First he treats of the Parts of the Sphere, and the Form of the World, in the Second of the Circles of the Sphere, in the Third of the Rising and Setting of the Stars, of the Days and Nights, and of the Division of the Climates, in the Fourth he treats of the rapid Motion of the Sun and Stars, and of the Eclipses; A Treatise of the Ecclesiastical Account of the Year, first Publish'd by *Philip Melancton*, at *Paris* in the Year 1551. in 8vo. and afterwards, with his Book upon the Sphere, at *Antwerp*. This Treatise is divided into Two Parts; in the First he treats of the smallest Divisions of Time, of the Natural and Artificial Days, of the greater Divisions of Time, of Months, of the *Calends*, *Nones* and *Ides*, of Years, of the Solar Year, of the Reason of the Change of the Feasts in every Year and in every Month of the Year, of the Bissextile Year, of the Solar Cycle, and of the Method for finding the Dominical Letter, and of the Four Seasons of the Year. These are the Titles of the Chapters of the First Part. In the Second Part he treats of the Illuminations of the Moon, of the Lunar Months, of the Method of finding the Age and Cycle of the Moon, of the Common Year, of the Intercalar Year, of ano-

another Method for finding the Age of the Moon, of the Moveable Feasts, and what a *Lustrum*, Indiction and Age are.

I have given an Account, in the Life of St. *Columbanus*, of the Difficulties that occur'd to the Primitive Christians in the Regulating their Feasts and Fasts; and I shall here from our Author's Book of the Sphere, and this of the *Ecclesiastical Account of the Year*, give an Account of the different Ways that the *Hebrews* or *Jews* made use of in their Computations of Time.

God, who had form'd the Republic of the *Hebrews* (b), appointed certain Times and Seasons for Regulating their Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs: And tho' all Nations make use of the same Terms, yet they have very different Significations; for our Hours, Days, Months and Years are not the same with those of the *Hebrews*. Some Nations begin their Day at Noon; others at Midnight, some at the Rising, and others at the Setting of the Sun. The *Hebrews* follow'd this last Way, that's to say, they began their Day from the Setting of the Sun, and ended it with the next Sun-set. And this is the Reason why they brought not their Sick Persons to *Jesus Christ* upon the Sabbaths, till after Sun-set; for the *Jews*, who were very scrupulous in observing of their Sabbaths, thought they were then out of all Hazard of the Breach of the Law: And so we find, that their Custom was to call their whole Day the Morning and the Evening, or the Night and the Day. For which Reason, if any thing lasted a Part of the Day, the whole Night and a Part of the following Day, the *Jews* said, that it was for Three Days and Three Nights: At first they divided the Times of the Day by the Three most sensible Appearances of the Sun, at his Rising, at Noon and at Setting; or in the Morning, Noon and Evening; and these are the only Parts of the Day that we find distinguish'd in the Old Testament; for the Day was not then divided into 24 Hours: But afterwards the *Jews* and the *Romians* divided the Day, or the Time of the Sun-shine into Four Parts, each Part consisting of Three Hours. These Hours are different from ours, which are alwise equal and the 24th Part of the Day; whereas theirs were the 12th Part of the Day, or of the Time that the Sun continued above the Horizon; and since that was longer in the Summer than in the Winter, the Hours of the Summer were longer than those of the Winter. The First Hour began at the Rising of the Sun, Noon was the Sixth Hour, and the Twelfth was at the Setting of the Sun. The Time betwixt the Rising of the Sun and Noon made the Third Hour, and the Time betwixt Noon and Sun-set made the Ninth Hour: And 'tis in relation to this Division of the Day, that our Saviour says in the Gospel, *John* Chap. xi. V. 9. *Are there not Twelve Hours in the Day?* They made Two Evenings or Vespers, the First began at Noon, and ended at Sun-set; the Second from the Setting of the Sun. They divided their Night into Four Parts, which were call'd Watches, and every one of them consisted of Three Hours; the First is call'd, by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, the Beginning of the Watches, *Lam.* Chap. ii. V. 19. the Second is call'd the Middle-watch in the Book of *Judges* Chap. vii. V. 19. because it lasted to the Middle of the Night; the Third began at Midnight, and ended at Three in the Morning; and the Fourth was call'd the Watch of the Morning. The

An Account
of the di-
verse Man-
ners of
Measuring
of Time
amongst the
Jews.

(b) Vid. Introduct. à l'Ecrit. Sainte, par B. Lamy, Liv. 1. Ch. 5. Pag. 75.

First Watch began at the Setting of the Sun, and continued to Nine Hours; the Second was till Midnight; the Third to Three in the Morning; and the Fourth ended at the Rising of the Sun. These Watches in Scripture are sometimes Nam'd otherwise; the First being call'd the Evening; the Second, the Middle of the Night; the Third, the Crowing of the Cock; and the Fourth, the Morning. They divided their Weeks into Seven Days, as we do; Six of which were appointed for Labour, and the Seventh for Rest, and therefore call'd the Sabbath, as we have it in the Sacred Scriptures. Sometimes this Word Sabbath is taken for the whole Week; thus, when the Pharisee boasts of his Fasting twice every Week, he says, that he Fasted twice every Sabbath. The Days of their Week had their Designations, in their Natural Order; from the Sabbath, that's to say, *Sunday* was call'd the First Day from the Sabbath, *Monday* the Second Day from the Sabbath; so that *una Sabbati*, after their way of Speaking, was the First Day of the Week. But the Hellenistic *Jews* gave a particular Name to the Sixth Day, or the Eve of the Sabbath, *viz. Parasceve*, which signifies the Preparation. The other *Jews* call'd it the Vesper of the Sabbath; this Vesper began at the Ninth Hour, or Three Hours after Noon, and then they began to prepare all things for the next Day; and if any of them went a Journey upon that Day, they came home before the Setting of the Sun. The Emperor *Augustus* made an Edict in their behalf, Forbidding all Law-suits against the *Jews* upon the *Fridays*, after the Ninth Hour of the Day.

Besides this Week of Days, the *Jews* had another, compos'd of Seven Years, the Seventh Year being a Year of Rest, and therefore call'd the Sabbatic Year; for, upon that Year, they were forbidden to labour the Ground. At the end of Seven Weeks of Years, that's to say, after Forty Nine Years, the Fourtieth Ninth Year was call'd the Year of Jubile, and not the Fiftieth Year, as it is commonly believ'd; but the Fiftieth was the First of a New Period, which was call'd the Jubile.

Amongst all the Lights in Heaven, there are none so observable as the Sun and the Moon, or so proper for distinguishing our Times and Seasons by their Courses or Motions; and both of them (according to our Author) have Two Courses, the one from the East to the West, and the other from the West to the East: But their Courses are not equal; for the Sun's is perform'd in Three Hundred Sixty Five Days, Five Hours and Fourty Nine Minutes; and the Moon's in Seven and Twenty Days, Seven Hours and some Minutes; and the Circle, which she makes, cuts that which is made by the Sun, and is call'd the *Zodiac*, in Two Places. This Inequality of their Motions is the Reason, why the Moon sometimes joins the Sun, and is at other Times distant from it. When she parts from the Sun, 'tis 29 Days, 12 Hours and some Minutes before she joins him again; for, in the Time that she is making her Course, the Sun is going on in the *Zodiac*; so that, when she returns to the Point from whence she parted, before she can come to the Sun, she has all that Way to make, which the Sun has advanc'd in the *Zodiac*. This Space of Time between one Conjunction and another, which we call a Month, the *Hebrews* call *Garcha*. The Moon has alwise regulated the Months, by her different *Phases* or Appearances;
for,

for when she is in Conjunction with the Sun, she is quite absorb'd in the Brightness of his Rays ; and when she begins to remove from him, her Light appears in the Form of a Crescent, and gradually augments till her whole Disc is Illuminated ; after which her Light diminishes, and she has the same Appearances over again, till she re-enters under the Rays of the Sun. As the Moon regulates the Month, so the Sun regulates the Year : But the Division that we make of the Year, into Twelve Months, has no relation to the Motion of the Moon ; but amongst the *Hebrews* it was otherwise ; for, all their Months were Lunar, and they did not begin from the Conjunction of the Sun and the Moon, but from her first Phase or Appearance in the West, after the Setting of the Sun. And for this Reason they call'd the Beginning of their Month *Neomenia*, that's to say, the New Moon ; for, since the Minute of the Moon's Conjunction with the Sun can only be known by an Astronomical Computation, and the *Jews* were very ignorant or little seen in that Science, God Almighty order'd them to begin their Month from the first Phase or Appearance of the Moon, which requir'd no great Knowledge. But, since this first Appearance of the Moon was very Important in their Religion, God having order'd, that, at the *Neomenia* or New Moon, a particular Sacrifice should be offer'd to Him, and that they might not err in this, it was recommended to the Care of the Great Sanhedrim, and the different Phases of the Moon were Painted upon the Wall where the Sanhedrim met, and there were People chosen of approved Probity, who went to the Neighbouring Mountains in the Time of the Conjunction, and, when ever they discover'd the New Moon, they came in all haste to the Sanhedrim, yea even upon the Sabbath-day crying, *The Feast of the New Moon, the Feast of the New Moon*, and then the whole People were advertis'd of it by Sound of Trumpet. The Air is so Serene in *Judea*, that it very seldom happens that the Moon is obscur'd by Clouds, and, if at any time it chanc'd to be, the Mistake was immediately rectify'd by the Sanhedrim, whose Decrees were so Sacredly observ'd, that the *Jews* maintain'd, that they ought to be observ'd even when they err'd. By what we have said of the Course of the Moon, it appears, that there are Two sorts of Months, the One which is regulated by the Circle that the Moon describes, which consists of 27 Days, 7 Hours and some Minutes, and is call'd the Periodic Month ; and the Other is from one Conjunction of the Sun and Moon till another, and consists of 29 Days, 12 Hours, 44 Minutes and some Seconds, and is call'd the Synodic Month. This last Month is that which is commonly receiv'd, the Observing the different Phases of the Moon, being the most proper Way for knowing the Beginning, Middle and End of that Period of Time. The Hours that are over and above the 29 Days, are the Reason why the Months differ from one another alternatively in a Day. The Sanhedrim us'd to regulate the Days of the Month ; but now the *Jews* follow the Common Calculation with us.

The *Jews* made use both of the Lunar and Solar Year, and they took very great Care, that the First Month of their Sacred Year, that is, the Year, by which they Regulated their Feasts and Religion, should not be beyond the *Æquinox* ; for, without this Precaution, they would have Solemnis'd the same Feast Twice in one Year : So that the *Æqui-*

nox was a fixt Point to the *Jews* for Regulating their Year. After this manner the Two *Æquinoxes* began each of them a different Year. The Moon, that follow'd the Autumnal *Æquinox* after the gathering in of the Fruits, began their Civil Year; and their common Opinion was, that the World was Created in that Season: But after they came out of *Egypt*, in Remembrance of so great a Delivery, *Moses* order'd, that the Month, upon which this was done, should be the First Month of their Year; and, being about the Time of the Vernal *Æquinox*, it was made the Beginning of their other Year, which they call'd their Sacred or Ecclesiastic Year. And tho' these Two Years had different Beginnings, each of them consisted of 12 Months, that were nam'd in their Natural Order, the First, Second, Third, &c. and there were only the Months of the Two *Æquinoxes* that had particular Names, that of the Spring being call'd *Avir* or *Abib*, and that of the Autumn *Ethanum*: But about the Time of the Captivity, each Month had a particular Name given to it; the First Month, which was call'd *Abib*, was call'd *Nisan*, the 2d *Iar*, the 3d *Sivan*, the 4th *Tammuz*, the 5th *Ab*, the 6th *Elul*, the 7th *Tisri*, the 8th *Marefban*, the 9th *Cassen*, the 10th *Thebet*, the 11th *Shebet*, the 12th *Adar*; and there were some Years that had a Thirteenth added to them, which they call'd *Veadar*, that is, the Second *Adar*. But, that the Reader may the more easily comprehend the *Hebrews*'s Manner of Regulating their Year, I shall explain, from our Author's Book, some of the First Principles of the Sphere. Betwixt the Two Poles of the World, the Astronomers have imagin'd a Circle to run, which cuts the Sphere into Two equal Parts; and this they call the *Æquinoctial*. At a certain Distance from this Circle, they have plac'd other Two; One upon each Side of the *Æquinoctial*, which they call the Tropics. A Fourth they have imagin'd to go from One Tropic to the Other, which obliquely cuts the *Æquinoctial* into Two opposite Points; and this Fourth Circle they call the Zodiac. Then they mark Four Principal Points in the Zodiac; Two where it touches the Tropics, and the other Two in the Sections of the *Æquinoctial* Circle. By these they explain the Length of the Year, the Diversity of the Seasons, and the Inequality of the Days and Nights. For the Year is nothing else but the Space of Time, that the Sun takes in running thorow the Zodiac. When the Sun comes to the Points that cut the *Æquinoctial*, the Days are equal to the Nights; and we have then either the Spring or the Autumn. When he comes towards our Pole, the Length of the Tropic, 'tis Summer; and we have Winter after he has repass'd the Line, and come to the other Tropic. Of these Four Points, the Two that touch the Tropics are call'd the Solstices, and the other Two the *Æquinoctials*. The Ancient Astronomers believ'd, (as we have observ'd in the Life of St. Columbanus) that the Sun perform'd his Course in Three Hundred Sixty Five Days, and Six Hours: For which Reason, every Four Years, they added Six Hours to make up an entire Day, which they inserted after the Sixth of the Calends of *February*; and from thence it was call'd the Bissextile. But our Modern Astronomers have, by more exact Observations, found, that the Year is not so long by Eleven Minutes; and how little soever this Difference may appear; yet in a few Ages it alter'd the Order of the Seasons, in so much, that the Vernal *Æquinox*, which at the time

of the Council of *Nice* was the 20th or 21st of *March*, was, in the 15th Century, the 10th or 11th. To put a Stop to this Disorder, which in a few Years would have put the Month of *April* in the Middle of Winter, the Astronomers of the last Age reform'd the Calendar; and, by cutting of Ten Days, they brought back the *Equinoxes* to the same Points they were in at the Time of the Council of *Nice*. Moreover they cut off the *Bissextile*, and added a Year only to every Four Hundred; and by this means the Points of the *Equinox* are so fixt that they can never vary.

Now I shall explain, by what Means the *Jews* did so well Regulate their Years, that their First Month fell alwise in the Spring; and they were oblig'd to be very exact in this, because, by their Law, they were to offer to God an infinite Number of Lambs in that Month, being the Month of the *Passover*, which could not be had in Winter: They were, by Necessity, therefore oblig'd to add the *Synodic Months*, to the diverse Seasons of the Year; yet 12 of those Months make but Three Hundred Fifty Four Days, Eight Hours, Forty Eight Minutes and some Seconds; and consequently this Lunar Year is shorter than the Solar, by Eleven Days, some Hours and Minutes. And, as we have said before, the *Jews* did Regulate their Months, rather by the Phases of the Moon than by any Astronomical Computation. When their 12th Month was ended, and that the Spring was not come, the following Moon belong'd not to the First Month, but to a Thirteenth which they insert'd, and which is call'd the *Intercalar* or *Embolimic Month*. And this they did so exactly, that the Full Moon of the Month *Nisan* never preceeded the *Equinox*, that is, the Day, in which the Sun, entering into the First Degree of *Aries*, makes the Day and the Night equal. For the better understanding of this, it must be observ'd, that the *Jews* had Four sorts of Years, or rather Four Beginnings of their Years; that of their Civil Year, in the Month of *Tisri*; that of their Sacred Year, in the Month of *Nisan*; that of the Tenth of their Flocks, in the Month of *Elul*, that is, according to the *Rabbins*, from the Time that they began to compt all their Flocks, that were brought forth from that Month, the Tenth of which was given for Sacred Uses; and lastly that of the Trees, upon the First or the Fifteenth of the Month *Shebet*; for the *Rabbins* say, that it was forbidden, by the Law, to eat of the Fruit of a Tree newly planted till after Three Years; because, during that Time, it was impure.

I hope, that this Account of the diverse Computations of Time amongst the *Jews*, which I have explain'd from our Author's Books, and the R. F. Lamy's Book above cited, will not be unacceptable, especially to those Readers, who have not studied these Matters, since they serve very much for the understanding of the Sacred Scriptures.

Besides these Books, *Dempster* says, that our Author wrote a Book upon the Laws; but tho' he was a very Eminent Lawyer himself, I doubt if ever he did see it. We have no further Account of him, but that, after he had profess'd the Mathematics for several Years, with great Fame and Applause, he died in the Year 1256; as it appears from this Inscription upon his Tomb, in the Church of the *Mathurines* at *Paris*, written round about a Sphere:

His Death
and Cha-
racter.

*M. Christi bis C, quarto deno quater anno,
De Sacro-Bosco qui computista Joannes
Tempora discrevit, jacet hic a tempore raptus,
Tempora qui sequeris, memor esto quod morieris,
Si miser es, plora, miserans pro me precor ora.*

Dempster and Camerarius have this Inscription, without the First Line; but Gerardus Vossius has the First Line, and only the Two following Lines.

*De Sacro-Bosco discrevit tempora Ramus,
Gratia cui nomen dederat Divina Joannes.*

This Author is acknowledg'd by all, not only to have been the most Learn'd Mathematician of his Age, but the Noble Restorer of those Sciences then sunk into Desuetude; and his Works have been ever since, and will still be esteem'd by all Learn'd Men: And some of the most Eminent Mathematicians of the last Age, as *Gemmas Frisius*, *Petrus Ramus*, *Elias Venetus* and *Christophorus Clavius*, have thought their Labor not ill bestow'd, in Illustrating them with their Commentaries.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. **D**E Sphæra Mundi, Antwerp. 1566. in 8vo. Cum nonnullis Additionibus, Venet. 1488. Cum Præfatione Melanchthonis, cumque Lib. de Anni Ratione, seu Computo Ecclesiastico, Paris. 1550. Cum Comm. & Compositione Annuli Astronomici Boneti Latensis, & Geometria Euclidis, Paris. 1516. Cum Comm. Franc. Capuani de Manfredonia, & Annot. B. Vespucii, Venet. 1508. Cum Theoricis Purbachii, & Disputationibus Job. Regiomontani contra Cremonensium deliramenta, in Planetarum Theoricas, 1482. in 4to. Cum Annot. in eandem, cumque aliis quibusdam per Varios Italice, Firenz. 1550. 4to. Cum Comm. Erasmi. Oswald Schreckenfuchsius Bas. 1553. Cum Comm. Christoph. Clavii, Lugd. 1594. in 4to. Cum Comm. Bern. Morisinii, Franc. 1625. &c.
 - II. De Computo Ecclesiastico, Antwerp. 1566. in 8vo. Et cum Præfatione Phil. Melancht. Paris. 1551. in 8vo.
 - III. De Astrolabio, MSS. in Bib. Bodl.
 - IV. De Algorithmo, MSS. in Bib. Bodl.
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T H E

LIFE of HUGH BENHAM, *Bishop of Aberdeen.*

THIS Reverend and Learn'd Prelate was Born (a) in the Reign of King *Alexander* the Second; and, having finish'd his Studies in Grammar and Philosophy, he apply'd himself to Theology, entred into Holy Orders, and was so well belov'd, by all the People and the Clergy, that, upon the Death of *Richard Pottock* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, there was none, amongst the Clergy, thought so fit to succeed him as our Author, being a Person that was endow'd with all the Qualifications which are requisite in a Clergy-man. Not long before, Pope *Urban* the Fourth had Ordain'd, That every Bishop and Abbot Elect should travel to Rome for Consecration; by which means prodigious Sums of Money were taken out of the Kingdom every Year, and the Pope's Coffers considerably enrich'd. Upon his Arrival at Rome, he found all things in such Confusion, that he was oblig'd to attend there the Space of a whole Year for his Consecration. And since this, and what I am to say afterwards of him, cannot be well understood without knowing the State of the Church and Empire at that time, I hope the Reader will be satisfy'd with the following Account.

The Emperor *Henry* the VI. dying at *Messina* (b), towards the end of the Year 1197. or according to others at *Palerma*, in the beginning of the Year 1198, left behind him a Son of Seven Years of Age, Nam'd *Frederic*, whom he made, by his Testament, Heir of the Empire, under the Regency of his Brother *Philip*; and, that he might engage the Pope to his Side, he left him several Lands in *Italy*, which belong'd to the Empire. The Pope Crown'd *Frederic* King of *Sicily*, but he could not obtain the Empire; for a strong Competition arose for it, betwixt *Philip* the Emperor's Brother, and *Otho* Son to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*. *Philip* was chosen by most of the Electoral Princes, and Crown'd at *Metz* by the Bishop of *Tarentaise*. And *Otho* was chosen by the Arch-Bishop of *Cologne* and by some other Princes of *Germany*. The Country of *Cologne*, the *Palatinate*, *Thuringia*, *Livonia* and all the rest of *Germany* acknowledg'd *Otho*. *Philip* the King of *France*, espous'd *Philip's* Quarrel; and the King of *England* *Otho's*. And Pope *Innocent* the Third declar'd himself for *Otho*, confirm'd his Election, and rejected that of *Philip's*: But *Philip* had the strongest Party in *Germany*. In the Year 1201 the Pope sent Cardinal *Guy*, Bishop of *Palestrine*, his Legate, into *Germany* to sustain *Otho* and his Party. Upon his Arrival there, he order'd all the *Germans* to acknowledge *Otho* Emperor, under Pain of Excommunication; but this did not put any Stop to the Progress of *Philip's* Arms, who, having gain'd *Adolphus* Arch-Bishop of *Cologne* to his Party, came to *Aix la Chapelle* in the Year 1204. where he was Crown'd, for a second time, by that Arch-Bishop. *Philip*, being

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(a) Vid. Hist. Boet. Aberd. Pont. Vitz, Pag. 9. Dempst. Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot. Lib. 2. Pag. 765. Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland Lib. 2. Pag. 102. (b) Vid. M. Du Pin Nouv. Bib. des Aut. Eccles. Tom. 10. Pag. 1. &c.

inform'd, that *Conrad*, Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*, was dead, came with his Army to that City, and caus'd choose, in his Place, *Diepold* or *Lupold* Bishop of *Worms*: But he had no sooner gone with his Army from the City, but the greatest Part of the Canons protested against him, declaring, that they had not their own Freedom in the Election, but were constrain'd by *Philip*; and, having appeal'd to the Holy See, they assembled at *Binghen* and choos'd *Sifroy* Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*. This Election was confirm'd by the Pope, who Excommunicated *Lupold*; and the next Year he caus'd his Legate *Adolphus*, Arch-Bishop of *Cologne*, deprive him, and choose *Brunon* in his Place. At this time *Othobon* was at *Cologne*; and *Philip*, having got Notice of it, came with his Army and laid Siege to the City. *Othobon*, finding that his Forces were far inferior to *Philip*'s, was resolv'd not to run the Hazard of a Siege; so, with a select Number of Troops, he, and the Arch-Bishop *Brunon*, came out of the City, thinking to make their way thorow the Enemy's Camp: But *Philip* gave them such a warm Reception, that they were entirely defeat, and the Arch-Bishop taken Prisoner; but *Othobon* made his Escape, and fled to *Saxony*, and from thence to *England*. At length the Princes of *Germany*, being anxious to have the Peace of the Empire establish'd, in the Year 1207. sent Deputies to the Pope, entreating him to acknowledge *Philip*'s Authority, and to reconcile the Difference between the Two Pretenders to the Empire. The Pope consented to this, but upon Condition, that *Philip*'s Daughter should be given in Marriage to Count *Richard* his Nephew. To make this Negotiation succeed, the Pope sent Three Legates into *Germany*, who met at an Assembly, which sat down about the Feast of *Christmas* at *Northuse*, where a Peace was concluded between the Two Kings. *Othobon* resign'd the Empire to *Philip*, upon Condition, that he should give him his Daughter in Marriage, and that he should be his Heir. *Adolphus* was absolv'd by the Legates, and *Brunon* set at Liberty by the Emperor. *Philip* did not enjoy this Peace any considerable Time; for the next Year he was kill'd at *Bamberg*, by *Othobon* Count *Palatin* of *Witilsbach*, being incens'd against him, for having promis'd him his Daughter in Marriage, and given her to another. *Philip* being dead, *Othobon* was chosen unanimously by all the Princes of *Germany*, without any regard had to the Right of *Frederic*, King of *Sicily* and Son to the Emperor *Henry VI.* *Othobon* was no sooner establish'd upon the Throne, but all his old Friends appear'd against those who had befriended *Philip*; *Brunon* was re-establish'd in the Arch-Bishopric of *Cologne*, and *Adolph* was depos'd; *Sifroy* was put in Possession of the Arch-Bishopric of *Mentz*, and *Lupold* was expell'd: And in one Word, of all *Philip*'s Friends, there were none but *Conrad*, Bishop of *Spire*, that kept his Place; for he, having retir'd into a strong Castle, would not acknowledge *Othobon*'s Authority, unless he continued him still in his Place, which *Othobon* at last condescended to do.

The Pope, being inform'd of *Othobon*'s Advancement, sent his Legates to *Germany*, to invite him to come to *Rome* and receive the Imperial Crown from his Hands. These Legates were receiv'd at an Assembly, held at *Wirtzburg* in the Year 1209. where they approv'd of the Marriage betwixt *Othobon* and *Philip*'s Daughter. The same Year *Othobon* went to *Rome*, where he was receiv'd by Pope *Innocent III.* and Crown'd
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in the Church of *St. Peter*; upon the 4th Day of *October*. At his Coronation, the Pope took an Oath from him; that he should defend the Patrimony of *St. Peter*: But, the *Romans* requiring the Donations that were usually given to them by the Emperors, at the Ceremony of their Coronation, the *Germans* and they fell to Handy-blows, and several were kill'd upon both Sides. This made *Otho* immediately go out of the City, and ravage all the Lands belonging to the Popedom; which he did, not only out of Revenge for what had been done to his Men; but likewise to mortify the Pope, whom he began to suspect not to be his real Friend. Upon this the Pope threatned him with Excommunication, unless he forbore his Hostilities: But the Emperor was so far from being terrify'd with the Pope's Threatnings, that he resolv'd to seize upon *Romagna*, and to make himself Master of the Kingdom of *Sicily* and *Apulia*, which belong'd to *Frederic*, and had been under the Pope's Government, ever since the Death of the Empress *Constantia* that young Prince's Mother: The Pope, that he might hinder this Enterprize, excommunicates the Emperor, and calls a Council at *Rome*, wherein he divested him of the Empire, and freed all his Subjects from their Allegiance, discharging them to own him as Emperor: And this Sentence he caus'd to be denounc'd against him, in *Germany*, by *Sifroy* Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*, in the Year 1211. who immediately repented of what he had done; for the Count *Palatine*, the Duke of *Brabant*, and some other Princes of the Empire, entred with an Army into his Territories; laid waste his whole Lands, and he himself was oblig'd to retire to *Thuringia*. These Troubles in *Germany* made the Emperor leave *Italy*; and, coming to *Nuremberg* about Easter the same Year, he call'd an Assembly, wherein War was declar'd against *Herman* Count of *Thuringia*; for Harboursing and Protecting *Sifroy* Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*. Then, having rais'd an Army, he march'd to *Thuringia*, took Two of the most considerable Cities, and burnt and kill'd where ever he came. After which, having return'd to *Northuse*, he caus'd Celebrate his Marriage with the Emperors *Philip's* Daughter, who died in a few Days after.

The Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*, to be reveng'd of the Emperor, gets the King of *Bobemia*, the Arch-Bishop of *Treves*, the Count of *Thuringia*, and some other Princes of the Empire to declare for *Frederic*, and to acknowledge him Emperor in *Otho's* Place. Having made their Election, they sent Two Deputies to acquaint him of it, to invite him to come to *Germany*, and take Possession of the Empire. *Frederic*, being firmly perswaded of the Fidelity of those Princes, immediately began his Journey for *Germany*; and coming to *Rome*, he earnestly desir'd Pope *Innocent* to Crown him: But the Pope eluded this Request by telling him, That he would send a Cardinal alongst with him, in Quality of his Legate, to order all the Princes under Pain of Excommunication to acknowledge him; and that he would Crown him afterwards: *Frederic*, continuing his Journey, came to the City of *Constance*, where he was met with a great many of the Princes of *Germany*. *Otho* design'd to have given him Battel; but, the greatest part of his Army having abandon'd him, he was oblig'd to retire. On the contrary *Frederic* was well receiv'd every where, and in a short time became Master of the Cities of *Mentz*, *Cologne* and *Aix le Chapelle*, where he was Crown'd

Emperor in the Year 1214. After which, he entred into Alliance with *Philip* King of *France*. *Otho*, on the other hand, having, upon his Side, *John* King of *England*, *Renald* Count of *Bologne*, and *Ferdinand* Count of *Flanders*, raises a great Army, with which he gives Battel to the *French* King, at the Bridge of the *Bowines* in *Flanders*, upon the 15th of *July* in the Year 1214. In this Battel King *Philip* was in very great hazard of his Person; but, at length, *Otho* was entirely defeat, having his whole Army cut off, and he himself with great difficulty got into *Saxony*, where he spent the remnant of his Days in Solitude. He died, according to some, in the Year 1216, but according to others, in the Year 1218.

Otho, by his Death, left *Frederic* in the peaceable Possession of the Empire, and was Crown'd for a Second Time by *Sifroy* Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*, and a Third Time by the Pope's Legate. At this Third Coronation, he gave to the Popedom the County of *Fondi* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. In the Year 1220 he was Crown'd Emperor, by Pope *Honorius* III. who succeeded to *Innocent*; and, for this Favour, he granted to the Popedom a great many Lands in *Italy*, and promis'd of new to go to the Assistance of the Recovery of the Holy Land. But, in a little Time after, he fell at Variance with the Pope, which was occasion'd by his depriving Two Counts of *Tuscany* of their Inheritances, who had fled to *Rome* for their Protection. Upon this the City of *Bologne*, and some other Cities of *Italy*, rising in Arms against him, he came to *Rome*, put out the Arch-Bishops and Bishops from their respective Sees, and put others in their Places, pretending that it was a Right that belong'd to the Kings of *Sicily*, which Pope *Innocent* III. had usurp'd during his Minority. Upon this the Pope Excommunicated him, and freed all his Subjects from their Allegiance: But the Emperor and all his Subjects had no regard to the Pope's Excommunication; for not one of them rebell'd against him, but were so far from it, that they made his Son *Henry*, a Boy of 12 Years of Age, King of *Germany*, in an Assembly of the *German* Princes, held at *Wirtzburg* in the Year 1222. and was Crown'd at *Aix la Chapelle*, by *Engelbert* Arch-Bishop of *Cologne*. Pope *Honorius* III. dying, *Gregory* IX. who succeeded him in the Month of *April* in the Year 1227, told the Emperor, that, unless he perform'd his Vow of going to the Holy Land, he would confirm the Sentence of Excommunication past against him by his Predecessor. Upon this, *Henry*, King of *Germany*, call'd an Assembly of all the Princes of the Empire at *Aix la Chapelle*, wherein the Voyage to the Holy Land was determin'd. In the Month of *August* the Emperor embark'd for *Asia*, with the *Croisades* (for so they were call'd who went upon this Expedition) at *Brindes*; but he staid not long there. The Pope, having got Notice of his Return, immediately renew'd his Predecessor's Sentence of Excommunication against him, but withall told him, that he would absolve him, if he would return to the Holy Land. The Emperor, to be reveng'd of the Pope, publish'd Four Manifesto's against him and his Cardinals. The First was to the Cardinals themselves; the Second to the People of *Rome*; the Third to all Kings; and the Fourth to all Princes. Yet, at length, in the Year 1228 he embark'd for the Holy Land, and sent his Ambassadors to the Pope, requiring his Absolution: But the Pope not only refus'd to absolve him,

him, but endeavour'd to obstruct his Voyage, and discharg'd the Croi-
sades of *Apulia* and *Lombardy* to join him. In the mean time *Renald*,
Son to the Duke of *Spoletta*, whom the Emperor had left Regent of the
Kingdom of *Sicily* in his Absence, entred, with an Army, into *Ancona*
and the Valley of *Spoletta*. The Pope, on the other hand, enters into
Apulia, with an Army under the Conduct of *John de Brienne* King of
Jerusalem. The Emperor, who was then in *Syria*, and had taken se-
veral Cities from the *Saracens*, hearing of this, resolv'd to return to
appease these Troubles himself; so he immediately concludes a Peace
with the Sultan, which was very advantageous to the Christians: For;
by it, there was a Peace concluded, betwixt the Christians and the *Sa-
racens*, for Ten Years, and the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* and the City was
given to the Emperor, the Temple and a few Castles only excepted:
And, in consequence of this Treaty, the Emperor took Possession of the
City of *Jerusalem*, and was Crown'd King of *Jerusalem* in the Year 1229.
Upon the Emperor's Arrival in *Germany*, he sent to the Pope and ac-
quainted him of all that he had done. The Pope, instead of being
pleas'd with it, as it might have been reasonably expected, said, That
the Emperor was guilty of a great Crime, in making Peace with an In-
fidel Prince, and continued to foment the Rebellion of his Subjects:
The Emperor, finding this, marches with an Army to *Italy*, retakes
all the Cities that had revolted from him, and takes several other Ci-
ties that belong'd to the Popedom. Yet he was so desirous of being
reconcil'd to the Pope, that he sent the General of his Army, and the
Arch-Bishop of *Meffina* to interceed for his Absolution, which he grant-
ed, upon Condition, that he should restore to him all the Lands that
he had taken, and pay to the Church of *Rome* Six and Twenty Thou-
sand Ounces of Gold, for the Losses that She had sustain'd by him. The
Emperor's Deputies having agreed to these Conditions, in the Year 1230.
he came to *Anagna*, where he met the Pope, receiv'd his Absolution;
was re-establish'd in the Empire, and declar'd King both of *Sicily*
and *Jerusalem*. Now every Body believ'd, that there was a sincere
and lasting Peace establish'd between the Pope and the Emperor; for
they eat and drank together, and appear'd very cordial towards one
another: Yet in a short time after, a Discord arose betwixt them, up-
on this Occasion. The *Romans* having revolted against the Pope, the
Emperor came with an Army to assist him; but they soon turn'd jea-
lous of one another: For the Pope accus'd the Emperor of keeping a
secret Correspondence with his Enemies; and the Emperor likewise
accus'd the Pope of keeping a Correspondence with his Enemies. But,
however it was, the Emperor abandon'd the Pope, and retir'd with
his Army to *Pisa*, and from thence to *Germany*.

At his Arrival in *Germany*, he found several Factions amongst the
Princes there, and, suspecting his Son to have a hand in them, he sent
him to *Sicily*. In the mean time, *Lombardy* revolting against him, he
came with an Army into *Italy*, in the Year 1235. and retook the Ci-
ties of *Lombardy*, *Verona* and *Vicenza*, and ravag'd the whole Coun-
try. His Son *Henry*, being discontented, join'd with the *Lombards*,
and had drawn to his Party a great Number of the *German* Princes,
if his Father had not timely prevented it, by obtaining a Letter from
the Pope to the Princes of *Germany*, discharging them from joining

with his Son. After which he caus'd seize him, and sent him Prisoner to *Apulia*, where he died the next Year, and *Conrad*, his Brother, was made King of *Germany* in his Place.

The War continuing in *Italy*, the Pope join'd with the *Lombards* against the Emperor, in the Year 1238. But, the Emperor daily prevailing, the Pope design'd to retire with his Forces to the City of *Rome*; but *John Cincius*, one of the *Roman* Senators whom the Emperor had gain'd over to his Party, caus'd shut the Gates upon him: Yet the Pope's Party was so powerful in the City, that they seiz'd upon the Capitol, opened the Gates to him, and expell'd *Cincius*. After which, he made a Peace betwixt the *Venetians* and *Genois*, a League with the People of *Italy* against the Emperor, pass'd a Sentence of Excommunication against him, freed all his Subjects from their Allegiance, and lastly he sent Deputies to Count *Robert*, Brother to St. *Lewis* King of *France*, with an Offer of the Imperial Crown; but that Prince was so Generous as to refuse it, and to blame the Pope more than the Emperor: Yet he promis'd to send Deputies to the Emperor, to enquire about his Religion, and, if he found that he was not Orthodox, he would prove his mortal Enemy, as he would do to the Pope himself, if he found him vary in the least from the Christian Religion; and accordingly he sent Deputies to the Emperor, who told him, that their Master was invited to make War against him as an Enemy to the Church; but that he would act nothing against a Christian Prince, and therefore desir'd to know what Religion he was of. The Emperor told them, that he thanked God, he was a Catholic, and that he was very sensible of their Master's Generosity.

In the mean time, the Emperor and the Pope accus'd one another mutually by public Writings, the Emperor saying, that the Pope was the First Breaker of the Peace that he had made with him, by entring with an Army into *Sicily*, when he was making War against the Infidels in the East; That he had oppos'd his Entry into *Italy*; That he assisted the *Lombards* against him; And that he had excommunicated him most unjustly. The Pope, on the other hand, said, That the Emperor, having seiz'd upon several of the Church-Lands, was oblig'd to make use both of the Spiritual and Temporal Power for recovering them; That he had propos'd an Accommodation betwixt the Emperor and the *Lombards*, but that the Emperor would not hear of it; And lastly, that he had bestow'd many Favours upon the Emperor, and that he was so far from being grateful for them, that his only Aim and Design was to take away the Liberties of the Church, to spoil Her of Her Goods, to hinder the Croisades, and to ruine the Power of the Holy See. These mutual Reproaches were attended with an intestine War. The most of the Provinces and Cities of *Italy* were divided into Two Factions; That of the *Gibilins*, and that of the *Guelphes*. The *Gibilins* were for the Emperor, and the *Guelphes* for the Pope. By this Faction the Emperor's Party became so Powerful, that he had the most of the Cities of *Italy* under his Subjection, and *Rome* it self was like to fall into his hands, by the Intelligence that he had with the Principal Senators of the City, if the Pope had not engag'd the People in a Croisade for his Defence. The Emperor, finding that he could not get the City, destroy'd all the Neighbouring Places; and, marching with his Army thorow the other
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Parts of *Italy*, he pillag'd the Churches, Monasteries and Religious Orders of all their Riches. The Pope, to put a Stop to this, Publish'd Plenary Indulgences to all such, as should enter into the Croisade against the Emperor, and call'd a General Council at *Rome*, to make the Emperor's Deposition the more solemn. The Emperor, to prevent this Stroke, and to hinder the Meeting of the Council, caus'd guard all the Public Roads and Sea-Ports, for apprehending such Prelates as should come to it. The Inhabitants of *Pisa*, who had the Sea-coast committed to their Charge, having met with some Ships of the *Genois*, who had on Board a great Number of Cardinals and Prelates, seisd them and sent them to the Emperor, who imprison'd them. About the same time, the Emperor took a Castle in *Campania*, in which many of the Pope's Relations were, whom he caus'd all to be hang'd. The News of these Misfortunes coming to the Pope's Ears, he immediately fell sick, and died at *Rome* upon the 30th of *September*, in the Year 1241.

Pope *Celestine IV.* who succeeded him, had a great Inclination, as they say, for making a Peace with the Emperor; but, he having liv'd only 18 Days, there was nothing done in it. After his Death, the See of *Rome* was vacant 19 Months, by reason of the Emperor's detaining the Cardinals: But at length, having set them at Liberty, by the Solicitation of *Baudouin* Emperor of *Constantinople*, they made Cardinal *Sinibaud*, a *Genois*, Pope, who took the Name of *Innocent IV.* This Pope being a great Friend of the Emperor's when he was a Cardinal, it was nowise doubted, but that a Peace would be concluded betwixt the new Pope and the Emperor, and, by the Mediation of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, they were to have met at *Castellana*; but the Pope, distrusting the Emperor, instead of going to that Place, embark'd at *Civitavecchia*, and sail'd for *France*, where he was very kindly receiv'd by *St. Lewis*; and, going to *Lions*, he indited a General Council to be held there, in the Year 1245. and cited the Emperor to it.

This Council began in the Month of *June* the same Year. *Baudouin*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, was there in Person with the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Antioch*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Venice*, who assum'd to himself the Quality of Patriarch, in spite of the Opposition made by the other Two. The Kings of *France* and *England* sent their Deputies, and there were about a Hundred and Fourty Six Cardinals, Arch-Bishops, Bishops and Deputies. The Emperor came not himself, but sent *Thadec* Bishop of *Sessa* to act in his Name, with the Bishop of *Strasbourg*, *Hugh* Commander of the *Teutonic Order*, and *Peter* Bishop of *Vynes*. Upon the *Monday* after the Feast of *St. John the Baptist*, the Pope call'd the Prelates together, that they might deliberate upon the Affairs that were to be propos'd in the Council. The Patriarch of *Constantinople* expos'd the miserable State, that the *Latins* were reduc'd to in the East, and the Danger that the City of *Constantinople* was in: The Pope gave no Answer to this. Then the Canonization of *St. Edmund*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, was propos'd: But the Pope remitted that to another Time. Then *Thadec*, Bishop of *Sessa*, made some Propositions of an Accommodation betwixt the Emperor and the Pope; and told, that the Emperor was willing, upon his part, to have a Peace made up between them, and to be reconcil'd with the Pope; and that he offer'd to unite all *Greece* to the Holy See; to oppose himself to

the Incurfions of the *Tartars* and *Saracens*, by making War upon them at His own Expences; and to make an entire Satisfaction, and reftore, to the Church of *Rome*, all that he had taken from Her. To this the Pope answer'd, That there was no Trust to be put to thofe Propositions of the Emperor's; becaufe the Emperor had, feveral times before, made fuch Promifes, but alwife broke them; and that he had only made them, at this time, to elude the Judgment of the Council: And moreover, that the Bifhop of *Seffa* had not a fpecial Power, from the Emperor, for making of fuch Propositions. After this the Bifhop of *Beryta* made a Difcourfe, upon the Danger in which the Holy Land was in, and read a moft lamentable Letter from fome Chriftian Lords that were left in *Paleftine*, requiring their Aid and Affiftance. Thefe were the Preliminaries of this Council. In the Firft Seflion, after the Pope and all the Council had Sung *Veni Creator*, and faid the Prayer for the Invocation of the Holy Ghoft, he made a Sermon to them, and took for his Text, Pfal. xciv. V. 19. *Thy Comforts have rejoic'd my Soul in the multitude of the Sorrows of my Heart*. In his Doctrine, from thefe Words, he faid, that there were Five Things for which he was forrowful, and grieved at the Heart. The Firft was, the Irregular Lives of the Prelates and the Faithful; The Second, the Insolence of the *Saracens*; The Third, the Schifm of the *Greeks*; The Fourth, the Cruelty of the *Tartars*; And, Laftly, the Perfecution of the Emperor *Frederic*. He infifted upon thefe Five Heads; and Firft began with the Irregular Lives of the Prelates and other Chriftians; Then upon the Cruelties, that the *Saracens* exercis'd againft the Faithful in *Paleftine*, when they feis'd upon *Jerufalem* and the Sepulchre of our Lord and Saviour; Thirdly upon the Succefs the Emperor of the *Grecian* Schifmatics had over the *Latins*, and of the great Danger that *Constantinople* was in; Fourthly, upon the Ravages, that the *Tartars* had made in *Hungary*; And, Laftly, upon the Emperor's Perfecution of Pope *Gregory*, his Predeceffor, and the Injuries done to himfelf every day. And whereas he faid, that it was not againft the Church, but the Persons of the Popes that he had a Prejudice, the contrary appear'd from his Perfecuting the the Clergy and Church, during the Vacancy of the See. Then, towards the latter end of his Difcourfe, he accus'd the Emperor, in particular, of Herefy and Sacrilege, for having Built a City in the Lands that belong'd to the Chriftians, and Peopled it with *Saracens*; That he had enter'd in Friendfhip and Alliance with the Sultan of *Babylon* and other *Saracen* Princes; That he had feveral *Saracen* Miftreffes; And that he was guilty of Perjury. For juftifying this laft part of his Accufation, he caufed read the Emperor's Edict, commonly call'd the *Golden Bull*, and his other Declarations, in which he had promis'd Obedience and Fidelity to the Pope, and had acknowledged the Kingdom of *Sicily* and *Apulia* to be Feudatory to the Papedom, and by which he had reftor'd feveral Lands to the Church. The Pope having ended his Difcourfe, the Bifhop of *Seffa* rofe up, and answer'd to all that the Pope had faid againft his Mafter; and then, upon the other Hand, accus'd the Pope to have done feveral unwarrantable Things againft him. After which he produced the Pope's Letters, whereby it appeared, that he had not been Faithful to the Emperor in many of his Promifes. And as to the Pope's Accufation of Herefy, he answer'd, That, if his Mafter were there,

there, he could easily justify himself by a Confession of his Faith; but that it might be easily known, that he was a good Catholic, from his not suffering Usurers to live in his Dominions; which, says *Matthew Paris*, "was a severe Reflection upon the Court of *Rome*, where that Vice was openly own'd. He added, That if his Master had any Friendship with the Sultan of *Babylon*, and the other *Saracen* Princes, and that if he permitted the *Saracens* to remain in his Dominions, it was to make use of them against his Rebellious Subjects, choosing rather to spill their Blood, than that of his Christian Subjects. And as for his *Saracen* Mistresses, it was true, that there had been some *Saracen* Ladies at the Court, which the Emperor detain'd for some time for his Diversion, being extremely pleas'd with their Comical Addresses and Fashions; but that he had sent them away and they were not to return. After this, the Bishop desir'd, that he might have time to advertise his Master to come to the Council in Person. The Pope answer'd, That he could not with safety grant that, knowing his Stratagems, and that if he came he would retire, being afraid of Death, and not finding himself sufficiently prepar'd for Martyrdom or Imprisonment: Yet the next day, by the Solicitations of the Deputies of the Kings of *England* and *France*, he granted 15 days of a Delay. The Bishop having advertis'd the Emperor of all that had past in the Council, that Prince, finding that the Pope was resolv'd to have him Condemn'd, thought fit not to trust himself to them. They had no sooner receiv'd the News of the Emperor's Resolutions at *Lyons*, but his Enemies were overjoy'd, and his Friends extremely chagrin'd; and durst not espouse his Interest any more openly, in so much, that in the Second Session of the Council, which was held 8 Days after the First, a Bishop of *Apulia*, and Two Bishops of *Spain* spoke very vehemently against him, particularly, for his having arrested and imprison'd the Cardinals, that were coming to the Council at *Rome*, call'd by Pope *Gregory*. The Bishop of *Sessa* defended still his Master's Interest, with great Boldness and Firmness of Mind; and told them, that he could not do otherwise, since these Prelates were going to *Rome* with his Enemies, upon a Design of Deposing him. The Pope maintain'd the Affirmative, and all the rest of that Session past in Altercations: Before it was ended, the Bishop of *Sessa* demanded some more Time, endeavouring to persuade them, that the Emperor was design'd to come to the Council; but this was deny'd. In the next Session, at first they treated of some other Affairs, as of the Means for recovering of the Holy Land, about which the Pope caus'd read some Constitutions: Then he caus'd confirm all the Privileges, granted to the Popedom by the Emperors and Princes. After this the Deputies of *England* complain'd of the excessive Taxes, laid upon them by the Court of *Rome*; and of the Pope's Legate, who took upon him to dispose of Benefices to *Italians*, in Prejudice of the Patrons, and did a great many other things in Prejudice of the Church and State: All which Abuses they hoped the Pope would rectify. The Pope would give them no Answer at that time, but proceeded to the Emperor's Affair: Then the Bishop of *Sessa*, seeing that the Condemnation of his Master the Emperor was resolv'd upon, appeal'd, in the Emperor's Name, to a New Pope and a New Council, alleging that this was not a General

Council, because there were several Deputies and Bishops absent. To this the Pope answer'd, That it could not but be call'd a General Council, since all the World was invited to it; and the Princes and Bishops, which were absent, were only such as depended upon the Emperor, and whom he hindred from coming to the Council; and consequently, that the Bishop of *Sessa's* Appeal could not hinder them from proceeding against the Emperor. Then, having made a Discourse, in which he enlarg'd upon the great Kindness that he had formerly for that Prince, and his many Excellent Qualities, he pronounc'd a Sentence against him, by which he depriv'd him of the Empire, and of all his Estates and Dignities. This was deliver'd to be publicly read in the Council; the Substance of which was, That he, (the Pope) after his Advancement to the Pontificate, made it his Principal Business to re-establish the Peace of Christendom, and for that end he had sent some Cardinals to the Emperor *Frederic* (who had been the Author of all these Troubles and Wars, for which he had been Excommunicated by Pope *Gregory*) with Terms of Accommodation, and had told him, that this could not be done without setting at Liberty the Prelates and Cardinals that he had in Prison, after which he was willing to treat with him, and to harken to such reasonable Propositions, as should be made to the Holy See, upon those things for which he was Excommunicated; That he had offer'd to him, that, in case the Church had done him any Prejudice, he was willing to repair it; That, if he maintain'd that he had done no Harm to the Church, he was willing to call a General Council of all the Kings, Prelates, Princes Secular and Ecclesiastic in the World, in a free Place; That if the Council found, that the Church had wrong'd him in any thing, he was willing to revoke what had been done against him, and that if he had offended the Church, he expected Satisfaction; That, at first, he would not harken to any Proposition, but afterwards, he sent to him the Count of *Thoulouse*, *Peter* Bishop of *Vignes*, and *Thadée* Bishop of *Sessa*, with Propositions of Peace, and had promis'd by Oath to give Satisfaction to the Church, but, having fail'd in his Word, and continuing in his evil Ways, he was oblig'd to punish him for his Crimes; the Four Principal of which were, *Perjury*, because he had sworn several times to establish Peace between the Empire and the Church, but had never done it; *Sacrilege*, for having imprison'd the Prelates that were going to the Council; *Heresy*, because he had violated the Faith, that he owes to the Holy See, condemn'd her Authority, rob'd her of her Goods, hinder'd Canonical Elections and pillag'd the Churches; *Infidelity*, by his oppressing the Religious Orders, and his Friendship and Alliance with the *Saracens* against the Christians. For these and many other Crimes, he declares that this Prince, who had render'd himself unworthy of the Imperial Throne by his Sins, by this Sentence was divested of all Honour and Dignity; he frees all his Subjects from their Obedience and Allegiance to him, and discharges any from acknowledging him either Emperor or King, upon Pain of Excommunication *ipso facto*. Lastly, he orders the Electoral Princes to proceed to the Electing of another Emperor. This Sentence was read and approv'd of by the Council; and then was publish'd and sent to be dispers'd thorow all the Corners of the Empire.

The Emperor wrote a Letter in his own Defence, directed to the King of *France*, and all the other Princes of *Europe*, in which he tells them, that he acknowledges the Spiritual Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*; but that he did not believe, that he had any Power to dispose of his Empire, nor to punish Kings and Princes by depriving them of their Temporals; and tho' he had a Right to Consecrate the Emperors, yet he had not a Power to Depose them, because of that, no more than other Bishops had of Deposing the Kings, that they are accusom'd to Consecrate; but that tho' he had this Power, which he has not, yet he could not make use of it against any Person, without observing any Form of Law, as he had done to him on this Occasion, without having an Accuser, Affignation or Denunciation, without making a Lawful Information, but only by declaring that the things were notoriously known, which was not true; That there was not, in the Council, but a very small Number of Bishops that deponed against him, *viz.* a Bishop of *Apulia*, whose Brethren and Nephews he had apprehended for the Crime of Treason, and Two Bishops of *Spain*, who liv'd at too great a distance to know what pass'd in *Italy*; and that tho' the Pope had proceed'd against him, in the ordinary Forms of Law, and that he had had an Accuser and Witnesses, yet he could not have condemn'd him, because he was not present, nor lawfully cited, and that he had given, by his Deputies, very legitimate Excuses for his Absence, so that he could not be reckon'd Contumacious; and tho' he had been, yet he could not have been Condemn'd by a definitive Sentence. In fine, that tho' all the Procedure had been regular, yet the Sentence was no wise sustainable, because it was founded all upon Facts that were notoriously false, and the Punishment inflict'd was beyond the Power of him that gave the Sentence, his Power being only in Spirituals, and not in Temporals. Then, towards the end, he tells them, That 'tis all their Interests not to see this Sentence put in Execution; for they would all have the same Fate some time or other; that's to say, when ever they offended the Pope, unless they joined with him to Defend their Authority. He wrote another Letter to the King of *France*, wherein he submitted himself to him and his Peers, for drawing up what Terms of Agreement they should think fit, betwixt him and the Pope. Upon this the *French* King told the Pope, that the Emperor was very willing to give him all the Satisfaction he could desire, and to spend the rest of his Days in War, against the Infidels in the Holy Land. The Pope laugh'd heartily at this, and in his Answer told the King of *France*; That he had promis'd to him formerly much more, but never did any thing. The King reply'd, That he ought to Pardon his Brother Seventy times Seven, and that he (and a Number of Croisades, who were ready to go to the Holy Land with him) desir'd, that he would be pleas'd to accept of the humble Proposition that he had made to him, in favours of the Emperor, for the Good of the Church and the Advantage of Religion; and that in doing so, he would imitate our Saviour, who was so Humble, that He underwent the shameful Death of the Cross for us: But finding the Pope inexorable, he retired extremely troubled, says *Matthew Paris*, to find that the Servant of the Servants of the Lord had not a Christian Humility. A great many other Princes likewise exclaim'd against the Pope's Sentence, and the greatest part of the Ele-

More and Princes of the Empire continued Loyal and Faithful to the Emperor; yet the small number of Malcontents, who were gain'd by the Pope's Agents, made *Henry*, Landgrave of *Thuringia*, King of *Germany*, who prov'd not very successful in his Military Expeditions, and was kill'd before *Ulm* in the Year 1247. and *William* Count of *Holland*, was chosen in his Place, who was Crown'd at *Aix la Chapelle* in the Year 1248. In the mean time, the Emperor *Fredric* continued the War, against the *Guelphes* in *Italy*, with very good Success, till the *Boulonians* took *Entius* his Son and Lieutenant General Prisoner. After which his Fervor relented Daily; and, having retired into *Apulia*, he Died, overcome with Grief, in the Year 1250. leaving his Son *Conrad*, his Successor in the Empire: But the Pope confirm'd the Empire to *William*, Count of *Holland*, and Excommunicated *Conrad* and sent his Legates into *Sicily*, to hinder that Kingdom from acknowledging any other Sovereign but the Holy See.

Conrad, whose Affairs went very ill in *Germany*, having got together an Army, march'd with them into *Italy*, to take Possession of the Lands that his Father had left him there. After he had staid for some time in *Lombardy*, he march'd into *Apulia*, which his Natural Brother *Mainfroy* then govern'd as his Vice-Roy. *Conrad* was receiv'd, and acknowledg'd by all the Cities in *Sicily*, excepting *Naples*, which he took by Force of Arms after Eight Months Siege. In the mean time, *William*, Count of *Holland*, making great Progress in *Germany*, *Conrad* was oblig'd to return, in the Year 1251. and, by the Assistance of *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*, he took the City of *Ratisbone*: But, hearing that Count *William* was coming to attack him with a Numerous Army, he return'd to *Apulia*, where he died in the Year 1254, upon the 22d Day of *May*, poison'd, as it was suppos'd, by his Natural Brother *Mainfroy*, leaving his Son *Conradin* Heir of *Sicily*. *Mainfroy*, who had a Design of getting *Sicily* to himself, made a feign'd Reconciliation with the Pope, thinking thereby to induce the Pope to resign in his Favors; but, when the Pope sent an Army to *Sicily* to secure the Government to himself, *Mainfroy* fell at Variance with them, and cut off the most of them, which the Pope took so to heart, that he died of grief at *Naples*, upon the 7th of *December* in the Year 1254. *Alexander* IV. who succeeded him, continued his Predecessor's Enterprize upon *Sicily*, but with as bad Success; for *Mainfroy* entirely defeated his Forces, and made himself absolute Master of *Sicily* and *Apulia*. The Pope, finding this, gave the Kingdom of *Sicily* to Prince *Edmund*, the King of *England*'s Son, and dispenc'd with that King's Vow of going to the Holy Land, upon Condition that he should turn his Arms against *Mainfroy*, and order'd a Croisade for that effect.

Whilst *Mainfroy* was establishing his Kingdom in *Sicily*, *Eclin*, who espous'd the Quarrel of the Heirs of the Emperor *Fredric*, became Master of all *Lombardy*; upon which the Pope order'd another Croisade for expelling of him. At this time, almost all *Germany* acknowledg'd *William*, Count of *Holland*, for their Sovereign, and, in the Year 1256. he design'd to have gone to *Italy* to receive the Imperial Crown from the Pope's Hands: But he was oblig'd to march against the *Frisons*, who had entred into *Holland*, and was kill'd by an Ambuscade of his Enemies, as he was marching towards them, in the Month of *December*

1256. After his Death, the Princes of Germany were extremely divided about the Election of a New Emperor ; for some were for *Richard*, the King of *England*'s Brother, and others for *Alphonfus* King of *Castile*. The First was Elected at *Francfort*, on the Octave of the *Epiphany*, in the Year 1257. by *Conrad* Arch-Bishop of *Cologne*, by the Procuration of *Gerard* Arch-Bishop of *Mayence*, *Lewis* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; and *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*. The Second was Elected in the time of Lent, by the Procuration of the King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquis of *Brandenburg* and several other Princes. Thus, says my Author, the German Princes most shamefully sold their Suffrages and Nation to stranger Princes, who, for a long time, disputed for the Empire. In the mean time, *Lombardy* was the Theatre of War betwixt the *Gibelines* and *Guelphes*; *Eclin* was the Commander of the First, and *Aubert* of the Second. The First was wounded and taken Prisoner, in the Year 1260. and died shortly after of his Wounds ; after he had been Master of the most considerable Cities of *Lombardy* for Four and Thirty Years ; and by his Death an End was put to that War.

Richard and *Alphonfus*, the New Elected Emperors, had almost nothing but the Title ; for *Alphonfus* never came to *Germany*, and *Richard*, having come to *Francfort*, after he had spent all that he had, return'd to *England*. In their Absence, *Ottogar*, King of *Bohemia*, extended his Dominions over a great Part of *Germany*, and, in a small time, became one of the most Powerful Princes of *Europe*. In *Italy* *Urban* IV. who succeeded to *Alexander*, publish'd a Croisade against *Mainfroy*, and all those that were of his Party in *Apulia* and *Lombardy*, and was join'd by some *French* Noblemen, who came into *Italy* at his Desire. *Mainfroy*, on the other hand, entred with his Army into the Pope's Dominions, and to strengthen himself the more, he contracted an Alliance with *James* III. King of *Arragon*, by giving his Daughter *Constantia* in Marriage to that Prince's eldest Son. The Pope, finding that Prince *Edmond* was not like to make good his Title to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, because of the Troubles in *England*, invited *Charles*, Count of *Anjou*, *St. Lewis*'s Brother, to come to *Rome*, and accept of the Kingdom of *Sicily*. Upon this the Count of *Anjou* came to *Rome*, in the Year 1265; and was Crown'd King of *Sicily*, by *Clement* IV. Successor to Pope *Urban*, upon the 28th Day of *June*. After his Coronation, he went with Forces, both by Sea and Land, and gave Battel to *Mainfroy* near to *Benevent*, upon the 26th Day of *February*, in the Year 1266. In this Battel *Mainfroy* was kill'd; and his whole Army put to Flight. After which, the whole Kingdom of *Sicily* submitted to the Conqueror ; but *Conradine*, who had a Right to this Kingdom, wrote a Letter to all the Princes of *Europe*, wherein he endeavour'd to justify his Right to the said Kingdom, and implor'd their Assistance, for recovering of his just Right. After this, he got together an Army, in which there was a great Number of Volunteers, and, by the Advice of Prince *Henry*, Brother to the Emperor *Alphonfus*, he made a Descent into *Tuscany*, in the Year 1267. and surpris'd such Troops, as King *Charles* had left behind him ; for, at that time, he was gone into *Germany*, the Pope having made him, some time before, Vicar of the Empire. About the same time, *Conrad*, Son to a Bastard of the Emperor *Frederic* the Second, having come from *Antioch*, by his Intrigues and Management, caus'd

all *Sicily* revolt in Favours of *Conradine*, excepting the Cities of *Messina* and *Palerma*. In the mean time, *Conradine* made himself Master of *Tuscany* and *Romagna*, and entred in Triumph into *Rome*, where he was proclaim'd Emperor by the People. From thence, marching into *Campania* to make himself Master of *Sicily*, he was met by King *Charles* and his Army, at the Lake of *Fucine*, commonly call'd the Lake of *Celano*; and upon the 25th of *August*, in the Year 1268. they fought a bloody Battel, and *Conradine* with his whole Army were put to the Rout by King *Charles*. *Conradine*, *Frederic* Duke of *Austria* and *Henry* Prince of *Castile*, being known by the Way in their Flight, were apprehended and brought Prisoners to King *Charles*, who Process'd them for their Lives. The next Year, *Conradine* and *Frederic* were put to Death upon the 27th of *October*, and *Henry* Prince of *Castile* confin'd to close Prison. Almost at the same time, *Conrad* was taken by King *Charles's* Men, who caus'd immediately hang him; and, in a small time after, *Entius*, who was the only Person that remain'd of the Descendents of the Emperor *Frederic*, died in Prison at *Boulogne*. Thus in a small Compass of Years, that whole Race of Princes was miserably cut off.

Pope *Clement IV.* dying about the same time, viz. on the 29th of *October* in the Year 1268. the Factions and Intrigues of the Cardinals put a Stop to the Election of a Pope, for almost Three Years.

An Account of the time of his coming to *Rome*, and of the reason of his being detain'd there.

It was during this Vacancy of the See, that our Prelate came to *Rome*, with Three other Scots Bishops (c), viz. *William* Elect of *Briehen*, *Matthew* Elect of *Ross*, and *Nicol* Elect of *Caithness*. These Bishops, finding, as I have said, the See vacant, were oblig'd to attend till the Election of a New Pope, which was not till the 27th of *March*, in the Year 1272. that they made Choice of *Thibaud* Arch-Deacon of *Liege*, and a Native of *Plaisance*, who assum'd to himself the Name of *Gregory X.*

Arch-Bishop *Spotiswood* says (d); "That the Elect of *Briehen* died at *Rome*, *Aberdeen* and *Ross* were Consecrated by *Gregory* the Tenth, upon the ending of the Schism at *Viturbium*. Yet, giving an Account of the Bishops of *Aberdeen*, he says (e), That our Bishop was Consecrated by Pope *Martin* the Fourth, who was not chosen Pope till the 23d of *March*, in the Year 1280. which he makes the Year of our Prelate's Death. And *Dempster* falls into the same Mistake; for it appears, from the Subscriptions of the Council at *Lyons*, that our Author was Consecrated before that Council, and long before Pope *Martin's* time, there being no less than 5 Popes between *Gregory* and *Martin*, for he is one of the Subscribers. 'Tis probable therefore, that he return'd to

He returns to *Scotland*.

He reconciles the People and the Clergy at a Convention of the Clergy at *Perth*.

Scotland about the Middle of the Year 1272.

Upon his Arrival in *Scotland*, he found the Clergy and the People at great Variance, about certain Tithes that the Priests did exact too rigorously. Our Learn'd Prelate being equally esteem'd, by both Parties, for his great Prudence, Moderation and Learning, the Affair was submitted to him: Upon which a Convention of the Clergy was call'd at *Perth*, wherein he, to both their Satisfactions, agreed the Matter, the King and many of the Nobility being present. About this time, viz. in the Year 1274. Pope *Gregory X.* call'd another General Council at *Lyons*; and, all the Prelates of the Christian World being cited to it,

it, the *Scots* Clergy met at *Perth*, where it was Ordain'd, that all the Bishops should immediately repair to *Lyons* (*Dunkel* and *Murray* only excepted) so as to be there before the First of *May*. In the Bull of (f) Indiction, there were Three Reasons given for calling of this Council. The First was for Re-uniting the *Grecian* and *Latine* Churches, they being under Terms of Accommodation; the Second was for the Recovery of the Holy Land; and the Third was for Regulating the Lives and Manners of the Clergy. The most of the Bishops came in good time, and there were present the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Antioch*, Five Hundred Bishops, Seventy Abbots, and a Thousand other Mitred Prelates, besides the Ambassadors of the Kings of *France* and *Sicily*, with those of the Emperor of *Germany* and the Emperor of the East. The Pope presided in Person, and *James* King of *Arragon* was present at the First Session; but the Pope refusing to Crown him, till he had engag'd himself to pay the Annual Tribute that his Father had granted to the Holy See, he retir'd very much incens'd against the Pope.

He goes with several other Bishops to the Second General Council at *Lyons*. The History of this Council.

The First Session of this Council was held in the Great Church of *Lyons*, upon the 7th of *May*, in the Year 1274. After the ordinary Prayers were said, the Pope made a Discourse, and acquainted the Council of the Three Reasons above nam'd, for which he had call'd them, and then adjourn'd them till *Monday* the 18th of the same Month. In the Second Session, he had another Harangue to them, and adjourn'd the Council till the 28th of the same Month, and granted Liberty to several of the Inferior Prelates, to go to their respective Diocesses. Betwixt these Two Sessions, the Pope got several Bishops and Abbots to condescend, to give the Tenth of their Revenues for Six Years, for recovering of the Holy Land. The Third Session was held upon the 7th of *June*. At the Opening of this Session, the Cardinal d'*Ostia* had a Discourse to the Council. Then there were some Constitutions read concerning Discipline. After which the Pope made a Discourse to them, and permitted the Prelates to go the length of Six Leagues round the City for their Diversion, without intimating the Day of the next Session; because the time of the Arrival of the *Grecian* Ambassadors was uncertain. Upon the 24th these Ambassadors arriv'd, and were very well receiv'd by the Pope. Upon the 28th they assisted at High Mass, in which the Gospel and Creed were sung in *Greek* and *Latine*, and the *Greeks* repeated the Article of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, from the Father and the Son Three times upon end. Betwixt this Session and the following, the Pope oblig'd the Bishop of *Liege* and the Abbot of *St. Paul* at *Rome*, upon the many Accusations that were given in against them, to lay down their Prelatures. In this Interval of time, the Pope likewise receiv'd some Envoys from the *Tartars*. The Fourth Session was held upon the 6th of *July*. At the Opening of this Session, the Letters from the Emperor of the *Greeks*, and the *Grecian* Bishops were read, and one of the Ambassadors swore their Re-union and Obedience to the Church of *Rome*. After which the *Te Deum*, the *Credo* and the Article of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, from the Father and the Son, were sung; and some other Prayers said. Then the Pope communicated, to the Council, the Letter of the King of the *Tartars*; and

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ended the Session by a Discourse, appointing the 15th of this Month for the next Session : But it was adjourn'd to the 16th ; because the Pope was Negotiating with the Prelates and Cardinals, for obtaining their Votes, for a Constitution that he had drawn up about the Election of the Pope. The Fifth Session was preceeded, by the solemn Baptism of One of the Ambassadors of the *Tartars*. Then several Constitutions, about Discipline, were read, and they were adjourn'd to the next Day, which was the 17th of the Month of *July*, and the Sixth and last Session. In the Beginning of this Session, they read the rest of their Constitutions about Discipline. After which, the Pope made a Discourse to them, wherein he threatned to deprive all those Churchmen, who led irregular Lives ; and that he would lay down such Methods for the Future, that should oblige the Curates to reside in their Parochial Churches ; and that he would take Care to provide Persons better qualify'd in their Places. Then the Council broke up with the ordinary Prayers. The Number of the Canons of this Council are 31. which Pope *Gregory* caus'd insert in the Decretals.

The First is under the Title of *The Trinity and the Catholic Faith* ; in which 'tis declared, That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, as from one Principle, and one only Spiration, and Condemns those who deny, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, and those who say, that He proceeds from the Father and the Son, as two different Principles. The following Articles till the Fifteenth, are under the Title of *The Election and Power of the Elect*. The Second Canon contains divers Regulations, concerning the Conclave and the Election of the Pope : For this Pope was the first that made the Law of Closing up the Cardinals, after the Pope's Death, in a Place which they call the *Conclave*, where they were detain'd till they had Elected a Pope, obliging them, by this, to proceed more quickly to the Election of a Pope, than they had done upon the Death of his Predecessor. Yet this Regulation was revok'd by his Successors, *Adrian V.* and *John XXI.* But being renewed again by *Celestin V.* and *Boniface VIII.* it has been ever since observ'd. The Third Canon obliges those, who oppose Elections and Postulations, to give in their Letters of Appeal, the Causes and Reasons of the Nullity of the Election they oppose, and prohibits their giving other Reasons afterwards. In the Fourth, any who is Chosen to a Benefice, is discharg'd to take Possession of it, till he be Confirm'd by the Pope. The Fifth declares, that he, who is Elected, must give his Consent in a Month, from the Day that his Election is notify'd to him, and in Three Months must have himself Confirm'd. By the Sixth it is declar'd, that those who give their Suffrage to the Election of an Unworthy Person, ought not to be deprived of their Power of Electing, when the Election is not according to their Suffrage, tho' they have committed a great Crime. By the Seventh it is order'd, that he, who gives his Consent or Suffrage to the Election of any Person, cannot afterwards be admitted in opposing him, unless he has discovered some Vice in him that he formerly conceal'd. By the Eighth it is order'd, that when there are two Thirds for an Election, the rest must submit, as having nothing to say, either against the Electors or the Person elected. The Ninth is about the Nature of Appeals. By the Tenth it is order'd, that if it be objected by
any

any one, That such a Person is Incapable, by reason of his Ignorance, he must submit himself to an Examination; and if, by the Event, he be found Capable, any other Reason, given by his Adversary, is to be rejected. The Eleventh orders Sentence of Excommunication to be past, against those who Injure any of the Electors upon the account of their not giving their Suffrage according to their Recommendation. The Twelfth orders likewise Sentence of Excommunication, against those who of new should Usurp the *Regalia*, the Guardianship and Title of Defender of the Churches and Monasteries, or who favour them that do it; and orders them, who have any Title to them; either by their Foundation or by Custom, that, in the time of a Vacancy, they do not dilapidate the Revenues of the Church. The Thirteenth declares Null the Collation of Curacies, to Persons who have not attain'd to the Age of 25 Years, and orders the Curates to reside in their own Paroches, and to be ordain'd Priests the same Year in which they are provided. The Fourteenth prohibits the giving a Cure, in *Commendam*, to any one who is not of Age. The Fifteenth is under the Title of *The time of Ordinations; and the Quality of those who are to Ordain*; where they are Suspended for a Year, from the Power of Ordaining, who Ordain Clerks of another Diocess. The Sixteenth is under the Title of *Bigamy*, or those who possess two Benefices, and they are deprived of all the Privileges of the Clericature. The Seventeenth and Eighteenth are under the Title of *The Offices of Judge Ordinaries*. The Seventeenth orders, That the Chapters, who are willing to lay down any Office, ought to declare, by Writing, the Reasons why they demit, before they give over the Executing of that Office; and that 'tis altogether unlawful to break down the Images, or Statues of the B. Virgin and other Saints. The Eighteenth orders, That all those, who have a Plurality of Benefices and the Care of Souls, should bring their Dispensations to their Ordinaries, who shall examine them, and, if they find them not Canonical, they must have Recourse to the Holy See; and likewise orders the Ordinaries not to bestow these sorts of Benefices, upon those that have them already. The Nineteenth is under the Title of *Postulation*, and concerns the Oath that the Advocates and Procurators were oblig'd to take. The Twentieth, which is under the Title of *What is done by Force or by Fear*, declares null all the Excommunications, extorted either by Violence or by Fear. The Twenty First moderates the *Clementine* of the Benefices vacant in *Curia*, the Collation of which belong'd to the Pope, leaving the Liberty to the Ordinary to confer it in a Month. The Twenty Second prohibits the Prelates to make any Alienations of the Church-Lands without the Consent of the Chapter, and declares null all Alienations made otherwise. The Twenty Third breaks and revokes all the Orders of Mendicant or Begging Friars, establish'd since the Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent III.* and that have not been approved of by the Holy See; and as for those that the Holy See has approv'd of, the Religious, that are receiv'd, are permitted to live in their Houses; but they are forbidden to accept of any Novices, or to make any new Acquisitions; and, as to the Houses and Lands that they had acquir'd, 'tis order'd, That they be kept for the acquiring of the Holy Land; and 'tis declar'd, That this Constitution does not extend to the Orders of the *Minorites* and *Dominicans*, and permits the Orders

of the *Carmes* and *Hermites* of St. *Augustine*, establish'd before this Council, to remain as they were, till some new Regulation be made concerning them; and lastly, those, who are not of the approved Orders, are permitted to enter into other Orders, providing alwise, that an entire Order or House do not enter into another Order, without the Approbation of the Holy See. The Twenty Fourth renews the Prohibitions, either of Exacting or Receiving any thing, for the Right of Procuration, without having actually made the Visit. The Twenty Fifth is concerning the Holiness of Churches; and, by this Canon, all sorts of Merchandise are forbidden to be sold in Churches, or other Places Consecrated to God's Service. The Twenty Sixth and Twenty Seventh is against Usurers, who are condemn'd to most rigorous Punishments. The Twenty Eighth abolishes the use of Reprisals. The Three last Canons are concerning Excommunication. By the First it is ordered, That the Canonical Admonition ought to express their Names, who are to be Excommunicated, and that it ought to be done Three times upon end, some Days intervening. The Second declares, That the Absolutions *ad cautelam* can have no Place in the Sentences of Interdiction. The Third, which is the Thirty First and last Canon of this Council, declares those Excommunicated, who would constrain Ecclesiastic Judges, by Seising on their Temporal Estates, to revoke the Sentences of Interdiction, or Excommunication that they had pronounc'd. These Constitutions are dated upon the First of *November*, in the Third Year of the Pontificate of *Gregory X.*

He obtains the Pope's Authority for certain Canons that he had drawn up for his Diocese of *Aberdeen*, and returns to *Scotland*, where he died.
His Character.

After this Council was over, this worthy Prelate obtain'd the Pope's Authority, for certain Constitutions and Canons that he had drawn up for his own Diocese of *Aberdeen*. After which he return'd to *Scotland*, where he spent the Remnant of his Days in Peace and Quiet, and died very Aged of a Catarrh, in the Isle of *Loughgoull*, about the Year 1280.

By what I have said of this Learn'd and Worthy Prelate, it evidently appears, that he was a Person of great Wisdom, Prudence and Moderation; and 'tis said, that he was very well vers'd in the Sacred Canons, in the Councils and in Church History. He was Chast, Sober, Humble, Gentile, Serviceable, Charitable and Generous, totally averse to all manner of Pride and Haughtiness, was alwise very intent upon the Reforming of his Clergy, and, in one word, gave himself up wholly to the Service of God; for the Promoting of which, he bestir'd himself vigorously upon every Occasion. We have none of his Works extant but the above-mention'd Canons, which *Dempster* makes Two Books of, calling the one, *Provincialium Statutorum Sanctiones*, Lib. 1. and the other, *Novas Episcoporum Prærogativas*, Lib. 1. These Canons are still extant in MSS. and a Copy of them was in the Custody of the late Worthy and Learn'd Doctor *Jamison*, with those of Bishop *Ramsay's*, one of his Predecessors, both under this Title.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *Constitutiones Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Abyrdonensis, Apostolica Autoritate, per Reverendum in Christo Patrem, Collendissimumque virum Magistrum Petrum de Ramsay, dictæ Ecclesiæ quondam Pontificem, Editæ, Anno infra Annotato (i. e. 1256.) cum Novellis aliis dictæ Ecclesiæ Consuetudinibus & Statutis magis approbatis.*

T H E

LIFE of SIMON TAYLOR, a Friar of the Order of St. Dominic.

THIS Author was Born in the Reign of King *William (a)*; and, having finish'd the Course of his Studies in his own Country, went over to *France*, where he apply'd himself to Theology, and entred into the Order of St. *Dominic* or the *Preaching Friars*, who were then beginning to make a considerable Figure in *France*, and spreading themselves all over *Europe*.

This St. *Dominic* was a *Spaniard* by Birth, and one of the main Instruments of reducing of the Sect of Heretics, call'd the *Albigenses* or *Albigensis*, by his Preachings; and was so much in Love with this way of Converting Heretics, that, about the Year 1215. he, and Nine others of his Companions form'd a Design of Erecting an Order or Fraternity of Preachers. For the accomplishing of this Design, St. *Dominic* went to *Rome* to solicit Pope *Innocent III.* for a Confirmation. At first, that Pope told him, that he could not grant his Desire, because the Council of *Lateran* had expressly forbidden the Erecting, or Establishing of any more Religious Orders: But afterwards, the Pope, being advertis'd, if we may believe the Historians of that Order, in a Celestial Vision, of the great Good that would redound to the Church, by Establishing the Order of St. *Dominic*, highly applauded his Design, and advls'd him to take the Rule of St. *Augustine*, that they might not seem to contravene the Canon of the Council of *Lateran*. Upon this St. *Dominic* went to *Toulouse*, to give his Brethren an Account of his Negotiation. They having approv'd of all that he had done, he return'd to *Rome* to obtain the Confirmation of his Order from the Pope: But, Pope *Innocent* dying before his Arrival, he address'd himself to Pope *Honorius III.* who was chosen in his Place. This Pope not only approv'd of his Design, but, in the Year 1218. consented, that these Religious Persons should quit the Habit of Canon Regulars, which they had worn hitherto, and take a particular Habit to themselves, which was White, and Black above it; and were, upon that Account, call'd the *Black-Friars*: He likewise permitted them to make new Constitutions for themselves. At first they settled at *Toulouse*; but, in a short time after, they were to be found thorow all Christendom. When they wore the Habit of Canon Regulars, they had Two Monasteries at *Paris*, in the Year 1217. but afterwards they became so powerful, that they cop'd with the University of *Paris*: For in the Year 1229. during the Minority of St. *Lewis*, and the Regency of Queen *Blanche* of *Castile*, the University of *Paris*, finding that they could not get Justice done them against the Soldiers, for Murdering some of their Scholars,

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(a) Vid. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 18. Pag. 617. Vitz Sanctorum per Francisc. Harxemi Pag. 576. M. Du Pin Bib. des Aut. Eccles. Tom. 10. Pag. 174. Geor. Neuton. de Vitis Episcop. Dumblan.

gave over their Public Lessons, and one Part of them went to *Rheims*, and another to *Angers*, according to a Permission that they said they had for doing so on such Occasions, by a Bull from Pope Gregory IX. In the Absence of the Secular Doctors, the *Dominicans* or Preaching Friars, who had not as yet taken upon them any Degrees, address'd themselves to the Bishop of *Paris* and to the Chancellor of the University, that they might be examin'd, and upon sufficient Trial might have the Liberty of being made Doctors of Divinity, and of Teaching Theology. This being granted them, it was not long till they erected a Profession of Theology. Four Years after, the University being re-establish'd in *Paris*, and reform'd by the Order of the Holy See, the *Dominicans* not only maintain'd the Right they had acquir'd, but, in spite of the Opposition of the Chancellor of the University, they erected another Profession of Theology, and opened Public Schools in several other Parts of the Kingdom. The University, fearing the Consequences of this, and that other Regulars might come to pretend to have the same Privilege of having Two Chairs of Theology, and consequently, that it would ruin the Secular Doctors, made a Decree, by which they order'd, That, for the future, none of the Regulars should have Two Chairs of Theology at once. The *Dominicans* would by no means submit to this : Upon which the University, for a Second time, gave over their Public Lessons, in the Year 1250. because they could not have Justice done them for the Violences that were done to their Scholars, some being Imprison'd and others Murder'd. The *Dominicans* in the mean time declar'd, That they would not submit to that Decree, unless the University declar'd, by an Authentic Act, That they should keep Two Chairs of Theology. The University, on the other hand, told them, That the Affair was not concerning Professions or Chairs of Theology, nor the particular Interests of the Members of the University, but of an Injury done to the whole Body ; and that they were much to blame, for taking their own Advantages from the Misfortunes of the University. These Disputes continued for Two Months ; but, at length, the University, having got Reparation for the Injuries done them, open'd their Schools, and made another Decree, by which it was resolv'd, That, for the time to come, no Person should be Promoted to the Degree of a Doctor, till he first took a solemn Oath of observing all the Decrees and Constitutions of the University ; and, that the *Dominicans* might make no Scruple of taking this Oath, they added this Clause, " Providing that there be nothing in these Statutes contrary to the Rule of " the *Dominicans* which I profess, or to Honesty, or contrary to the " Salvation of Souls, Divine or Human Right, the Public Good, or " the Holiness of the Church of God. Yet, notwithstanding of this, the *Dominicans* refus'd to take this Oath, unless the University granted them Two Professions of Theology. At length the University, after a Delay of 15 Days, and several Admonitions, publish'd a Decree, by which they cut off the *Dominicans* from their Body for their Disobedience. Upon this, the *Dominicans* made their Application to Pope *Innocent IV.* and obtain'd a Commission from him to the Bishop of *Evreux*, for re-establishing them in the University, with a Power of making use of the Ecclesiastic Censures, against any of the Members in the said University that should oppose them. The University, having Notice of this, ad-

address'd themselves to the Count de *Poitiers*, who Govern'd the Kingdom with Queen *Blanche*, in absence of the King, St. *Levis's* Brother, who was in the Holy Land, and told him, that, out of respect to the Holy See, they were willing to admit of the *Dominicans*, providing that their Statutes should remain entire, till the Pope, who had judg'd of this Affair without hearing both Parties, should judge otherwise. In the mean time, the *Dominicans* engag'd the Bishop of *Eurtux* to delegate one *Luc*, a Canon of *Paris*, to put in Execution the Bull that was address'd to him; and accordingly this Canon suspended all the Members of the University from their Functions, and caus'd publish this Decreet of Suspension, notwithstanding of the Appeal that the University made to the Holy See. The University, on the other hand, caus'd publish their Decreet of Separation from the *Dominicans*; and, in the Year 1253. wrote a Circular Letter to all the Prelates of the Kingdom, desiring their Assistance against the *Dominicans*. But, Pope *Innocent IV.* having by a Decree restrain'd many of their Incroachments and Pretensions in the Year 1254. they became a little more Moderate. But that Pope dying upon the 13th of *December* the same Year, his Successor *Alexander IV.* revok'd his Predecessor's Decretal, upon *Christmas* Day the same Year; and, upon the 14th Day of *April* following, he publish'd the Bull which begins with these Words, *Quasi lignum vitæ*: By which he order'd all the *Parisian* Academics to receive the *Dominicans* into the Body of the University, especially those who were provided with Chairs of Theology, and that they might enjoy all the Rights and Privileges of the University, and have the Power of Erecting as many Professions of Theology as they pleas'd. And, that this Bull might be the more quickly put in Execution, he directed another Bull the same Day to the Bishops of *Orleans* and *Auxerre*, by which he commissions them to put the First Bull in Execution; and gives them a Power of making use of the Ecclesiastical Censures, against all those who should oppose it. These Two Bishops, by vertue of this Bull, proceeded against the Seculars of the University, who, having retir'd themselves from the Colleges to the City, answer'd, That they were no more Members of the University, and consequently, that the Pope's Bull did not reach them. But, notwithstanding of this, they wrote a Letter to the Pope, in which they told him, that they would not oppose his Bull, tho' they had many good Reasons for doing it, it not being agreeable to their Profession, to enter in a Process with him; but considering that it was mote advantageous to them, to be depriv'd of their Rights and Privileges in the University than to enter into a Society with the *Dominicans*, whom they knew, by Experience, to be of such a Temper, that they would never agree with them, and at length were afraid, that the Church might come some time or other to suffer by them, as well as they had done; so that their not joining with the *Dominicans* was not in opposition to his Bull, but that they could not in Conscience join them, and therefore they had recourse to his Clemency, and humbly entreated him, that he would declare Null the Sentence of Excommunication denounc'd against them, and to re-establish them in their Rights and Privileges that they formerly enjoy'd, they being firmly resolv'd to transfer their Schools to another Kingdom, or to retire to their own Countries to live in Peace and Quiet, rather than

join with them. Before this Letter was deliver'd to the Pope, the *Dominicans* obtain'd Three Bulls, almost in one Day, to the Bishops of *Orleans* and *Auxerre*, ordaining them to put the First Bull in execution, and to declare all the Members of the University, that would not receive the *Dominicans*, suspended from their Offices and Benefices, as likewise those who had retir'd to shun their joining in Society with them; but the Execution of those Bulls was stop'd, by an Order from the King St. *Lewis*, who design'd to re-establish Peace in the University; and to stifle any further Controversies amongst them; and, for that end, he join'd his Remonstrance with those of the Bishops that were assembled at *Paris*, desiring both Parties to submit to the Decision of the Arch-Bishops of *Bourges*, *Rheims*, *Sens* and *Rouen*, they Hearing both Parties. This was condescended to; and these Four Prelates, having heard the whole Matter fully debate, at length they agreed them upon the First of *March*; in the Year 1256. The Articles of Agreement were, The Seculars Condescended that the *Dominicans* should possess for ever the Two Chairs of Theology, upon condition, that they should separate themselves from the Scholastic Doctors and Secular Scholars of *Paris*; That they should Renounce all the Bulls they had obtain'd, or could obtain, contrary to those Conditions; That they should solícite the Revocation of these Bulls; And that, for the future, they should not attack the University or any particular Member of it. But the Court of *Rome* was no wise satisfied with this Agreement, the Holy See having no Hand in it; and in the very time of the Agreement, Pope *Alexander* gave out a Bull, by which he order'd the Bishop of *Paris* to Excommunicate all those, who hindered the *Dominicans* to Confess, Preach, Teach, or to be receiv'd into the Schools of others. Some time after, about the beginning of the Month of *May*, he order'd, by another Bull directed to all the Members of the University of *Paris*, that his former Bulls should be put in execution. By another, dated the same Day to the Bishop of *Paris*, he enjoins him to make use of the Canonical Censures against those, who disturb'd the *Dominicans* and would not give them Satisfaction, and if they were Obstinate, he should require the Assistance of the Civil Power. By a Third Bull, he exhorted the King St. *Lewis* to Assist the Bishop of *Paris*, that he might put a Stop to the Insolence of those who oppos'd the Execution of his Bulls. The *Dominicans*, who were unwilling to seem to have any Hand in breaking of the above mention'd Agreement, wrote earnestly to the Pope, desiring him to Revoke all his former Bulls, and Approve of their Agreement: But the Pope, to the contrary, pronounced, by his Bull of the 18 of *June* in the Year 1256, That that Agreement, being made without his Knowledge, and in prejudice of what he had order'd, he Disapprov'd of it, and Declar'd, by Name, *William de Saint Amand*, *Odon of Doway* Doctors of Theology, Mr. *Nicolas de Bar sur-Aube* and *Christian* Canon of *Beauvais*, as principal Authors of that Rebellion, divested of all their Dignities and Benefices, and Discharg'd them from Teaching, and all others from Hearing of them, and order'd that they should be expell'd the Kingdom; and denounc'd the same Sentence against all those who would not submit to his Bulls in 15 Days after their being made public, enjoining the Bishop of *Paris* to Excommunicate them, and to give their Benefices to others. He renewed the same Orders by Two other Bulls, given towards the end of the same Month.

During

During all these Heats betwixt the University of *Paris* and the *Dominicans*, our Author apply'd himself to the Study of Theology and the Mathematics, but more particularly to that part of the Mathematics, which treats of Sounds and Harmony, which we call Music. The *Dominicans* having gain'd this considerable Victory over the University of *Paris*, their Numbers daily increas'd, and Seven of them were sent over to *Scotland*, of which Number our Author was one: But *Dempster* and our other Historians say, that they came much earlier into *Scotland*; for *Clement* Bishop of *Dumblane*, who was one of them (*b*), was Consecrated in the *Stowe* Church of *Weddale*, in the Year 1233, and died in the Year 1256, which was the Year that the Arch-Bishops made the Agreement between them and the University. And, if we may believe *Dempster*, they were Recommended to King *Alexander* the II, when he was in *France*, by *St. Dominic* himself, who died at *Bononia* upon the 8 of the Ides of *August*, in the Year of our Lord 1221. and this was but the end of the 7th, or the beginning of the 8th Year of King *Alexander's* Reign, which makes this Story of *Dempster's* altogether improbable. But, whatever Truth be in these Conjectures, 'tis certain, that, after they came to *Scotland*, they turn'd very numerous; for, in a few Years, they had Convents in *Wigton*, *Air*, *Glasgow*, *Edinburgh*, *Perth*, *Dundee*, *Striveling*, *Montrose*, *Couper of Fife*, *Aberdeen*, *Elgin*, *Inverness*, *St. Andrews*, *Haddingtoun*, *Fedburgh*, *Dumfries*, *Couper of Angus*, *Innerkeitbing*, *Dysert*, *Lindisburgh*, *Kinghorn*, *Forres* and *Selkirk*.

At the time of our Author's arrival in *Scotland*, the Music of the Churches was altogether Rude and Barbarous: Upon which he made a Proposal to the Bishops and Clergy, for Reforming both their Vocal and Instrumental Music. They, knowing him to be a very great Master in that Science, very willingly comply'd with his Proposal; and he was so successful, that *George Newton*, in his History of the Bishops of *Dumblane*, says (*c*), That, in a few Years, he brought them to such Perfection, that *Scotland* might have contended with *Rome* for Musicians. But, before I proceed to give any further Account of our Church Music, I shall give the Reader a brief History of Church Music, from its first rise to our Author's time.

There are many and various Opinions concerning the Original of Music. *Chamelion Ponticus*, an old Philosophèr (*d*), thinks, that Men first learn'd it from the Chirping of the Birds; and *Lucretius* seems to favour this Opinion (*e*). Others say, that *Pithagoras*, having observ'd the Symphony that arose from the frequent Strokes of a Smith's Hammer upon the Anvil, from thence form'd the first Grounds of Music (*f*). Many of the Ancients thought, that it had its first arise from Love, and from thence sprang that old Saying amongst them, *Amor Musicam docet* (*g*). *Theophrastus*, in his Book of Music, says, that it has its Original either from Grief, Pleasure or a Divine Instinct, any of these being sufficient to make a Man modulate his Voice some way or other. The *Platonists*, having observ'd that all living Creatures were delighted with Music, thought that the Soul of the World, which animates every Thing, had its Original from Music (*h*); and that the Divine Word, Creating All Things out of Nothing, was a Musical Note. And agreeable to this is the A-

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(*b*) Vid. Spotiswood. Hist. Book 2. Pag. 109. (*c*) Vid. Dempst. ubi sup. (*d*) Apud Athenæ: Lib. 9. (*e*) Lib. 54
 (*f*) Vid. Jambl. Vit. Pith. Lib. 1. Cap. 26. (*g*) Vid. Plutarch. Sympos. Lib. 1. Q. 5. (*h*) Vid. M. Ficin. in Timæ-
 um Platonis.

pologue of *Philo Judæus*, who tells us (i), That when God had Created All Things out of Nothing, and plac'd Muri as the Governor over them all, taking a view of their Beauty, He call'd to Him one of His Prophets and ask'd him, If he found any Thing wanting in the Creation? The Prophet told Him, he did, and that he thought it was absolutely necessary, and that is, says he, That a Voice should be made, which should incessantly Praise Thy Goodness and Providence, and All that Thou hast Created. God was pleas'd with this timely Admonition, and immediately Created all the different Sorts of Music. The first mention of Music, that we find in the Sacred Scriptures, is in the iv. Chapter of *Genesis* Verse 21. where 'tis said, *That Tubal was the Father of all that play upon the Harp and Organs.* And, by the same Sacred History, we find that the *Jews*, in the beginning of their Republic, sung Hymns and Poems, in Praise of their God and the mighty Things that He had done for their Nation. Many Instances of this we have in the *Old Testament*; and we find, that the Book of the *Wars of the Lord* was nothing else but a Collection of these Poems, as it appears from *Joshua* x. 13. ii *Sam.* i. 18. Now as to what concerns their Music, since that depends more upon the particular *God* of a Nation than upon certain Rules, 'tis hard to Divine, what Airs the *Hebrews* gave to their Hymns and Poems. We may easily see, by the Multitude of their Hymns, that they had a great Passion for Music; but they have left nothing in Writ, concerning the Nature of their Music, and tho' they had done it, it had been a difficult Task to have unravel'd their Meaning: For tho' a late Ingenious Author (k) has proven, as I think, to a Demonstration, that all the *Hebrew* Poems were Rhimes, like those of the *Arabians*, *Phœnicians* and the Northern Nations, and that such sort of Poetry comes under the Laws of Music more naturally than any other; yet, I say, it were impossible to discover to what Airs they did agree. For tho' the *Grecians* did sing all their Poems, they have left to us several Treatises of their Music, yet we know not to what Air, for Example, any of *Pindar's* Odes were set. And if the Verses of the *Chinese* were brought to the best Musicians in *Europe*, supposing these to know them, they could not Divine their Music by them; and our Music appears as ridiculous to them as theirs does to us. But certainly, the Music of the Ancient *Hebrews* could not be very Regular or Fine, they being a Nation, that had neither Theatres or any Public Divertisements of that Nature, and altogether addicted to Agriculture. 'Tis true, that, in their Temples and Synagogues, their Divine Worship was perform'd in Vocal and Instrumental Music, and, if we knew well the Nature of their Instruments, we might Judge better of their Music; but we have no reason to think that it was very agreeable, if *St. Jerome* and the *Septuagint* have rightly Translated to us a Passage of the Book of *Samuel*, and if we have right Notions of the Instruments they made use of: For they could not but make a very Confus'd and Disagreeable Noise; the Consort that *David* made, in Conducting the Ark of the Lord, being thus Describ'd by the Author of that Book, ii. *Sam.* Chap. vi. Verse 5. according to *St. Jerome's* Version, *David autem & omnis Israel ludebant coram Domino in omnibus Lignis fabrefactis, & Cytbaris & Lyris & Tympanis & Sistris & Cymbalis.* "And *David* and all the House of *Israel* play'd before the
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(i) *Philo lib. de Plantatione Noæ.* (k) *Vid. Bib. Univers. & Hist. Tom. 9. pag. 219. &c.*

“ the Lord on all sorts of Instruments made of Wood, and on Guittarres, and on Flutes, and on Drums, and on Cornets, and on Cymbals. According to the *Septuagint*, the Names of these Instruments are thus to be Translated; On the *Cynares*, which was an Instrument of Ten Strings; on which they play’d as they do upon the Violin, according to *Josephus*; On the *Nables*, which was an Instrument of Twelve Strings, according to the same *Josephus*, on which they play’d with their Fingers; On *Drums*, which were like unto ours of Parchment; On *Cymbals*, which were like our Drums, but made of Brass, and on which they beat with their Hands; On *Flutes*, which were like unto ours.

But the most of the Instruments, made use of by the *Jews* in their Divine Service, are mention’d in the cl. Psalm, which are thus Explain’d by the Critics; Verse 3. *Praise ye Him with the sound of the Trumpet, praise ye Him upon the Viol and the Lute.* The *Rabbins* say, that, when they sounded the Trumpet, they first had a Long and Equal Sound, which they call *Thekouba*; then a Variated Sound, which they call *Theronba*; and lastly, an Equal Sound. And there is something like unto this in the sounding of our Trumpet; and perhaps, amongst the *Hebrews*, they had some Phrase like unto that of the *Latins*, *Frangere sonitum*, in speaking of the Trumpet, as in that Verse of *Virgil*.

----- *Fractus sonitus imitata tubarum.*

And we find by the x Chap. of *Numbers*, that there was a Difference betwixt these two Sounds, their Lute and their Viol were two Instruments very like one another; for the *Nebel*, according to *Josephus* (1), was an Instrument of Ten Strings, upon which they Play’d with their Fingers; and if this Instrument of the *Hebrews* was made like the *Grecian* Lyre of Ten Strings, the Reader may see the Figure of it, in the Learn’d *Isaac Vossius de Poëmatum Cantu* Page 97. and their *Chinnor* was an Instrument of Ten Strings, upon which they Play’d as we do upon our Viols. Verse 4. *Praise ye Him with Drums and Flute, Praise ye Him with Virginals and Organs.* In this Verse, the *Toph*, which is Translated Drum, the Women sometimes used, Beating on it with their Hands, and Singing and Dancing; thus we Read in xv Chap. of *Exod.* Verse 20. 21. *And Miriam the Prophetess, Sister of Aaron, took a Drum (or as we have it in our Translation) a Timbrel in her Hand, and all the Women came out after her with Timbrels and Dances. And Miriam answered the Men, Sing ye unto the Lord, for He hath Triumphed gloriously, &c.* And for this Reason, the *Septuagint* Translates the following Word *Muchol*, Dance, which the generality of Interpreters Translate *Flute*: But this last Translation seems to be more Natural, because the Psalmist is here speaking of Musical Instruments. Ver. 5. *Praise ye Him with sounding Cymbals, praise ye Him with high sounding Cymbals.* The *Hebrews* had Two sorts of *Isisfel* or *Cymbals*, and both of them of Brass; the one was Round, and had bottoms like our *Cymbals*, the other was Oval, in the Form of a *Raquette*, without a Bottom, with Holes in the Sides, thorow which they put long Bars of Brass, which mov’d freely in them, and with them they made a Noise that bore a part in their Music. The Figure of this last Instrument is to be found in divers Ingravings in *Bas Reliefs* of the Egyptians, and in the 214th Page of the

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Gemate

(1) Joseph. Antiq. Jud. Lib. VII. Cap. 10.

Gemme Antiche of Leonard Agostino. Besides these, there are several other Instruments made mention of in Scripture, that the *Jews* made use of in their Divine Service. And as for what else concerns the Music of the Temple, the Reader may consult Dr. *Lightfoot's* Book of the Service of the Temple, Chap. vii. Sect. 2. And so much for the Church Music amongst the *Hebrews*.

As for the *Christians*, we have, says St. *Augustine* (m), not only the Command but the Example of our Lord and Saviour and his Disciples, for singing of Psalms and Hymns; and this the Primitive *Christians* did with great Simplicity and Concord, as we may learn from St. *Ignatius's* Epistle to the *Ephesians*, where, exhorting them to Concord and Unity, he says, "Wherefore it will become you to run together, according to the Will of your Bishop, as also you do: For your Famous Presbyter, worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to its Bishop as the Strings are to their Harp. Therefore in your Concord and agreeing Charity *Jesus Christ* is sung, and every single Person among you makes up the Chorus, that so, being all consonant in Love, and taking up the Song of God, ye may with one Voice, and in a Perfect Unity sing to the Father by *Jesus Christ*, to the end, that by this means He may both hear you, and perceive by your Works, that ye are indeed the Members of His Son; wherefore it is profitable for you to live in an unblamable Unity, that so you may alwise have a Fellowship in God. By this Comparison of St. *Ignatius*, who was Disciple to St. *John*, we find, that the Music, us'd by the Primitive *Christians*, was Plain, Easy and Simple. During the Three first Centuries, they had no Instrumental Music in their Meetings, whether it was for fear of discovering them to the *Heathens*, or out of any Principle, cannot be well determin'd; yet we find *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who Flourish'd towards the end of the Second Century, approving of the Use of Instrumental Music in the *Christian* Meetings (n), and, towards the middle of the Fourth Century, the Emperor *Julian* makes this Epigram upon an Organ (o).

*Quam cerno alterius naturæ est fistula : Nempe
Altera produxit fortasse hanc ænea tellus.
Horrendum stridet, nec nostris illa movetur
Flatibus, at missus taurino è carcere ventus
Subtus agit læves calamos perque ima vagatur.
Mox aliquis velox digitis, insignis & arte
Adstat, concordés calamis pulsatque tabellas :
Ast illæ subito exiliunt, & carmina miscent.*

And we find, that, about the beginning of the Fifth Century, the Organs were brought into some Churches, as it appears from these Verses of *Prudentius*, who flourish'd at that time (p).

*Quicquid in ære cavo reboans tuba curva remugit,
Quicquid in arcano vomit ingens spiritus haustu,
Quicquid casta Chelys, quicquid testudo resultat,
Organa disparibus calamis quod consona miscent,*

Æmula

(m) August. Epist. 119. (n) Clem. Alex. Præd. Lib. 2. Cap. 4. (o) Vid. Buleng. Lib. 2. de Theatr. Pet. Mart. Morent. in Præf. Misopog. Bona de Divina Psal. Pag. 602. (p) Prud. ad v. Judæos.

*Æmula Pastorum quod reddunt vocibus antra,
Christum concelebrat, Christum sonat omnia Christum
Muta etiam fidibus sanctis animata loquuntur.*

But *Platina* and several other Learn'd Men think, that they were not fully establish'd in the Churches, till the Year of our Lord 660. *Theodoret* and *Nicephorus* say (q), That *St. Ephrem* the Syrian, who flourish'd in the middle of the Fourth Century, was the first Author of the Harmonical Modulation of the Voice; but this must be certainly understood, either that he was the first who establish'd the Old Way of Singing in some particular Church, or that he had fallen upon a more Easy, and Expedite Way of Teaching of Music than hitherto found out. Pope *Gregory the Great*, who Flourish'd in the Sixth Century, made some Reformation in the Church Music; but there was nothing considerable done in it, till the Eleventh Century, that *Guido Aretinus*, a *Benedictine* Monk, invented the Method of Teaching of Music by the Six Common Notes; and by this Noble Invention, Music was so much improv'd, that almost Illiterat Children came, in a few Months, to learn that Science, which Men of good Parts could not formerly attain to in the half of their Lives. The Ancients had not, in the Opinion of several of the best Judges of this Matter, so many Gradations of Half Notes and Quarter Notes, between the Whole Ones, as this New Method afforded, which did necessarily introduce an unspeakable Variety into Music, because it is in Notes, as it is in Numbers, the more there are of them, the more variously they may be combin'd together. 'Tis very probable, as a Modern Author (r) has observ'd, "That the Ancient Music had all that which still most affects common Hearers. The generality of Auditors are moved with an Excellent Voice, are pleas'd when Time is exactly kept, and love to hear an Instrument play'd True to a Fine Voice, when the one does not so far drown the other, but that they can readily understand what is sung, and can without previous Skill perceive, that the one exactly answers the other throughout; and their Passions will be effectually mov'd with Sprightly or Lamentable Compositions: In all which things the Ancients probably were very perfect. To such Men, many of our Modern Compositions, where several Parts are sung or play'd at the same time, would seem Confus'd, Intricate and Unpleasant, though in these Cases, the greater this seeming Confusion is, the more Pleasure does the skilful Hearer take in unraveling every several Part, and in observing how artfully those seemingly disagreeing Tones join, like true cut Tallies, one within another, to make up that united Concord, which very often gives little Satisfaction to common Ears, tho' in such sort of Compositions it is, that the Excellency of Modern Music consists.

But, notwithstanding of this great Improvement of Music, there were still some who thought, that this Monk had been so far from improving the Church-Music, that he had quite robb'd and spoil'd it of that Gravity and Seriousness, that is becoming the Service of God; and amongst these none was so Violent as our Country-man *St. Ælred*, who flourish'd in the next Century, as I have shown in his Life; for he, in his *Mir-*

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(q) Theod. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 4. C. 19. Niceph. Lib. 9. C. 19. (r) Vid. *Wotton's* Refl. on Ancient and Modern Learning, Pag. 331.

ror of Charity (f) says, " Since all Types and Figures are now cens'd,
 " Why so many Organs and Cymbals in our Churches? Why, I say, that
 " terrible Blowing of Bellows, that rather imitates the Frightfulness
 " of Thunder, than the Sweet Harmony of the Voice? For what end
 " is this Contraction and Dilatation of the Voice? One restrains his
 " Breath, another breaks his Breath, and a Third unaccountably di-
 " lates his Voice, and sometimes, which I am asham'd to say, they fall
 " a Quivering like the Neighing of Horses; then they lay down their
 " Manly Vigour, and with their Voices endeavour to imitate the Soft-
 " ness of Women; then, by an Artificial Circumvolution, they have
 " a Variety of Out-runnings, sometimes you shall see them with open
 " Mouths, and their Breath restrained, as if they were expiring and
 " not singing, and, by a ridiculous Interruption of their Breath, seem
 " as if they were altogether silent; at other times they appear like Per-
 " sons in the Agonies of Death; then, with a Variety of Gestures, they
 " personate Comedians, their Lips are contracted, their Eyes roll, their
 " Shoulders are mov'd upwards and downwards, their Fingers move
 " and dance to every Note; and this ridiculous Behaviour is call'd
 " Religion, and where these things are most frequently done, there
 " God is said to be more honourably worshipp'd. By this, I say, it
 " appears, that St. *Ælred* was no Favourer of this New Improvement of
 " Music, and that the Ancient Music of the Church of *Scotland* was Plain,
 " Easy and Simple, like that of the Primitive *Christians*: But what Re-
 " formations our Author made in it, cannot be well known, since all his
 " Works are now lost for ought that we know.

His Death
and Chara-
cter.

We know not the particular time of his Death; but *Dempster* says,
 That *George Newtoun*, in his Lives of the Bishops of *Dumblane*, says,
 that his Books of Music were Master-Pieces in their kind, and that
 he was thought to have been as skilful in that Science as *Guido Aretin-*
us; and, besides this, that he was endued with all the Vertues that
 are requisite in a Clergy-Man.

(f) Vid. *Ælred Spec. Char. Lib. 2. Cap. 20.*

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *DE Cantu Ecclesiastico corrigendo, Lib. 1.*
- II. *De Tenore Musicali, Lib. 1.*
- III. *Tetrachordorum, Lib. 1.*
- IV. *Pentachordorum, Lib. 1.*

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LIFE of *Michael Scot of Balwirie.*

THIS Gentleman was Born in the beginning of the Reign of King *Alexander* the Second, at *Balwirie*, his Paternal Inheritance, in the Shire of *Fife* (a). In his younger Years, he apply'd himself to the Study of the Languages, the *Belles-Lettres* and the Mathematics. Having finish'd the Course of his Studies at Home, he went over to *France*, where he staid for some Years: But, hearing that the Emperor *Frederic* II. was a great Encourager of Learning and Learn'd Men, he went to that Prince's Court; but, finding him involv'd in Wars, he retir'd from the Court, and apply'd himself closely to the Study of Medicine in all its Parts, but more especially to Alchemy and Chymistry. Having study'd for several Years in *Germany*, he went from thence to *England*, where he was very kindly receiv'd and entertain'd by King *Edward*. And, having stay'd for some time with him, he return'd to his Native Country, where he spent the Remainder of his Days.

His Birth and Education.

He goes over to France.

And from thence to the Court of the Emperor of Germany. He applies himself to the Study of Medicine. He returns to his Native Country.

A general View of his Works.

Now, before I proceed to give a particular Account of this Author's Works, it will not be improper to give the Reader a general View of his Studies, he having made the greatest Noise of any Person in his Age, for his Knowledge in the Languages, Philosophy, Mathematics and Medicine. And first as to his Knowledge in the Languages, we find, by his Works, that he was very well seen in *Greek* and *Latin*; and he has given us a Noble Instance of his Knowledge in the Oriental Languages, by his Translating of *Avicennas's* Book of Animals from the *Arabic* into *Latin*. Then, as to his Knowledge in Philosophy, he seems to have been perfectly well acquainted with all *Aristotle's* Works; for, in all his Writings, he does nothing but Illustrate that Philosopher's Principles; so that they cannot be well understood, without knowing *Aristotle's* Logics, Moral and Natural Philosophy and Metaphysics; and by understanding of them, the Reader will know the most of all that our Author has written, they being nothing else, as I have said, but Improvements and Illustrations of these Principles, which I shall give an Account of, from the Works of the Inimitable *F. Rapin*, as nearly as I can Translate him; and not only give a View of them in each of these Sciences, but likewise of the Principles that had been receiv'd in each of them before his Time.

And First as to Logic, (b) Logic may be said to be the First Ray of Evidence, and the First Draught of Method that is display'd on Sciences; because its Business is to form the Judgment, which is the usual Instrument, that the Mind employs in Reasoning truly, and in discerning Truth and Falshood exactly, by distinguishing what is Simple from what is Compound, and what is Contingent from what is Necessary.

An Account of the State of Philosophy before Aristotle's time; with Aristotle's Improvements of it.

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And

(a) Vid. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 12. Pag. 494. Lesly de Reb. Gest. Scot. Lib. 6. Pag. 232. Heist. Boet. Lib. 13. in fine. Joh. Balend. Book 13. Fol. 203. Lind. Renovat. Lib. 1. Pag. 822. Vid. etiam Praef. ad Phylog. ad Avicen. de Animal. ad Menf. Philosoph. &c. (b) Vid. Œuvres diverses du R. P. Rapin, Vol. 1. Pag. 370. &c.

And seeing this Art is the source, from whence flows Certainty, there is but little Security in all the Reasonings of Men, without its Assistance; so that its chief Office is to discover Truth, and make Reason palpable. But that Art became Countersfeit, by the Character of the Spirits of those that first made use of it, that Ray, tho' pure and incorruptible in it self, was corrupted, and Human Reason which submitted it self, to that Conduct, fell into Error by the bad Use that it made of that Science; in so much, that Logic, which was only invented to imprint a Character of Justness upon the Mind, did help to mislead it, and the First Precepts of Logic, which were given to Men for a Rule, served as Snares laid for them; to make them fall into Error: For, as there is nothing so secret as the Thoughts, so Men found the Art to disguise them into a Thousand Shapes, as may be seen in the History and Revolutions of this Science. The First Philosophers, who made more use of Reason than Reasoning, addicted themselves so much to the Study of Natural Philosophy, that they minded Logic but little; they reason'd in their Observations, without knowing the Art of Reasoning; in the School of *Pythagoras*, they us'd no other Logic but his sole Authority, his Disciples were silent when he had spoken. 'Tis true that *Apuleius* pretends, that *Plato* took his First Notions of Logic from the *Pythagoreans*; but *Aristotle* assures us, that, tho' there be exact enough Definitions to be found in their Writings, they knew not Logic, whereof the Art was not then discover'd, nor the Rules establish'd. *Zeno Eleates*, a Man of a quick and subtle Spirit, was the First that found in Discourse that Natural Connexion of Principles and Consequences, which he reduc'd into an Art, as *Plato* testifies, and *Proclus* confirms. From whence it appears, that the Logic of *Zeno* consisted in observing the Dependence, which Propositions have one on another; and, upon that Observation, to rank them in their Natural Order. This was his Method. He explain'd nothing but by way of Dialogue, and brought in Two or Three Persons, who, by Questions and Answers, made a Methodical Reasoning on every thing; and, from this Art, he was the First that call'd this Science *Dialectic*, whereby the way of handling Philosophy in Verse, which was us'd before, ceas'd. For, in Dialogue, Men found the Means to retain an agreeable Air, without losing Solidity, and that way *Plato* follow'd as the most proper for Instruction. The Custom was to Interrogate him whom they Taught, and to make him Answer according to his Capacity. *Zeno*, who was a subtle Man, mingled a Quaint and Captious Air with his Method, whereby he puzzel'd the Mind. *Protagoras*, the Disciple of *Zeno*, who had likewise *Democritus* for his Master, refin'd that Method, and made it still more nice by his Sophisms; for wanting Solidity he endeavour'd to be subtle, and coming short of a Philosopher, he set up for a Sophist. *Aristotle* says, that he fram'd common Places of Questions and Answers, whereof he made an Art to surprise and perplex the Mind. *Simon*, the Famous Artist of *Athens*, of whom *Socrates* speaks so much, and *Crito* his Friend, were likewise the Disciples of *Zeno*, and great Dialecticians, as *Diogenes Laertius* assures us. *Euclide* of *Megara* subtiliz'd more all the Subtilty of Dialectic, and added to it a brisker way of Disputing, by giving more heat to his Discourse, he drove That even to excess, which gave occasion to *Timon* to reproach him, for having inspir'd into those

of *Megara* a Rage of Disputation, by that Captious and Sophistic Logic that he taught them, which *Socrates* approved not; because there was no Sincerity in that way. It was *Euclide* and his Scholar *Eubulides*, who invented the Sophisms, which became since so Famous in the Schools, whereof *Diogenes Laertius* makes mention, which, after all, have nothing real but their Subtilty, as the *Dilemma*, the Horned Argument, the *Sorites*, these so Famous *Megaric* Interrogations, of which *Plutarch* speaks, and all the Pettifoggings of that kind, which made Dialectic so contemptible at *Athens*. *Socrates* was oblig'd to render it ridiculous in his Discourses against the Sophists, to the end, that he might undeceive Mens Minds in the Opinion thereof. From *Euclide* *Demosthenes* learn'd the Art of the *Dilemma*, and these pressing ways, that render'd him so vehement in that manner of Eloquence which he follow'd: The Logic of *Plato*, which is the same with that of *Socrates*, consists more in Examples than in Precepts; it hath nothing that is particular for Reasoning, because *Socrates* valued not that Part of Philosophy; tho' both of them plac'd the First Discerning of Truth and Falshood in the Senses, yet they pretended, that the Mind ought to judge thereof, and that Men should only refer themselves to that Judgment, because that, without sticking on the Surface of things, it penetrated into the Eternal and Immutable Principle of them, which they call'd the *Idea*; and which alone they establish'd, as the Rule of the Distinction, that should be made in the Judgment of Things: But, seeing the Soul of Man was but a small Spark of the Universal Soul of the World, and according to them a Beam of the Divinity, they thought, that that Particle, united to its Principle, was ignorant of nothing; but entring into the Body, by that Alliance, it contracted Ignorance and Impiety, from which Logic serv'd to purify it. *Alcinous*, who explains exactly enough the Dialectic of *Plato*, says, that that Philosopher made use of Division, Definition and Induction, to remount to the Fountain-head of the First Truth, from whence he drew his Principles, to the end that he might think and speak wisely of every thing, and that was his most usual Method; Division was a Ladder, whereby to ascend from Sensible Things to Things Intellectual; Definition was a way to lead, from Things demonstrated to those that were not; and Induction the means to find the Truth by the Principle of Suppositions, for by Division he came to Definition, and by Definition to Induction and Demonstration. And *Diogenes Laertius* assures us, that that was the most general way *Plato* made use of, in making his Demonstrations. *Cicero* and *Quintilian* are of the same Opinion: However it must be granted, that *Socrates*, in his manner of Reasoning, addicted himself more to Interrogations than Answers; because the Character of his Mind was fitter to raise than solve Difficulties. Moreover, it appears from the Principles of the Logic of *Socrates* and *Plato*, which allow'd of no Truth but in the *Ideas*, that all their School made Profession of knowing nothing; because that Men cannot judge of Single and Individual Beings but by the Senses, which are fallacious; so that the Disciples of *Plato* plac'd all their Logic, in not believing any thing too slightly, and in retaining the entire Liberty of Judgment, among the Uncertainties that are found almost in every thing. And in fine, upon that great Maxim of a general Incomprehensibility of all Things, was the Academy reform'd, under *Lacydes* and

Arcefilas, and the Sect of *Sceptics* and *Pyrrhonists* rais'd, who doubted of Things that were most certain. The *Academics* understood very well that nothing could be understood. The *Pyrrhonists* did not so much as understand that. And so far the Principles of *Plato* train'd on the Minds of Men.

There appear'd nothing, before *Aristotle*, regulated and settled in Logic. That sublime and intelligent Genius (says my Author) so founded the Abyss of the Mind of Man, that he discover'd all its Movements, by the exact Distinction that he made of the Operations thereof. Men had not as yet launch'd out into the Ocean, nor known the depth of the Thoughts of Man. *Aristotle* was the First that discover'd that new way of attaining to Science, by the Evidence of Demonstration, and of Proceeding Geometrically to Demonstration, by the Infallibility of Syllogism, the most accomplish'd Work, and the greatest Attempt of the Wit of Man. Thus you have an Abridgement of the Art and Method of the Logic of *Aristotle*, which is so sure, that without it one can have no perfect Assurance in Reasoning; and which is a Rule to make Men Just and Exact, in conceiving what is to be conceiv'd. But what Road hath he taken to attain to that? And what Art hath he employ'd to fix the Mind of Man Naturally Volatile, and to render it inexpugnable in what it knows? It behov'd him first to remove all Ambiguity and Equivocation from Expression, make a perfect Demonstration of Human Reasoning, which has no better Foundation than Words, and Thoughts cloathed with all their Imperfections, and to give the greatest Solidity of Science to most uncertain and undetermin'd Matter that can be. He marches, in the Pursuit of that Design, by ways then unknown to Reason, and whereof before him there was hardly any Tract. He removes, from the Thoughts, all the Defects, by which Expression is able to impose upon any Man, and disperses all the Mists, wherewith the Imagination may darken the Mind. For that end, in the Book of *Interpretation*, which is a kind of Rational Grammar, he examines the Vertue and Signification of Words. In the *Categories*, he forms the true Notions of Terms, to prepare them for Division and Definition, by reducing them to their Natural Sense. In his Books of *Analytics*, he lays down the Rules of the Modal Conversion of all sorts of Propositions, and of the different Figures of Syllogism, whereof he settles the Principal Grounds upon Three Axioms of Logic; and all that Constructure is purely a Work of his own. He demonstrates nothing in his Book of *Categories*, which are but Dispositions to Demonstration. He demonstrates nothing in his Book of *Interpretation*, but the Principle of contradictory Propositions. But in the Books of *Analytics*, his Conceptions are almost so many Demonstrations, and his Demonstrations are so many Principles. The *Topics* are but common Places of Dialectic or Probable Arguments. The *Elenchs* are all Sophisms, imaginable in their Source. The Two Rules, which he establishes for the perfect Composition of a Syllogism, are, That there ought to be nothing False in the Matter, nor nothing Faulty in the Form. His manner of Writing has nothing in it of the Faintness of the Discourse of *Plato*, nor of the diffus'd Stile of his Age; all is Vigorous and Close. In fine, that pure Geometrical way of Demonstration, which he follow'd, hath appear'd alwise so exact, that it hath been us'd by the Learned,

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in all Sciences, as the most solid and most consonant to the usual manner of Reasoning; and the Construction of Syllogism; which is the true Logic of *Aristotle*, is so perfect in its kind, that nothing of any Value has been added to it, or diminish'd from it since he first form'd it. And seeing, in all Ages, Men have disputed against Reason, because 'tis Opinion that commonly sways the World, the Learn'd Ages have been only distinguish'd from others, by the Esteem they have had of the Logic of *Aristotle*. For tho', to speak the Truth, (says my Author) what he hath done for the rectifying of Reason, by cutting of Equivocation from Terms, and Confusion from Conceptions, be one of the greatest Master-pieces of Human Reason; yet it must notwithstanding be acknowledged, that the Principal Scope of that Logic is not so much to teach Man the Art of Reasoning, which he knows Naturally, as to give Rules for examining false Reasonings, that they may be well distinguish'd from the true, and to guard one against the Sophisms of *Zeno* and *Parmenides*: For there was forg'd, in his time, a false Method of Reasoning, which the Sophists put in vogue, and which he endeavours to overthrow by making it known. Upon this Idea all the Design of his Logic does depend; that he may form the Laws of an Art, that gives Laws to all other Arts.

Moral Philosophy teaches (c) the way of Living, as Logic the manner of Speaking and Reasoning; the one regulates the Thoughts, and the other the Desires of the Soul: *Democritus* was the First of the Philosophers, who thought it strange, that Man, who was Ignorant of himself, amus'd himself about the Study of the Heavens; for that was the Exercise of the Philosophers before *Socrates*, who began first to mind the Ordering of his Manners. He had the First Notion of it from *Pythagoras*, who apply'd himself to Morality, whilst he observ'd Nature. That Science, which he learn'd from the *Egyptians*, by the Correspondence he had with their Priests, was not his greatest Delight, tho' it was not altogether indifferent to him. The Design of his Moral Philosophy aim'd at the Purifying the Mind, from the Impurities of the Body and the Mists of Imagination, by the Study of that Philosophy; which he call'd a *Meditation upon Death*. It was also the most Pure and Religious, but the least Exact of all Moral Philosophies: For it contain'd only bare Maxims without Order and Connexion; and his Maxims were only a plain Interpretation of the Worship of the Gods, of the Care that is to be had of Parents and Friends, of Natural Honesty, of Modesty, Probity, Public Interest and other Duties of Life. And, by the Precepts of so sound a Doctrine, he form'd the Manners and Minds of the People that heard him. *St. Jerome* says, that all the Morality of *Pythagoras* was comprehended in his Poem, which is not so much to be attributed to him as to his Scholars. We have an Abridgment of it in the Commentary of *Hierocles* on that Poem. This *Hierocles* was Governor of *Alexandria* under *Dioclesian*. There is to be found, in *Longinus*, a Hint of the Morality of *Pythagoras*, which gives a great Idea of his Doctrine.

Do alwise Good, and never Lie

And tho' *Aristotle* affirms, that that Philosopher speaks not so well of
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(c) Vid. M. Rapin, ubi sup. Pag. 385.

Vertues as *Socrates* did, yet it must be granted, says *Cicero*, that there appear'd a certain Character of Wisdom in the Followers of *Pythagoras*, which so distinguish'd them from other Philosophers, that at *Rome*, under the First Consuls, a Man pass'd for a *Pythagorean* when he had a compos'd Mein: And what *Athenius* reports of the Sobriety of these Philosophers, hath given Antiquity a great Admiration, for so Austere a Morality. *Socrates* gave Principles to the Moral Philosophy, which *Pythagoras* brought from *Egypt*, and began to reduce it to Method, by the Distinction he made of Vertues, and by their Definitions. The other Philosophers, that were before him, study'd Nature. *Socrates* study'd himself, by the Care he had of cultivating his Soul more than his Reason, and of improving his Manners rather than his Wit. He had a wonderful Disposition to Vertue; for, with a profound Capacity, he had a Modesty and Simplicity that render'd him amiable to all Men. That Familiar Spirit, which *Apuleius* calls the God of *Socrates*, hath given Occasion of much Discourse, concerning the Morality of that Philosopher; *Plato* pretended, that it was a kind of invisible Genius that guided him; *Tertullian* and *Lactantius* say, that it was a real *Dæmon*; *Plutarch* assures us, that it was a way of sneezing to the Right or Left, which serv'd *Socrates* for a good or bad Omen in any thing he undertook; *Maximus* of *Tyre* thinks it was a secret Instinct of his Conscience, which inclin'd him to Good, and averted him from Evil; *Pomponatius* judges, that it was only the Planet that rul'd in his Nativity; and *Montanus* will have it to have been a sudden Inclination of his Will, and a kind of Inspiration, which serv'd for Fore-sight to that Philosopher, in Surprises, an Intimation of Doubts and a Guide in Dangers. But, without so much ado, 'tis probable, that that pretended Spirit of *Socrates*, which serv'd him for a Conductor in his Actions, was nothing else but the Prudence, that he had acquir'd by his Experience in things, and the Reflexions he made on their Events, wherein he was seldom mistaken, in so much that it hath been believ'd of him, what *Homer* would have us believe of the Great Men, of whom he speaks in his Poems; to whom he assign'd Deities for Guides in the Dangers to which their Valour expos'd them. In fine, the Morality of *Socrates* was his *Dæmon*, and all his Art consisted in his Prudence. He was unjustly condemn'd to Death for want of Religion. His Ruine, saith *Plutarch*, was an Effect of his Piety; and he became only suspected of Irreligion, because he would render the Philosophy of *Pythagoras* purer, by cutting off the Fables and Superstitions that had slipt into it, and which rendred it ridiculous to his Disciples, that he might leave nothing in it but what was Reasonable. In effect, *Socrates* had so great a Veneration for the Gods, says *Cicero*, that *Xenophon* having consulted him, If he should follow *Cyrus*? *Man's Counsel*, said he, is uncertain, you must advise with God. In a word, the Doctrine of *Socrates* was a Continual Lesson to Vertue, whereof the most part of other Philosophers speak only for Ostentation or Policy. That drolling way he made use of, was but a Method to procure Attention. Morality, which in its Natural Austerity would have been apt to have disgusted People, invited them under an agreeable Appearance. The Seasoning, which that Philosopher gave to the Dryness of his Maxims, made them be much more favourably receiv'd of the Public, yea, and thereby he avoided that Stile of Authority and Arrogance, which was then in use amongst

amongst the Sophists as an odious Yoke to Reason; and he handled, with so little Seriousness, the most serious Matters, that he made it one of his Maxims to do so, knowing very well, that the surest way to Perswade was to Please. *Plato* brought Moral Philosophy still to a greater Perfection, upon the Model that *Socrates* had left him; for by his Ideas, which he gave to every thing as the universal Principle of Philosophy, he rais'd all Vertues to their highest Perfection. In his *Phædrus* he explains the Nature of Moral Philosophy; the end whereof is to purify the Mind from the Errors of Imagination, by the Reflexions that Philosophy suggests to him. However the greatest Part of his Dialogues are but good Discourses without Principles, yet fail not to hit the Mark, and to instruct in their way: For the Morals of that Philosopher are full of Instructions, which tend alwise either to countenance Vertue or to discourage Vice; and that Morality is spread in all his Discourses, tho' there be nothing in it extraordinary singular. Some pretend, that the Metamorphosis of *Apuleius* Golden Ass is an Allegory of the Moral Philosophy of *Plato*; the end whereof is to teach, that Philosophy serves to purify the Mind; and to purge it from Passions, and especially those grosser, which make Men resemble Beasts: But this is certainly a Mistake; for the Notions of it are too impure. There reign'd, in the time of *Plato*, at *Athens*, a false Wit, introduc'd by the Sophists, which struck at Manners as well as Reason. *Protagoras* was a Sophist in Discourse, and *Diogenes* in Manners: For all his Morality was counterfeit; there was nothing but Arrogance in his Probity, and Ostentation in his Modesty. He acted the Severe for Envy of *Plato*, whose Delicateness he endeavour'd to censure by an Affectation of Austerity. It was only against Vertue and Grandeur that he play'd the Philosopher; he pitied the King of *Persia*, because he was too Rich; *Alexander* the Great seem'd to him unhappy, because he was too Powerful; and Merit and good Fortune put him out of Humour: So that the Morality of *Diogenes* must needs have been extravagant, having had no other Foundation but a clownish Surlinefs. He was a great Hypocrite, and in Reality, more a Bragadocio than a Philosopher: So that *Plato*, by the Solidity of his Doctrine, had no great Difficulty to overthrow the erroneous Morality of *Diogenes*, and of the *Cynics*, who were the Disciples of *Antisthenes*, and of all Philosophers the most open Enemies of Modesty and Civility. *Plato* was the First that rectify'd the Opinion of the Immortality of the Soul, which *Socrates* learn'd of *Pythagoras*, *Pythagoras* of the *Egyptians*, and the *Egyptians* of the *Hebrews*, by the means of *Abraham* whilst he sojourn'd in *Egypt*. He made it likewise the most important Principle of Pagan Morality, to oblige Men to be Vertuous by the Hope of Reward and the Fear of Punishment: But the Doctrine of *Plato* had a Tendency to that of the *Stoics*, as appears from the Example of *Antiochus* of *Ascalon*, who, having been Educate in the Academy, turn'd *Stoic*. *Cicero* remarks the Reason of it, when he says, that the most part of the Maxims of *Zeno* were drawn from the Doctrine of *Socrates*, *Stoicorum mirabilia Socratica sunt pleraque*. Tho', in the Judgment of *Cicero*, the Moral Philosophy of *Aristotle* hath the same Grounds, the same Principles and the same Oeconomy as that of *Plato* hath; and that there is no essential Difference betwixt them; yet it is to be granted, that *Aristotle* Erects a far more Methodical Scheme of Doctrine; not

only by the Notion that he gives of a Public and a Private Vertue, in distinguishing the Prudence of a Sovereign, in the Conduct of his State, from that of the Master of a Family, in the Ordering of his Household, but also by establishing, in his Books to *Nicomachus*, the Two most essential Points in Moral Philosophy, a Last End; and the Means to attain to it. And, in the last Book, he teaches, that Beatitude consists in the Noblest Action of Man, in reference to the most Excellent Object. This is all the Moral Philosophy of *Aristotle*, the most Exact, the most Regular and Compleat of all other Moralities. Every thing therein is ranked in so good a Method, that the chief Ground of the Design, and the Parts of it, have so Natural a Relation to one another, and tend all in so straight a Line to their End, that it is one of the most accomplish'd Works of Antiquity: For every thing therein is digested into that admirable Method of *Analysis*, very familiar to that Author, who by that Art reduces the End to the Means, in the same manner that the Parts are referred to the Whole, and the Effects to the Cause. And tho', in the Third Book of his Morals, he affirms, that an exact Method cannot be observ'd in such a Matter, by reason of its Natural Instability, seeing it hath for its Object the Actions of Men, which are in themselves so mutable; yet he hath observ'd a Regularity therein, beyond what can be imagin'd. And nothing warrants more the Morality of *Aristotle*; than the Universal Policy of the World; for there is not at this day any well settled Form of Government, which is not founded on that Moral Philosophy; and that is also the reason, that *Machiavel*; who teaches Magistrates to Rule by Vice, cannot endure it, because it is too Vertuous. But after all that hath been said, that Moral Philosophy of *Aristotle*, as well as that of *Socrates* and *Plato*, can make Men only Philosophers, and are too weak to make them thoroughly Good; for they can teach Man his Duty, but not make him in love with it. Neither is it in these fair Maxims (tho' Men brag so much) that Patience in Afflictions, and Fortitude against Adversity, is to be found; and when a Man has no more but the Vertue of a Philosopher, he has none at all; for 'tis *Christianity* alone that can make a Man truly Vertuous. And we find, that nothing more discompos'd the *Heathenish* Morality, than the Lives of the Primitive *Christians*. That Doctrine, which the Apostles and their Successors publish'd, teaching Men to be Humble in Greatness, and Modest in Success, and that Probity, whereof *Christianity* made Profession, appear'd so wonderful to them, that, in making Attempts to Imitate the *Christians*, they fell into Extravagancy, by stepping beyond their Character, and the Bounds of that Worldly Wisdom, whose Maxims they follow'd. Their Vertue degenerated in Ostentation, and they became Bragadocioes, when they could be no longer Sages: And as it is often Weakness that makes Men bold; so it was only Vanity that made the *Pagans* become Vertuous. The Life of *Apolonius*, so full of Prodigies, was only written by *Philostratus*, that he might oppose it to the Miraculous Life of *JESUS CHRIST*. So likewise, the Lives of the Sophists were publish'd by *Eumapius*, who liv'd under *Theodosius the Great*, that he might compare them to the Lives of the Primitive Believers, and overthrow the Belief that Men had in their Doctrine. *Vojiscus* in Imitation of *Eumapius*, and long before them *Epictetus*, who had remitted much of that Haughtiness which he learn'd from *Zeno*,
by

by the Conversation that he had with the *Christians*, gave occasion to that Spirit of Emulation, which made the Morality of the *Stoics* re flourish under the Empire of the *Antonines*; for, at that time, most part of the Philosophers became *Stoics*, as *Sextus Empericus* affirms, that they might counterfeit the Severity of *Christianity*, by that surly Gravity which the *Porch* inspir'd into them; and which was good for nothing, but to puff Men up. But however, all other Moral Philosophy appear'd very defective, in Comparison of *Christian* Morality, which only at length became commendable, by the Profession it made of Modesty, Disinterestedness and Sincerity: For there is none but the *Christian* Doctrine, that teaches Man to appear what he is, and to be what he appears; because to a *Christian*, whose Glory is his Infirmary, 'tis no Shame to discover his Imperfections; He is that true Hero, who has alwise Courage enough to be Sincere, and is never so weak as to Disguise himself: All the *Pagan* Morality was overthrown, by the first Word that *Jesus Christ* utter'd in Public; when, in His Sermon up on the Mount He pronounc'd, *Happy the Poor and humble in Spirit*; because all the *Pagan* Morality is but Pride, and the *Christian* Morality Submission; the One teaches Man to be Vain, and the Other Modest. And, seeing Purity of Manners and Sincerity is only to be found among *Christians*, it may be affirm'd, that there is no real Probity out of *Christianity*: For the greatest Probity that can be, if it be attack'd by an Interest as prevalent as is the Motive to the Virtue whereof it makes Profession, may Succumb. It is only to be found in our Religion, wherein the Interest of an Eternity, which surpasses all other Concerns, can render impregnable the Principles that support it: So that out of *Christianity* there is no true Morality; because there is no real Virtue; and every Morality else, besides that of a *Christian*, is commonly a kind of Policy and a Piece of Cunning.

We may very well conceive, how Man may frame to himself Principles of Logic and Moral Philosophy (d); because Reasoning and Manners, which are the Object of these Two Sciences, are the Work of Man: But it is strange to conceive, how he dares form Principles of Natural Philosophy, whereof Nature is the Object, and That the Work of God. For, in effect, what means have we to know the Design of the Creator, who many times have not Understanding enough to know the Designs of the Creature? Did God advise with us, when He Suspended, in the Air, the Foundations of the Earth to Frame an Universe? And which of the Philosophers hath Sounded that Eternal Wisdom, which was before all Things that he might discover the Depth of his Thoughts? *St. Augustine* saith, That the World is a great Theatre, where the Art of Him that made it Shines forth on all hands: But is it not rather a great Riddle, which the Philosophers have essay'd to explain without being able to succeed in it? 'Tis true, there have been Minds sufficiently qualified to know the Effects of Nature, by examining their Causes; but never was there any as yet Capable to see into the Intentions of the Creator, and to discover the hidden Secrets of His Art, by knowing the Principles of this Great Work: For, if the smallest Creatures that are within the reach of our Senses, and which we have so long Studied, have something that is Incomprehensible; If the smallest Herbs of the

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Fields

(d) Vid. M. Rapi ubi sup. Pag. 405.

Fields have Qualities unknown to Man, shall we be so vain as to pretend to know the Vertue of those great Machines that Compose the World, and to ascend to the Source of all the Wonders that we admire therein? Let us not deceive our selves, Nature hath her Mysteries; she attains her Ends by Ways that we are Ignorant of; and, since Men have apply'd themselves to the Knowledge of her Secrets, there hath been so little of Certainty discover'd, that one would think, that nothing should more bring down the Pride of Man, than the Study of Natural Philosophy: It is an Abstruse and Profound Science, wherein there is little agreed upon amongst Men. Those, that have spoken of it best, have as yet said nothing to the purpose: So, therefore, we ought not to beat our Brains to imagine New Systems. That Matter hath already pass'd thorow so many Heads, that, if there had been any better than what we know, it would have been found out; and indeed, after so much Thinking on it, 'tis even Wisdom to mind it no more, and to content our selves by an Humble Acknowledgment of our own Ignorance, to admire the Depth of the Knowledge of God. 'Tis true, that that there's nothing so capable to Satisfy the Mind of Man, as the consideration of Nature and Natural Beings; no other Science tickles so much our Curiosity; happy is he that can know any thing thereof: But Nature shews her self only by her Outside; the Knowledge, that we have of her, is only Superficial; and God Almighty, to Punish our Pride, takes Pleasure to abandon us to our Curiosity as to a Chastisement; because, by Inspiring into us a Desire to Know all Things, He reduces us to the pass of being Ignorant of All, and even of our Selves. But by how much that Science is vain, thorow the Obscurity and Uncertainty of the Matters it Treats of, by so much it is frivolous, thorow the diversity of Opinions, that are to be found in the Sentiments of the greatest Men who Studied it: For all the Ancients have hardly been able as yet to establish any Principle that is agreed upon; *Thales* makes Water the Principle of all Things; *Heracitus* pretends, that it is Fire; *Anaximenes* will have it to be the Air; *Pitbagorus* maintains, that 'tis Numbers; *Democritus*, Atoms; *Musæus*, Unity; *Parmenides*, Infinitude: And in so profound an Obscurity of Natural Beings, and among so many different Sentiments, one cannot be sure of any thing. *Protagoras* thinks, what appears true to every one severally is true in effect; *Aristippus* will have nothing true, but what one perceives by an Internal Perswasion of Mind; *Chrysippus* says, that the Senses are continual Impostors; *Lucretius* assures, that they never are. Thus we find, that these Men, who have made it their Business to trace Nature in her inward Recesses and latent Motions, are forc'd to confess, that the Ways of Nature, like those of God, are past Man's finding out. But let us see what *Aristotle* has done in this. In his First Book of Physicks, he lays down the Method that he proposes to himself in his Design; and seeing the Knowledge of Nature is in it self obscure, he pretends that Men should raise themselves, as by Steps, to clear and evident Notions, from such as are not so; and that, in that Science, we must descend from Generals to Particulars. He adds, that in that manner all Things become Clear, in becoming Sensible by their particular Accidents and Circumstances. Having establish'd that Method, in the rest of that Book he refutes the Principles of other Philosophers to confirm his own. In the Second

Book, he examines what Nature is, and inquires into the proper Signification of that Term. In the Third, Fourth and Fifth Books, he Treats of the Causes of Motion and of Place, which are the Attributes of a Natural Body. In the Sixth Book he explains Quantity, whereof he makes a full Treatise. He begins to give an Idea of the first Mover, in the Seventh Book. And in the Eighth, he speaks of Time, which is the Natural Measure of Motion. In the First and Second Books of the Heavens, he describes the Stars, the Matter whereof they are form'd, their Qualities, Motion, Situation, Figure and all that concerns the Construction of the World. And in the Third and Fourth, he Treats of the Gravity and Levity of Celestial Bodies, and of the different Opinions that the Ancients entertain'd thereof; and there he discourses likewise of the Elements and their Qualities. In the First Book of the Meteors, he explains all that happens in the Air. In the Third and Fourth, what occurs in the Earth and Sea; where he likewise Treats of Winds, Thunder, Lightning, Exhalations, Thunder-Bolts, the Rainbow and False Suns or Parhelia. And in the Fourth, he speaks of Heat and Cold, of Siccity and Humidity, of Putrefaction, of Salts, of the different Qualities of mixt Bodies and of their Mixture and Temperament. In the Three Books of the Soul, he explains its Nature, and the Operations thereof, as well by the External Senses as the Internal Faculties. In the Books of his little Natural Questions, he observes particularly all that concerns Sensation, Memory, Reminiscence, Sleeping, Waking, Dreams, the Prognostic of Dreams, the Motion of Animals, their Progression, the Length and Shortness of Life, old Age, Youth, Respiration, Sickness and Health. The History of Animals is his Master-piece, and the Compleatest of his Physicks. In the Four First, he hath included the different kinds of Animals: And in the Five last, he hath hinted at their diverse Manners of Multiplication. He hath enriched that Work with an infinite Number of Experiments and curious Questions, where one may find, if he narrowly observe, the first hints of the most part of the New Discoveries whereof Modern Philosophy boasts. I shall speak nothing of his Book of Colours, his Treatise of Physiognomy, his Mechanical Questions, his Problems, the Two Books of Generation and Corruption, the Book of the World, which he compos'd for *Alexander*, and many other Subjects which he hath handled; and for which Reason we may say, that his Natural Philosophy is the most Ample that ever was. But, having said thus much in Favours of *Aristotle*, I shall now take Notice of what is amiss in him. There is a great deal of Confusion in that Treatise of his Eight Books of Physicks; the Connexion is nowise Natural; there is nothing harder to be understood than his Notion about the First Matter, which he defines to be, *Nec quid, nec quale, nec quicquam eorum quibus determinari potest. Ens*, and the Education of Forms out of that Matter. The whole Treatise of Motion is abstracted; the Eternity of Motion, which in his Eighth Book he pretends to prove by Circulation, is incomprehensible, and all that Book is so Metaphysical, that it cannot be understood. The Treatise of Time and Place is nowise Physical; and what he says of Time is borrow'd from *Archytas*, as that which he speaks of Motion is taken from *Ocellus*; and what he says of Vacuity from *Timæus*. What he affirms in the Two First Books of the Heavens, in the Treatises of Comets, the Rainbow

and of some other Meteors, is found to be mostly false by our late Experiments; yet the Fourth Book of Meteors is to be excepted, which seemeth to have something more exact in it. The Situation, which in the Third Book of the Heavens, he hath given to the Sphere of the Elementary Fire, conform to the Opinion of *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, has not any Foundation. In his Second Book of Meteors, he pretends, that the Earth, under the *Æquinoctial*, cannot be inhabited, which Experience proves to be false: But they, who would have a more full Account of his Errors and Mistakes, may find them reckon'd up by *Patricius*, a Philosopher of *Venice*, in his Book of the Discussions of the Doctrine of *Aristotle*; *Ramus* in his Physical Schools; and *Gassendus* in his Observations against the *Peripatetics*. I shall not insist upon the Discoveries, that have been made in Natural Philosophy since *Aristotle's* time, that being altogether extraneous to my Design; yet, how great and various soever they be, I cannot but take Notice of what an Ingenious Author, (who is pleas'd to conceal his Name) (e) has said of Two of the greatest Members of the Royal Society, to whom the World is so much oblig'd for these Discoveries. "One of their Number; (says he) "a great Glory of their Society (f), after he had grown old in these "Studies, learn'd Modesty and Diffidence thereby, and was never more "reserv'd than in his full Growth and Maturity of Knowledge, when "he had least Reason to be so; and another (g) Incomparable Person, "who has added Mathematical Skill to his Observations upon Nature, "after the nicest Inquiry seems to resolve all into *Attraction*, which, "tho' it may be True and Pious withal, perhaps will not be thought so "Philosophical. The truth of it is, we may as well rest there; for after all, Gravitation was never yet Solv'd, and possibly never may; "and after Men have spent a Thousand Years longer in these Inquiries, they may perhaps sit down at last under *Attraction*, or may be content to resolve all into the Power or Providence of God. And "might not that be as well done now, we know little of the Causes of things, but may see Wisdom enough in every thing; and could we "be content to spend as much time in Contemplating the Wise Ends of Providence, as we do in searching into Causes, it would certainly "make us better Men, and, I am apt to think, no worse Philosophers.

As Natural Philosophy is the knowledge of Natural and Sensible things, so Metaphysics (b) is the Science of things purely intellectual. All other Sciences have a dependence upon this; for it serves them for a Foundation and Method, and without it there is nothing known but imperfectly: And this perhaps is the reason, why *Aristotle* calls that Science, the True Beginning of Philosophy and the Noblest of Sciences. As it is taken up only about the Thoughts, by a view abstracted from Corporeal and Incorporeal Beings, so it raises it self above Sense and Matter; it leaves the Quantity of Bodies to the consideration of Geometry, and their other Qualities to Natural Philosophy, that it may imploy it self only about Beings separated from their individual Singularities, such as are, Substances, Accidents, Relations, Oppositions and all that can be conceived by an abstraction from Matter; and that it may only consider Beings that are purely Spiritual, such as the Soul, Spirits, Angels, and even God Him-

(e) Reflections upon Learning, Printed at London 1700. in 8vo. Pag. 85. (f) Mr. Boyle. (g) Mr. Newton.
(b) Vid. Mr. Rap. ubi sup. Pag. 433.

himself, wherein it hath something of Divinity : And 'tis for this reason that *Aristotle* calls it likewise Divinity or Natural Theology. The end of this Science is the finding of pure and abstracted Verity ; thereby it perceives Things in their Original ; that it may know them to the full, it enters into the Retail of all particular Species, which it reduces to their Principles, and that Retail is almost infinite. This is the reason, that, without it, all the Knowledges of Man are but superficial and imperfect ; because there is not almost any true Demonstration without its Principles. The Design of *Aristotle's* Metaphysics is to give Principles to other Sciences, which they cannot have of themselves. This Philosopher has written Twelve Books of Metaphysics, whereof the Three First are Preliminary to that Science. In the First Book, he teaches, that Memory is form'd from Sense, Experience from Memory, and Art and Science together from Experience. He shews, that Wisdom or Sapience, being a Perfect Knowledge of the First Principles, is preferable to Science ; that nothing is known as it should be, but by the Causes, tho' the Ancient Philosophers have sometimes said well, without knowing the Reason why ; because they were not Methodical in their Science. He teaches, That the Impressions, receiv'd from Education and Custom, are great Hinderances to the Knowledge of Truth ; and that, to know aright, we must seek out the Method most convenient for the Science which we inquire into. He declares in his Third Book, that to begin to know, we must begin to doubt, and that, to know Truth aright, we must know Falsity and Untruth. There he refutes those that explain Nature by Fables, designing thereby *Pythagoras* and *Plato*. In the same Book he examines, If One Science may propose all other Sciences for its Object ? He ends with the Notion that he gives of Substance, and Inquires, If there be any other Substances besides what fall under our Senses, such as Ideas and First Matter ? Having made this Preparation of Questions necessary to his Design, he treats in the Fourth Book of the Principal Object of Metaphysics, which is *Being* abstracted from Matter, in so much as it is a *Being*. In the Fifth Book he explains the various Attributes of *Being*, and gives a general Notion of the Terms of Metaphysics. The Sixth Book is another Preliminary to the following Books. In the Seventh, he explains the Nature of Substance, which is the First of *Beings*, what is Essential to it, and wherein it differs from an *Accident*. In the Eighth Book, he distinguishes it into Substance Material and Substance Immaterial : There it is that he speaks of the Substantial Form, of the Numbers of *Pythagoras*, and the Ideas of *Plato*, which he pretends to be nowise Substantial. The Ninth Book is an Explication of the different kinds of *Being*, of the *Being Actual* and the *Being Possible*, of the Act and the Power, *Actus* and *Potentia*, of the Notion and Difference thereof ; and ends the Book by a Discourse of True and False. In the Tenth Book, he tells what Unity is, which is the First Property of a *Being* ; he shews the Opposition between Plurality and Unity ; he explains how, and how many ways one Thing is contrary to another, and all the Doctrine of Contraries, which is the Ground of the most part of the Principles of Metaphysics. In the Eleventh, he repeats a great many Things already laid down in the Third and Fourth Books ; and, amongst others, the Method of Right Doubting to attain to Right Knowing : For he that doubts hath a great-

er Disposition to know Truth, than he that doubteth not ; because he grounds not the Assurance of his Judgment, but upon the clearing of his Uncertainties. Having prov'd Substantial Forms, he teaches, in the Twelfth Book, that there are Substances separate from Bodies, and that there are Spirits : All that Discourse tends to the Demonstration of a Deity. The Two following Books were not come to Light in the time of our Author ; and *Possevin*, in the Third Book of his Bibliothec, pretends, that they are none of *Aristotles* : But, seeing there is to be found in them the same Character, the same Wit and the same Reasoning, all the Learned are now agreed that they are his. The Thirteenth Book is nothing but a Repetition about the Numbers of *Pythagoras* and the Ideas of *Plato*. But the Fourteenth Book is a Collection of Axioms, Principles, Divisions and Definitions, which he hath gather'd out of the former Books : But what is more to be wonder'd at in this Work is, that *Aristotle* is the First Founder of that manner of Reasoning by way of Abstraction.

Thus I have given, from the above cited Author, a brief Account of all *Aristotle's* Writings, which, with our Author's Commentaries, make Two large Volumes in *Folio* ; neither need I, for the future, give any further Account of *Aristotle's* Writings, or what his Commentators have said of them, tho' many of the Writers, that I am to treat of, have written very large Commentaries upon them, hoping the Reader will be content of this general View of his Philosophy.

If we take a View of our Author as a Mathematician, we find, by his Works, that he was principally addicted to Judicial Astrology ; and from his frequent Erecting of People's Horoscopes, he came at length to be accus'd of Magic, and, to this very Day, the common People tell a Thousand Idle Stories of his Commerce and Intimacy with Evil Spirits.

Lastly, as a Phyician, we find, that he was principally addicted to Alchimy and Natural History, and follow'd *Galen* and *Aristotle* in his Reasonings, as it will appear from the following Account of his Books in Medicine.

An account
of his Books
in Medi-
cine.

His Translation of *Avicennas's* History of Animals, out of *Arabic* into *Latin*, is a Specimen not only of his great Knowledge in the Oriental Languages, but likewise in Natural Philosophy and Medicine. This *Avicennas* was a *Mahometan* Philosopher, and Phyician of great Fame and Reputation, who flourish'd in the Year of our Lord 1165, and having Studied *Aristotle's* Philosophy, which was only then esteem'd, he Translated into *Arabic* his *History of Animals*, with several Observations and Improvements of his own ; and this valuable Work had been in a manner lost to the most of the Nations in *Europe*, had it not been for our Author who Translated it into *Latin*, and it is, for ought I know, the only Translation of it that is extant. This Book is Dedicated to the Emperor *Frederic II.* as a Present worthy of so great a Prince ; and indeed it was so : For one of the greatest Advocates for the Moderns against the Ancients, speaking of this Performance, says (i), " As to their way
" of living (meaning the Animals) their uses to Human Life, their Sa-
" gacity and the like, the Ancients took much Pains, and went very
" far ; and there are a great many admirable Things in *Aristotle's Hi-*
" *story of Animals*, concerning all these Matters. What Helps he had
" from

(i) *Watsons* Reflect. upon Ancient and Modern Learning Pag. 315 and 316.

“ from Writers that liv’d before his own Time, we know not; if he
 “ had but little, it must be own’d, that his Book is one of the greatest
 “ Instances of Industry and Sagacity that perhaps has ever been given.
 And a little after. “ I name, says he, only *Aristotle*, because he is to
 “ us at least an Original Author, he had examin’d abundance of Things
 “ himself; and tho’ he took a great deal upon Trust, yet that could not
 “ be avoided, since he had so little, that we know of, from more re-
 “ mote Antiquity; and it was too vast a Work for any one single Man
 “ to go through with by himself.

Besides this Book, our Author has Dedicated, to the same Emperor,
 his Treatise of the *Secrets of Nature*, which is divided into Three Parts.
 In the First Part, he Treats of all that belongs to Generation, upon the
Aristotelian and *Galenic* Principles. In the Second Part, he Treats of all
 the different Signs, by which we may Judge of the different Comple-
 xions or Temperaments of Men and Women. And, in the last Part, he
 lays down Rules for knowing, from all the different Parts of the Body,
 as the Face, Eyes, Nose, Hands, &c. the different Dispositions and In-
 clinations of Men and Women: And this last Part is that which is
 call’d his Book of *Physiognomy*, and is not a different Book from his *Se-
 crets of Nature*, as some have thought (k); for it ends thus, *Michaelis
 Scoti de Procreatione & Hominis Physiognomia feliciter finit*. The most of all
 that our Author has said in this Book is founded upon such Vain and
 Ridiculous Conjectures, that it is Matter of Admiration to find one of his
 Learning and Knowledge in Medicine insist so much upon them as he does.

His Book of the *Nature of the Sun and the Moon*, is a Book of Alchi-
 my, Gold and Silver being call’d the Sun and the Moon in their Terms.
 In this Book he treats of the Transmutation of Metals, or the *Grand
 Operation*, as the Alchymists call’d it, or the Way for finding out the
Philosophers Stone, which is such a curious Seed of all Metals, that if
 you melt any Metal in a Crucible, and take a part of this Stone, which
 they call the *Powder of Projection*, and throw it in amongst the melted
 Metal in the Crucible, it will immediately turn it into Gold or Silver
 as they please. Our Author’s Book is Printed with several other Books
 upon this Subject, and is only to be understood by the *Adepti*, as they
 call themselves. *Olaus Borrichius*, who has made an Apology for the *Al-
 chymists* says (l), That this Secret was very early known in the World,
 it being the Invention of *Hermes*, who was Cotemporary with *Isis* and
Osiris; and this *Hermes*, surnam’d *Trismegistus*, he supposes to be
 the same with *Canaan* Son of *Cham*, whom they likewise call *I’bout*. And
 this is supported by the Authority of one of the ablest Critics of this
 Age, who proves *Chronos* (m) or *Saturn* to be the same with *Noah*. And
Diodorus Siculus, who tells us, That (n) there were anciently to be seen
 in the City of *Nysa*, which some place in *Arabia*, and others in *Egypt*, the
 following Inscriptions, upon Two Pillars in *Mystic Characters*. The
 First runs thus;

My Father is Chronos the youngest of the Gods, I am King Osiris, who
 have extended my Conquests over the whole Earth, from the uninhabita-
 ble Parts of the Indies to those under the Bear, to the Sources of the Da-
 nube, and thence to the Ocean, I am the eldest Son of Chronos and

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have

(k) Vid. Lind. Renovat. ubi sup. (l) Vid. Olaus Borrich. de ortu & Progressu Chymiar. Pag. 63. (m) Bochartus’s
 Phalag. (n) Diod. Lib. 1.

*have brought him a Fair and Noble Race, I am Father of the Day,
there is no Place in the World where I have not been, and I have
fill'd the World with my good Deeds.*

The Second was in these Words.

*I am Isis Queen of all this Country, who have been Instructed by Thout,
no one can unbind what I bind, I am the eldest Daughter of Chronos,
the youngest of the Gods, I am Wise and Sister to King Osiris, I am
the first that Taught Men Agriculture, I am Mother to King Horus,
'tis I that blaze in the Dog-Star, I built the City of Bubastus, Adieu,
Adieu Egypt where I was Bred.*

By these Two Inscriptions it appears, that *Hermes* was Cotemporary with *Isis* and *Osiris*; and if *Bochart's* Conjecture concerning *Chronos* be true, then *Hermes* may be the same with *Canaan* the Son of *Cham*: But we find *Artabanus* in *Eusebius* (o) brings this *Hermes* much lower; for he says, "That *Moses*, having Taught the *Egyptians* to build Ships, and Machines for raising of great Stones for Buildings, to make Aqueducts and Pumps to draw Water, and divers Instruments of War, and especially having invented Philosophy, drew the Love of the People so to him, that the Priests paid him Honours equal to those that they paid to their Gods. And then he adds, That the same Priests gave him the Name of *Hermes*, because he understood the Explication of their Mystical Writings. But whatever Truth be in this, that the Art of Working in Metals was long before *Moses's* Time, appears from the Sacred Scriptures, where 'tis ascrib'd to *Tubal-Cain* as its First Inventor, *Gen. iv. 22.* and all the *Alchymists* and *Adepti* pretend, that *Moses* reducing to Ashes or Calcining the Golden Calf, and scattering the Ashes in the Water, and giving the *Israelites* of it to drink, was a sufficient Proof, that he perfectly understood their Art. And we find, that *David* knew very well what the Refining of Silver was, by his comparing a Righteous Man to Silver Seven times purify'd in the Fire, *Pf. xii. 6.* And certainly some Chymical Experiments were known in the Days of his Son *Solomon*; for he tells us, *Prover. xxv. 20.* of the Disagreement of *Vinegar* and *Nitre*, which is not to be understood of our common *Nitre*, but only of the *Egyptian Nitre*; which *Mr. Boyle* found, (p) by his own Experience, alwise to cause an Ebullition when join'd with any Acid Salt. But whatever Antiquity the *Alchymists* may pretend to for their Art, yet their Grand Operation has been alwise call'd in Question by the Learn'd; for all the Ways and Tricks of Counterfeiting Gold may be easily discover'd, by examining its true *Specifick Gravity*, i. e. it must be to Water as 19 or 18 and a half is to 1. or else it is some way False and Counterfeited: Yet we find, that, if we may believe our Author and his Brethren the *Adepti*, there has been People in all Ages, who have had the Secret of Changing of some Metals into Gold and Silver. What length our Author came in it we know not; but according to the vulgar Report of him, he came as great a length as any of them. Many and innumerable are the Instances, that the *Alchymists* give of the Feats that these Gentlemen have given of their Skill: But I shall only trouble the Reader with a Story of one of

(o) Vid. Euseb. de Præpar. Evangel. Lib. 8. (p) Vid. Boyle's Prod. of Chym. Princ. Pag. 30.

of them, who was our own Country-man, as *Dempster* relates it who saw him at *Thoulouse* (q). This Gentleman's Name was *Cubreath*, who was born at *Edinburgh* about the end of the 15th Century; and, having apply'd himself very closely to the Study of *Alchimy*, he had at length, it seems, the good luck to fall upon the Philosophers Stone. After which he chang'd his Name, for what Reason I know not, and assum'd to himself that of *Sidonius* or rather *Setonius* or *Seaton*, as *Dempster* thinks. Having under this Name travel'd thorow several Parts of *Europe*, especially thorow *Germany*, where most of the *Adepti* are to be found, he Converted, with his *Powder of Projection*, several Plates of Brass and Lead into Gold, which were still in the Custody of some of the *German* Princes; and that the Famous Physician, *Andreas Libavius*, had been an Eye-witness to it; that at *Florence*, in a Goldsmith's Shop, he converted Two Plates of Lead into Gold, to the great Wonder and Amazement of all the Spectators; and that these Two Plates were still in the Great Duke's Cabinet. *Dempster* says, that he show'd himself some Things at *Thoulouse*; but that he immediately repented of what he had done; and all that he could make of him was, that he rather lov'd to lead a wand'ring Vagabond Life, than to be confin'd to the Court or Caresses of any Prince or Potentate; and that at length he was Murder'd in his Travels thorow *France*, the Murderers thinking thereby to have got some Insight into his Art, as they afterwards confess'd at *Aix*, where they were Executed for the same Murder. And he further says, That he not only knew the Philosophers Stone, but likewise wrote a Book upon the Composition of this Stone, and another upon *Alchimy*; and that *Raphael Eglinus* praises him in his Epigrams thus:

Alter Jason eris, qualis Sidonius, &c.

Alluding to *Jason's* Golden Fleece, which the *Adepti* say, was nothing else but a Ram's Skin, on which the Process of the Philosopher's Stone was written. All that I shall say, upon this Story of *Dempster*, is what the Famous Mr. *Boyle* us'd to say upon the hearing of the like Stories, *He that has seen it has more Reason to believe it than he that has not seen it.* But before I leave this Story of the Philosophers Stone, I cannot but acquaint the Reader of some few Experiments, that were try'd by the Honourable Person that I last mention'd, in order to the Discovery of that Secret, he having been himself one of the greatest Chymists that this Age, or any other hath produc'd.

And first he tells us (r), That he separated, from common *Mercury*, near a Fourth Part of its Weight in clear Liquor; and tells us also, that Two Friends of his did, by pressing *Mercury* in a Skilfully manag'd Fire, turn it almost Weight for Weight into Water. In another Place (s) he says, that Doctor K. a Person far both from the Temptation and Custom of Lying, assur'd him, that he did once light upon a kind of *Aqua Fortis*, with which he did diverse times draw a *Volatile Tincture*, which could and did turn Silver into Gold; and that, out of an Ounce of Gold, he drew as much of this Tincture, as did transmute an Ounce and a half of Silver into that Noble Metal: But withal, designing af-

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terwards

(q) Vid. *Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 17. Pag. 603.* (r) Vid. *Mrs Boyle Scep. Chym. Pag. 124.* (s) In the Second Essay.

terwards to prosecute this surprising Experiment further, he could never again make such an *Aqua Fortis*, as would draw any such Tincture from Gold. He tells us also (r), That, by putting, to a Calx of Gold, a good Portion of his *Mensstruum Peracitum*, with a little Spirit of Salt, it did slowly and quietly dissolve it, only at the Bottom remain'd a white Powder, which the *Mensstruum* would not touch, and which was indissoluble in *Aqua Regalis*. This white Powder, being with *Borax* or some such white Powder melted into a Metal, was found to be white like Silver, yielding to the Hammer, dissoluble in *Aqua Fortis* or Spirit of *Nitre*, and would there leave a true Silver Calx odiously bitter. This is a strange Experiment from an Author of so much approv'd Veracity; and had Mr. *Boyle* try'd the Specific Gravity of this apparent Silver, and found it to be less than that of Gold, it had been no small Proof of the Possibility of the Transmutation of Metals: But the Reader may see more of this in Mr. *Harris Lexicon Technicum* (v). And I hope, that this Account of the Philosophers Stone will be as agreeable to the Reader, as if I had given him our Author's Account of it, in the Unintelligible Jargon of the Alchymists.

His Death
and Chara-
cter.

Besides these Books, there is a Book of our Author's Printed at *Leipsick* Intituled, *Mensa Philosophica*, which I have never seen; but I take it to be of the same Nature with his other Works. In an old Catalogue of Books, Printed at *Rome*, I find all *Aristotle's* Works, Printed at *Venice*, with our Author's Notes or Commentaries upon them: And I believe, that the long Catalogue, which *Dempster* gives us of his Works, is taken out of these Commentaries. At length, after he had spent many Years in these Studies, he died in the Year 1291. By what I have said of him, it appears, that he was one of the greatest Philosophers, Mathematicians, Physicians and Linguists of his Age, and, had he not been too much addicted to the vain Studies of Judicial Astrology, Alchymy, Physiognomy and Chiromancy, for which he is justly censur'd by *Picus Mirandula*, in his Book against the Astrologers, he deserv'd very well of the Republic of Letters. *Symphorianus Camperius*, *Roger Bacon* and *Cornelius Agrippa* praise him for his Knowledge in the Stars and Physical Matters: But his too great Curiosity in these Matters made the Vulgar look upon him as a Magician, tho' as *Joannes Baconthorpius* observes, there is none that speaks or writes more respectfully of God and Religion than he does.

(r) *Origin of Forms*, Pag. 235. (v) Printed at *Lond.* 1704. in Folio.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *Aristotelis Opera omnia, cum Notis*, in 2 Vol. in Fol. Ven. 1496.
- II. *Avicennam de Animalibus ex Arabico in Latinum Translulit. Ext. in Fol. Editionis neque Tempore neque Loco expressis.*
- III. *Physiognomia, & de Hominis Procreatione*, Par. 1508. in 8vo. & sub Tit. *De Secretis Naturæ*, Francof. 1615. in 12mo. Extat etiam cum *Alberti Magni Lib. de Secretis Mulierum*. Amstelodam. 1655, 1662, 1665, 1669. in 12mo.
- IV. *Quæstio curiosa de Natura Solis & Lunæ. Extat Volumine Quinto Theatri Chymici, Editi Argentorati apud Laz. Zetzerum* 1622, in 8vo.
- V. *Mensa Philosophica*, Lipsiæ 1603. in 8vo.

T H E

LIFE of JOHN SCOT of Duns, Of the Order of the Minorites.

THIS Famous Author was descended from the Family of the *Dunses* in the *Merss*, and was Born in the Town of *Duns* (a), His Paren- tage, Birth, and Educa- tion. Six Miles North-West from the Town of *Berwick*, in the Year 1274. Having learn'd his Grammar, our Historians say (b), That Two *Franciscan* Friars, falling acquainted with him, and, finding him to be a Youth of wonderful Parts, took him alongst with them to *Dumfries*, He enters into the Order of the Minorites. where they induc'd him to enter into their Order: But others say, that (c) this was done at *New-Castle* in *England*. But, whatever be in this, 'tis certain, that he entred into that Order whilst he was very Young.

This Order was but newly Instituted, as all the rest of the Begging Orders were; and the Occasion of their Institution arose from (d) the Heretics, call'd the *Poor People of Lyons*, or the *Valdenses* from one *Peter Valdo*, a Rich Merchant at *Lyons*, who, in one of their Meetings, was so touch'd with the sudden Death of one of them, that he resolv'd to change the Course and Manner of his Life; and, taking the Words of our Saviour concerning Riches in their Literal Sense, he distributed all his Goods to the Poor People of *Lyons*, that he might make a Voluntary Profession of Poverty, and lead a Life, as he said, agreeable to the Precepts of our Saviour and his Apostles. Many Persons, imitating his Example, form'd a considerable Sect, who were call'd the *Valdenses* from the Name of their Author, *The Poor People of Lyons*, from their profess'd Poverty, *The Lyonists*, from the Valley of *Lyons*, and *Insabbates*, from a certain sort of Shoes or Sandals that they wore upon their Feet, that were cut above, thorow which the Nakedness of their Feet appear'd to the People. Besides this, they spent much of their Time in Prayer, in the Reading of the Sacred Scriptures, in Preaching and in putting the Evangelical Counsels in Practice, in their Literal Sense. These things being very taking with the Vulgar, Two of their Number, *Bernard* and *Durand d'Osca*, being brought over to the Church of *Rome*, but not disapproving of those things, they, with a Number of *Catholics* in the Province of *Taragone*, led a Life of the same Nature, tho' in Opposition to them; for they practis'd the Gospel Counsels according to their Literal Sense, distributed all their Goods to the Poor, study'd the Sacred Scriptures, wrought with their Hands, disputed against all Heretics, spent much of their Time in Prayer, led Chast and Unblamish'd Lives, were exact in paying their Tithes and Offerings, but affected nothing that was singular in their Cloaths, that they might not seem to be Hypocrites or Singular before Men, as the *Poor People of Lyons* did, in opposition to whom they call'd themselves *the Poor Catholics*.

(a) Vid. M. Du Pin Bib. Nouv. des Aut. Eccles. Tom. II. Pag. 58. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 4. Pag. 227. Camer. de Scot. Doct. &c. Pag. 187. Muisip. Labbe de Scrip. Eccles. Guil. Cave Histor. Literar. Par. I. (b) Vid. Camer. ubi sup. (c) Vid. M. Du Pin ubi sup. (d) Vid. Mr. Du Pin Bib. Nouv. des Aut. Eccles. Tom. II. Pag. 162. (v)

lies. Pope *Innocent III.* approv'd of their Order and way of Living: *St. Francis of Assise*, who liv'd at that Time; being a Person of extraordinary Devotion, made a Reformation of this Order of *the Poor Catholics*, and Instituted another Order of People that profess'd Poverty, which was call'd the *Order of St. Francis* from him their Founder; *the Seraphic Order*, from his Seraphic and Holy Life; and *the Order of the Minorites*, from their Mean and Humble way of Living. This Order was likewise approv'd of by Pope *Innocent III.* in the Year 1215. and confirm'd by Pope *Honorius III.* in the Year 1223. and in a short time they, so multiply'd, that they spread themselves all over *Europe*, and came over to *England* and *Scotland*, in the Year 1219.

He goes to the University of Oxford. Where he is made Fellow of Merton College, and Professor of Theology.

He goes from Oxford to Paris.

Where he is made Bachelor, and then Doctor of Divinity. He is made Professor of Theology in the University of Paris.

He goes to Cologne, where he is receiv'd with great Pomp and Splendour.

Of his Dispute concerning the Immaculate Conception of the B. Virgin.

Our Author, as I have said, having entred himself into this Order whilst he was very young, they finding, that he had an extraordinary Genius for Letters, sent him to the University of *Oxford*, where he compleated the Course of his Studies in *Merton College*; and, having entred into Holy Orders, was shortly after made a Fellow of that College, and Professor of Theology to the University. His Master in Theology was *Gulielmus Varon*, a Famous Doctor of his own Order: But it was not long e're the Scholar Eclips'd the Fame of his Master; for he Taught with such Applause in that University, that 'tis said, there came more than Thirty Thousand Scholars there upon his Account. The General of the Order of the *Franciscans*, hearing of this, order'd him to leave *Oxford* and to come to *Paris*, that they might likewise have some Benefit by his Lessons. In Obedience to this Order, he left the University of *Oxford*, and came over to *Paris* in the Year 1304. being then in the Thirtieth Year of his Age. He had no sooner entred into the University of *Paris*, but they Honour'd him First with the Degree of Bachelor, and then with the Degree of Doctor of Divinity; and in the Year 1307, being the 33 Year of his Age, the Care of their Divinity Schools was committed to him: But he Taught not long in this University; for the next Year he was call'd to Teach at *Cologne*, by *Gondisalus* the General of his Order. So parting from *Paris*, in the Year 1308. he took Journey for *Cologne*; and, when he come nigh the City, he was met by all the Magistrates and People of Fashion, and receiv'd with the Ringing of Bells, Bon-fires, and the Huzzaing Acclamations of the whole Mob.

All the Writers of our Author's Life say, that, whilst he was at the University of *Paris*, the Dispute concerning the Immaculate Conception of the B. Virgin arose, which he maintain'd by Two Hundred Arguments, so much to the Conviction of the whole University, that thereupon the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the B. Virgin was instituted, and a Decree made in that University, That none should be capable to receive any Degrees, except those who believ'd it: But this is a great Mistake (*e*); for that Decree of the University of *Paris* was not made till the Year 1496. after the Council of *Bale*. But moreover, our Author did not propose the Immaculate Conception, as a certain Doctrine, in his time, but as doubtful; for, after having propos'd the Question in the Third Distinction, upon the Third Book of Sentences, Question 1. viz. If the Virgin was Conceiv'd in Original Sin? He answers by Three Propositions. First, That God might have caus'd her

to

to have been Conceiv'd without Original Sin. *Secondly*, That God might have caus'd her to remain only one Moment in Sin. And *Last-ly*, That God might have caus'd her to remain for some time in Sin, and that in the last Moment of that time, she might have been purify'd. After having prov'd these Three Propositions, he concludes, "That God only knows which of these Three Possible Propositions is true, but that he thought that that was most probable, which attributed to the Virgin the greatest Perfection, providing that it was not contrary to the Authority of the Church and the Sacred Scriptures. Thus it was, that our Author propos'd his Sentiment of the Immaculate Conception, which had been establish'd in the Church of *Lyons* long before his time, as we have observ'd in the Life of *Adam Scot*. But what these Writers say of his being the Author of a new sort of Theology, can be nowise doubted of, which came to pass after this manner:

The manner of Teaching and Explaining the *Christian* Doctrine, and its Mysteries has not been alwise uniform in the Church, but has carried according to the different Inclinations and Designs of Men. The Apostles contented themselves with Teaching in Simplicity the Doctrine they had receiv'd from *Jesus Christ*, proposing it to the Faithful as the Object of their Faith, and making it credible from Authorities, Prophecies, the Resurrection and Miracles of *Jesus Christ*; they entred not into a particular Detail of our Mysteries; they dived not into them for discovering of their Consequences, and far less pretended they to explain them by the Principles of Philosophy and Human Reason. The Holy Fathers and Ecclesiastical Writers, that liv'd in the First Ages of the Church, in Imitation of them, did not meddle with our Mysteries, and made only use of Philosophy to destroy the Errors of the *Pagans* concerning their Gods, their Idols and Religion, which were easily overthrown by the Light of Human Reason and Philosophy. And as for the *Jews* and the First Heretics, they only made use of the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, and the Universal Belief of all the Churches in the World against them; and, in the Disputes that they had with them, they did not undertake to prove our Mysteries, but only that we ought to believe them: But, some time after this, the Heretics gave occasion to the Fathers to dive and examine these Mysteries more particularly, and to fix upon certain Words for expressing their True and Orthodox Sense; but they were forc'd to do this, by the Heresies that daily arose. At length, they came to compose Systems of Divinity, wherein they treated of and determin'd all the Articles of the *Christian* Religion, and what we were oblig'd to believe, and what not. *Origen* was the First of the Fathers, who compos'd a Body of Divinity in his *Book of Principles*: But he was not very successful in his Attempt; for, by following of *Plato*, and endeavouring to establish the *Christian* Religion from that Philosopher's Opinions, he fell into many gross Errors, which have tarnish'd his Memory ever since. It was not so with those, who taught the *Christian* Religion with the Simplicity of the Catechists, explaining the *Creed* from the Sacred Scriptures. In the following Ages, the Heresies of the *Arians*, *Eutychians*, *Nestorians*, &c. oblig'd them to explain more particularly the Mysteries of the Incarnation and the Trinity, by the Sacred Scriptures and the Universal Tradition of all the *Christian* Churches in the World; and they only reason'd upon the different

He introduces a new sort of Theology into the *Christian* Religion. The History of this new Theology.

Senses, that were given to the Passages of the Sacred Scriptures and the Fathers, whom they cited : But a few Years after, they, having rais'd many subtle and curious Questions in diving into these Mysteries, began to make use of Philosophy for explaining them. That of *Plato* was then most in vogue, and seem'd the most agreeable to the *Christian* Religion. This Philosophy was made use of by the Author of the Works attributed to St. *Denis* the *Arcopagite*, who wrote towards the end of the Fifth Century, and who treated of diverse Questions, in his Books of the Divine Names and of the Celestial Hierarchy, upon *Plato's* Principles. Some time after, *Boetius*, a Man well seen in *Aristotle's* Philosophy, made use of his Principles for explaining the Mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, which engag'd him into very many nice and subtle Questions. But St. *John Damascen* was the First, who undertook to treat Methodically of all the different Questions of Theology, and to reduce them to a regular System. In the Ninth Century *John Scot of Air* made use of the Method and Principles of *Aristotle* to solve several intricate Questions. In the Tenth Age, the most necessary and easy Studies being neglected, it was no wonder, that they apply'd not themselves to these abstracted and abstruse Questions. It was not till towards the middle of the Eleventh Century, that they began again to make use, in their Public Schools, of *Aristotle's* Philosophy, according to the Method of the *Arabians* : At first they made no use of it in Divinity ; but, having got their Heads full of those Principles, they insensibly brought them into Divinity, and made use of them, not only for answering and clearing of the ordinary Questions, but for forming of a great many new ones. *John* the *Sophist*, *Roscelin* and St. *Anselm* were the First that brought this Method in use ; and after them *Abilard*, *Gilbert de la Porré* and a great many others brought it in vogue by their Public Lessons. *Orthon* of *Frisingen* brought it first into *Germany* ; and in a small time after it prevail'd almost every where : But, it being a difficult Matter to tread in a new Path, and not to go astray, some of those, who first brought in this way of handling Theology, fell into a great many Errors, for which they were severely treated, by those who adher'd to the way of Teaching by the Doctrine of the Fathers. But the greatest Mischief of all was, that these Authors had very different Sentiments upon the most part of these Questions, which gave Rise to a great many Disputes amongst the Theologues ; and the Number of Questions increating every Day, and that every one imploy'd and stretch'd their Wit to the outmost, in finding out Reasons, drawn from the Logics and Metaphysics of the *Aristotelians* for sustaining their Opinions, the Number of their Disputes became almost innumerable ; and they were so obscure, and so full of Barbarous Terms and Quibbles, that it was impossible to understand them, without being very well vers'd in the *Aristotelian* Philosophy. It was for remedying of these Abuses, that *Peter Lombard*, Bishop of *Paris*, undertook to make a Collection of the Sentences of the Fathers, and principally of St. *Hilary*, St. *Ambrose*, St. *Jerome* and St. *Augustine*, upon the Principal Questions that were then in Agitation amongst the Scholastic Divines, as they were then call'd, believing by this to appease their Divisions, by the formal Decisions of these Venerable Fathers. This Collection was call'd *The Book of Sentences* ; a Title which was given at that time to the most of their Books in Theo-

logy; but this Book was esteem'd above all the rest, and at length was so highly approv'd of, that it was the only Book they taught in their Public Schools; and the Author, out of the respect that they bore him, was constantly call'd the *Master of the Sentences*. But the Scholastic Divines, not content with the Simplicity of this Work, compos'd large Commentaries upon it, which gave Rise a-new to their Debates, and many subtile Questions were brought in and debated, upon the Principles of the *Aristotelian* Philosophy. Amongst all those Commentators there were none so Famous as St. *Thomas Aquinas* and our Author; and tho' both of them follow'd *Aristotle*, yet they had very different Notions of things, which rais'd a great Division amongst the School-Men, some being of St. *Thomas's* Mind, and others of *Scotus's* Mind; and from their Authors they had the different Denominations of *Thomists* and *Scotists*.

Whilst our Author was at Oxford, he Explain'd the *Book of Sentences* An Account of his Works. to his Scholars, which we have now extant, with the Notes of some of his Followers, in Six Volumes in *Folio*; and, after he went over to *Paris*, he made a Compend of them, which we have extant in one Volume in *Folio*, and is Intitl'd *Reportata Parisiensis*. This *Book of Sentences* is divided into Four Books, and each Book into several Distinctions; and the Division of the whole Work is founded upon this Axiom of St. *Augustine*, That Science has Two Objects, Things and Signs; That the Things are of Two sorts, some, which we are only to enjoy, and others, that we are to use, that's to say, God and the Creatures. In the First Book he treats of the Things that we ought to enjoy, viz. the Three Persons of the Trinity and the Divine Attributes. In the Second he treats of the Things, that we are only permitted to make use of, that's to say, of the Creatures, in which he speaks of the Creation of the World, of the Fall of the Angels and of the Fall of Man, of Free-will, of Grace, of Original and Actual Sins. In the Third, he treats of the Mystery of the Incarnation, by which Men were deliver'd from Sin, of Faith, of Charity and the other *Christian* Vertues that we ought to practise, and of the Commandments of God that we are to obey for obtaining of Eternal Salvation. In the Fourth Book, he treats of the Signs or Sacraments of the Church, excepting the Seven last Distinctions, in which he treats of the Resurrection, of the Last Judgment and of a Future Life.

He Examines, in the First Distinction of the First Book, What the Things are that we ought to enjoy, and what they are which we are only to use? What it is to enjoy and what it is to use Things? What Persons they are, who are capable to use and enjoy these Things, and by what Means the one and the other is done? He decides all these Questions by the Principles of St. *Augustine*, who says, That we are to Enjoy God alone, that's to say, that it is to Him alone that we ought to adhere as to our ultimate End, to Love Him for Himself; and that we ought not to make any other use of the Creatures, but to Love them for God, and as they are serviceable to God. In the Second Distinction, he proves the Mystery of the Trinity by the Passages of the Old and New Testament. In the Third, he explains after what manner God may be known by the Creatures, and brings, for proving of the Trinity, all the Comparisons that can be taken from the Creatures, but more particularly that of the Soul, which is compo-

fed of many Faculties, tho' it be only the same Soul: But in the mean time he observes, that this Comparison does not exactly agree in every thing, and shows wherein the Difference lies. In the Fourth, he treats of this Question, *viz.* If it may be said that God the Father Engender'd Himself, or if it may be said that He Engender'd another God? And concludes with St. *Augustine*, That we ought to say, that God the Father Engender'd another Person, who is God, and the same with Him in Substance. In the Fifth, he examines another Question upon the Generation of the Word, *viz.* If we may say, that the Father has Engender'd the Divine Essence? Or, if the Divine Essence has Engender'd the Son? Or, if one Essence has produc'd another? Or, if the Essence be neither produc'd nor productive? He brings several Passages of the Fathers upon these Questions; and maintains, that we cannot say, that God the Father has produc'd the Divine Essence, or that the Essence has produc'd the Son, or that the Essence has produc'd another Essence; but that we are to say, that the Father has produc'd the Son and the Holy Ghost, who are Two Persons of the same Substance, and of the same Essence with the Father. In the Sixth, he asks, If the Father Engender'd the Son out of Free-will, or out of Necessity *volens aut nolens*? He Answers, with St. *Augustine*, That the Son of God was Engender'd according to Nature, and not according to the Will; for tho' God will'd his Generation, yet it was not an Effect of that Will. In the Seventh, he proposes yet a more subtile Question, *viz.* If the Father had a Will and a particular Power of Engendering his Son? For if it be answer'd affirmatively, it will follow that the Father had a Power and a Will which the Son had not; because the Son could neither have the Power nor the Will to Engender Himself. He answers this Difficulty, by saying, That Generation is neither an Effect of the Will, nor of Power, but of Nature, and that it is not a Being. Then he explains in what Sense St. *Augustine* says, That the Son had the Power of Engendering, that's to say, that it was not for want of Power, that He did not Engender. In the Eighth Distinction, he treats of the Nature of the Immutability, and the Simplicity of God, he says, that it is abusively, that we call Him a Substance; because there is nothing in God but what is God Himself. In the Ninth, he treats of the Eternity of the Generation of the Son. In the Tenth, he begins to speak of the Holy Ghost, and shews in what Sense He is call'd Charity. In the Eleventh, he proves that He proceeds from the Father and the Son. In the Twelfth, he explains in what Sense it may be said, that the Holy Ghost proceeds principally from the Father, to wit, because the Son, from whom He proceeds, likewise receiv'd His Nature from the Father; and he says, that 'tis in this Sense, that it is said, that the Father sent the Holy Ghost by the Son. In the Thirteenth, he shews, that the Mind of Man cannot conceive the reason of the Difference, that is betwixt the Generation of the Word and the Procession of the Holy Ghost; and shews in what Sense it is said, that the Holy Ghost is Engender'd. In the Fourteenth, he treats particularly of the Temporal Procession of the Holy Ghost, or of the Communication of the Holy Ghost, and says, that it is really given to Men, but that it is not Men, how Holy soever they be, that gives it, but the Father and the Son. In the following Distinction, he says, that the Holy Ghost sometimes gives Himself; and u-

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pon this occasion he Treats of diverse Questions concerning the Mission of the Son, and continues to Treat of them in the Sixteenth Distinction. In the Seventeenth, he Treats of many Questions concerning the Mission of the Holy Ghost. In the Eighteenth, he explains in what Sense the Holy Ghost is call'd a Gift, and in what Sense He is said to be given to us. In the Nineteenth, he Treats of the Equality of the Three Persons, and of Their Unity in the same Essence. In the Twentieth, he proves the Equality of Power among the Three Persons. In the One and Twentieth, he explains in what Sense it is said, that the Father is only God, the Son is only God and the Holy Ghost is only God. In the Two and Twentieth, he distinguishes the Terms that agree to the Three Persons in common, and not to any one of them in particular, as that of the Trinity; and those that agree to each of the Three Persons, that either express the Absolute or Relative Attributes of the Creatures, as Infinite, Being, Omnipotent, Creator, &c. and those that agree to one Person, without agreeing to another, as being Father, being Engender'd and being Given. He shews in the Three and Twentieth, that all the Terms, that have any relation to Substance or Being in general, cannot be apply'd in the Plural to the Trinity, but only in the Singular; so we say not, that the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are Omnipotent, tho' we say, that each of these Three Persons are Omnipotent. He excepts the Name of Person, which cannot be said of the Three Divine Persons in the Singular, but only in the Plural; for we cannot say, that the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are One Person, but that they are Three Persons, or according to the *Greeks*, Three *Hypostases*. In the Four and Twentieth and in the Five and Twentieth, he examines diverse Questions concerning the Terms of the Trinity, Unity and Distinction in speaking of the Trinity. In the 26, 27, 28 and 29, he Treats of the Relative Properties of the Three Divine Persons amongst themselves. In the 30, he Treats of the Relative Properties of God to Men, as His being their Creator &c. and makes it appear, that they import no Change in the Divine Nature. In the 31 he shews that the Equality and Resemblance of the Three Persons are not founded upon Their relative Properties, but upon the Identity of Their Nature. In the 32. he proposes two Principal Difficulties, *viz.* If the Father and the Son love one another by the Holy Ghost? And if the Father be Wise by the Wisdom He has Engender'd? He acknowledges, that these are very difficult Questions; yet he says, that there is in God a Love and a Wisdom that are common to the Three Persons, tho' the Son be a Wisdom that is neither the Father nor the Holy Ghost; and that the Holy Ghost is a Love that is neither the Father nor the Son, and yet notwithstanding there are not Two Wisdoms, or Two Loves in the Trinity. In the 33. he proposes this Question, If the Properties of the Persons be distinguish'd from the Persons Themselves and from the Divine Essence? He says, that they are not, and condemns the opposite Opinion as Heretical. In the 34, he sustains the same Opinion, and shews, that the Persons are not distinguish'd from Nature. In the 35, he begins to Treat of some of the Attributes of God that merit a particular Consideration; as His Knowledge, His Providence, His Will, His Predestination and His Power; and he shews, in this Distinction, that these Attributes are re-

lative to the Creatures. In the 36th he shews, that all things are present to the Knowledge of God, Good as well as Evil, tho' Evil be no Effect that proceeds from Him. In the 37th, he treats of the manner by which God is every Where, by His Presence, by His Power and by His Essence; and then transiently speaks of the manner, how Spiritual Creatures are in a Place, and how they pass from one Place to another. In the 38th, returning again to the Question of Prescience, he says, that Prescience is not the Cause of Things, if it be taken for a simple Knowledge; but if, under this Name, the Will, the Decree, and the Disposition be taken, then in that Sense it is the Cause of all Things: And this is the Reason, why God is not the Author of Evil; because he wills it not, nor ordains it not, tho' he knows of it. Then, towards the end, he gives that Famous Distinction of a Compos'd and a Divided Sense, *In sensu composito & in sensu diviso*, for explaining, how the Prescience of God cannot be false, tho' things may happen otherwise, yet 'tis impossible but that must happen which He foresaw, that's to say, that, if God foresaw it, it cannot be but it must happen; but it might be so that it will not happen, and then God did not foresee it. In the 39th, he shews, that the Knowledge of God is alwise the same; and is neither augmented nor diminish'd. In the 40th, he begins to treat of Predestination, and distinguishes it from Prescience, because Predestination has only a respect to the Good that God is to do; and here again he makes use of the Distinction in a Compos'd and Divided Sense, for explaining in what Sense it may be said, that none of the Predestinated are Damn'd, nor any of the Reprobated Sav'd. He makes Predestination to consist in an Eternal Decree of God, by which He has chosen those whom He pleas'd, and prepar'd Graces for them, and Reprobation in the Prescience of their Sins, in consequence of which, He has prepar'd Eternal Pains for them. In the 41st, he treats of the Causes of Predestination, and shews that 'tis purely Gratuitous, and that God has not chosen the Elect, because He knew that they would be Just; but that He choos'd them that they might be so by His Grace. In the 42d he passes from Predestination to Omnipotency, and explains, in what Sense God is Omnipotent. In the 43d Distinction, he proves, that God can do an infinite Number of Things that He does not do; and refutes the Reasons and Authorities of those, who affirm the contrary. In the 44th, he shews, that God could absolutely make things much more Perfect than He made them, if we have only a Regard to the Qualities of the Creatures, but not in respect of the Wisdom and Intention of the Creator; and then he adds, that God can do alwise what He has done, because He has alwise the same Power, tho' He cannot particularly do that which He hath already done. In the 45th, he treats amply of the Will of God, in its Nature, Effects and different Species. In the 46th, he explains in what Sense the Will of God cannot be without Effect, and in what Sense He Wills or Wills not that Evil should be done; He Wills not Evil, but He will not hinder Evil. In the Two following Distinctions, he proves, that the Will of God is alwise Efficacious, that all that He Wills will infallibly happen, and that nothing happens without His Will, altho' He approves not of all the Wills of Men; that He Wills the Effect of their Evil Wills, but that He does not will the Act of their Evil Wills.

He refutes, in the First Distinction of the Second Book, the Error of the Heretics, that admit of Two Principles, and makes it appear, that God Created Men and Angels, and treats in general of their Nature, and of the End for which they were Created. In the Second, he examines, at what Time and in what Place the Angels were Created. In the Third, he treats of the State in which they were Created, and says, that they were all Created in Justice, and that their Fall happen'd a few Minutes after their Creation. In the Fourth, he says, that they did not enjoy Perfect Happiness till they were confirm'd in Goodness. In the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Distinctions, he treats of diverse Questions concerning the Fall of the Evil Angels, and the Confirmation of the Good. In the Eighth, he proves St. *Augustine's* Opinion, who says, that the Angels have Bodies of Air; and, upon the Occasion of this Question, he examines, after what manner God appear'd to Men, and in what Sense it is said, that the Devils entred into the Bodies of Men. In the Ninth, he treats of the different Orders of Angels. In the Tenth, he examines, if there be Angels sent to Men from all their different Orders, and brings all the different Opinions of the Fathers upon these Questions. He proves, in the Eleventh, that every one of the Elect has a Guardian Angel, tho' he acknowledges, that the same Angel might be the Guardian of many Men: And then examines, how the Knowledge of Angels may increase. In the following Distinctions, till the Sixteenth, he explains the Work of the Creation. In the Sixteenth and Seventeenth, he treats of the Creation of Man, examines, in what his Resemblance with God consists, at what time his Soul was Created, and in what Part of the Body it is plac'd. In the Eighteenth, he treats of the Formation of the Woman, and endeavours to explain, why she was taken out of the Man's Side. In the Nineteenth, he treats of the State of Immortality in which the First Man was Created. In the Twentieth, he treats of the Manner how Men would have come to the World and been Nourish'd, in case that the First Man had continued in a State of Innocence. In the Twenty First, he treats of the Manner how the Devil tempted our First Parents. In the Twenty Second, he examines diverse Questions concerning the Quality and the Circumstances of the Sin of *Adam* and *Eve*. In the Twenty Third, he treats of and solves this Difficulty, Why God permitted Man to be tempted, knowing that he was to fall: And then treats of the Extent of our First Parents Knowledge. In the Twenty Fourth, he begins to speak of the Free-will and Grace of the First Man. And in the Two following Distinctions, he treats of Liberty and Grace, according to the Principles of St. *Augustine*. In the Twenty Seventh Distinction, he speaks of that Vertue and Merit, which is the Effect of Grace and Free-will. In the Twenty Eighth, he refutes the Errors of the *Pelagians*, and rejects those of the *Manicheans* and of *Jovinian*. In the Twenty Ninth, he returns to the State of the First Man; and, after having made appear, that Man in the State of Innocence, stood in need not only of an Operating but a Co-operating Grace for doing of Good, he treats of some Questions, about the manner of *Adam's* being turn'd out of *Paradise*, and of the Tree of Life, which had the Vertue of giving Immortality. He treats amply, in the Distinctions Thirty, Thirty First, Thirty Second and Thirty Third, of Original Sin, and examines, in what it consists, how

it passes from the Fathers to the Children, how it is remitted by Baptism, and if Children contract the Sins of their Fathers as they do Original Sin, &c. In the Thirty Fourth and Thirty Fifth, he treats of the Nature of Actual Sins. In the Thirty Sixth, he shews that there are Sins, which are, at one and the same time, both the Cause and Punishment of Sin. In the Thirty Seventh, he shews, that God is the Author of the Actions by which Men commit Sin, and is the Author of the Punishment of Sin, tho' He be not the Author of Sin. In the Thirty Eighth, he proves, that it is the End and Intention of the Will, that makes the Action Good or Bad, and God must be the End of every Action that is Good. In the Thirty Ninth, he gives Reasons, why of all the Natural Powers there is none but the Will that is capable of Sinning. In the Fourtieth, he continues to shew, That, to make an Action Good, there must be a good End and a good Intention. In the Fourty First, he brings several Passages from St. *Augustine*, for proving that the Necessity of Faith and a good Will for the curbing of our vicious Inclinations, and that a bad Will is the only Cause of our Sinning. In the Fourty Second, he examines, if the Will and the Action be two different Sins; and then enumerates Seven Capital Sins, and makes it appear, that they all spring from Pride and Covetousness. In the Fourty Third, he relates the Opinions of St. *Ambrose* and St. *Augustine* about the Sin against the Holy Ghost. In the Fourty Fourth, he shews that the Power of Sinning proceeds from God, but that we are to resist, to the utmost of our Power, the Temptations by which the Devil prompts us to Sin.

The Third Book begins with the Questions that concern the Incarnation; and, in the First Distinction, he gives the Reasons why it was more proper, that the Son should be Incarnate, rather than the Father or the Holy Ghost; and then inquires, If either the Father or the Holy Ghost could be Incarnate? In the Second, he Treats of the Union of the Word with the Flesh and the Soul. In the Third, he shews, that the Flesh, assum'd by the Word, was free of the Corruption of Sin; that the B. Virgin was then her self exempt from Sin; and that, in that very Moment in which the Humanity of *Jesus Christ* was Conceived, the Word was United to it. In the Fourth, he examines, why the Incarnation is rather attributed to the Holy Ghost, than to the other Persons of the Trinity; and in what Sense it is said, that *Jesus Christ* was Conceived and Born of the Holy Ghost. In the Fifth, he treats of the Union of the Person of the Son to the Human Nature, and makes it appear, that the Word is not United to the Person but to the Nature. In the Sixth, he explains these Propositions, God became Man, God is Man, and brings Three different ways of Explaining them by the Fathers. In the Seventh, he continues upon the same Subject. In the Eighth, he treats of this Question, If it may be said, that the Divine Nature was Born of the B. Virgin? And treats of the Two Births of *Jesus Christ*. In the Ninth, he brings several Passages from the Fathers, for the Adoration of the Flesh of *Jesus Christ*. In the Tenth, he proposes this Question, If *Jesus Christ*, as Man, be a Person? He sustains the Negative, that He cannot be call'd a Person; and then he proves, that the Quality of Adopted Son does not agree to *Jesus Christ*. In the Eleventh, he says, that we are not likewise to call *Jesus Christ* a Crea-

Creature, unless we add, consider'd as Man. In the Twelfth he proposes these Questions, If we may say of *Jesus Christ*, as Man, that He also was, and that He might not have been God? And he answers, That it cannot be said of the Person of *Jesus Christ*, but only of the Human Nature. He treats, in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth, of Knowledge, of Grace and of the Power of *Jesus Christ* as Man. In the Fifteenth and Sixteenth, he proves, that *Jesus Christ* took upon him all the Infirmities of Human Nature, Sin and Ignorance only excepted, and that He was subject to Sufferings as we are. In the Seventeenth, he treats of the Two Wills in *Jesus Christ*. In the Eighteenth, he treats of what *Jesus Christ* merited by Himself, and what He merited for us. In the Nineteenth, he treats of our Redemption. In the Twentieth, he examines, why *Jesus Christ* made Choice of the Death of the Cross for our Redemption, and if He could have done it by another way. In the Twenty First, he asks, If the Word remain'd united to the Flesh of *Jesus Christ*, as well as to His Soul after His Death? And he says, that it did. In the Twenty Second, he examines, if it might be said, that *Jesus Christ* was Man in the time when His Flesh remain'd in the Sepulchre. In the following Distinctions he treats of Faith, Hope and Charity. In the Thirty Third, he speaks of the Four Cardinal Vertues. In the Thirty Fourth, he treats of the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and principally of the Fear of God. In the Thirty Fifth, he explains the Difference that is betwixt Science and Wisdom. In the Thirty Sixth, he treats of the Connexion that is amongst all the Vertues, and especially with Charity. In the Four last Distinctions of this Book, he gives a summary Explication of the Decalogue.

The last Book is upon the Sacraments. In the First Distinction, he treats of the Definition of the Sacraments, the Reasons of their Institution, the Difference betwixt those of the Old and New Law, and speaks particularly of Circumcision, which he believes so necessary for the Remission of Original Sin, that he says, That the Children of the *Jews*, who died without it, were Damn'd. In the Second, after an Enumeration of the Seven Sacraments of the New Law, he treats of the Baptism of St. *John*. In the Third, he treats of the Baptism of *Jesus Christ*, and after having establish'd the Sentiment of St. *Ambrose*, that we may absolutely Baptize in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, he examines, at what time the Baptism of *Jesus Christ* was instituted, under what Form the Apostles Baptiz'd, why Water is made use of and no other Liquor, and how many Immersions or Dippings are to be made use of in Baptism. In the Fourth Distinction, he treats of the Effects of Baptism, how some receive the Sacrament and the Grace of the Sacrament, and how others receive the Sacrament without the Grace, and the Grace without the Sacrament. He proves, that Children receive both, and that they even receive Actual Grace, by which they are enabled for the future to do good Actions. In the Fifth, he makes it appear, from the Principles of St. *Augustine*, that the Baptism, administrated by a vicious and wicked Minister, is as good as that which is administrated by a virtuous and good one; because 'tis *Jesus Christ* that has the Power of Baptizing, which He does not communicate to the Ministers. In the Sixth, he observes, that the Bishop or the Priest are the Ministers of this Sacrament, tho' in Cases of Necessity it can be administrated by Laics,

yea even by Women; and that it is valid, tho' done by Heretics, providing that it be done in the Name of the Trinity: He says, that a Child cannot be Baptiz'd in the Belly of his Mother; and then treats of several other Questions, concerning the Form and Ceremonies of Baptism. In the Seventh, he treats of the Sacrament of Confirmation; and at first he observes, that the Form of this Sacrament is the Words of the Priest, which he pronounces when he anoints with the Holy Chrysm the Forehead of the Baptiz'd Person: He adds, that the Administration of this Sacrament has been alwise reserv'd to the Bishops, and that none but them can confer it, neither can it be reiterated. In the Eighth, he begins to speak of the Sacrament of the Eucharist; and, having given an Account of several Figures of it in the Old Testament, he treats of its Institution, of its Form, which he makes to consist in these Words, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*, of the Sacrament and of the Things it contains: He says, that we must distinguish Three Things in the Eucharist, the Sacrament, which consists in the Species of Bread and Wine, the Sacrament and the Thing it self, which is the proper Flesh and the proper Blood of *Christ*, contain'd under these Species, and the Thing which is not the Sacrament, that is to say, the Mystical Flesh of *Jesus Christ* or the interior Grace. In the Ninth, he distinguishes Two Ways of receiving the Body of *Jesus Christ*, the one Sacramentally, which is common to the Good and the Bad, and the other Spiritually, which is only for the Just. In the Tenth, he proves the Real Presence, and the Conversion of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*, and refutes those who believe that the Eucharist is only a Figure. In the Eleventh, he examines what the Nature of that Conversion is, and endeavours to make it appear, that it is a Substantial Conversion, so that the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ* are under the Accidents that cover'd the Substance of the Bread and Wine, which, by the Consecration, is annihilated and return'd to the *Materia Prima* or the First Matter: Then he refutes those who say, that the Substance of the Bread remains after Consecration, and gives a Reason, why the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ* are given to us under Two different Species, and why Water is mix'd with the Wine. In the Twelfth, he explains diverse Questions concerning the Species of the Eucharist, and says, that the Accidents remain without a Subject, that it is They that are broken and divided into several Parts: Then he speaks of the Quality of this Sacrament, of the Cause of its Institution, and of its Effects. In the Thirteenth, he acknowledges, that wicked Persons can Consecrate the Eucharist, but he denies that either Excommunicated Persons or declar'd Heretics can do it. In the Fourteenth, he begins to speak of Penance, and says, it may be consider'd either as a Vertue or as a Sacrament: Then he gives several Definitions of it, and shews, how and why we ought to be frequent in Performing of this Duty. In the Fifteenth, he proves that we cannot truly perform Penance for One Sin, unless we perform it for All our Sins. In the Sixteenth, he distinguishes the Three Parts of Penance, the Compunction of the Heart, the Confession of the Mouth, and the Satisfaction of Works, and speaks particularly of the Satisfactions that we ought to make for our Venial Sins: In the Seventeenth, he treats of Confession, and shews the Necessity of Confessing to a Priest, for obtaining a Remission

sion of our Sins. In the Eighteenth, he treats of the Power of the Priests, and the use of the Keys; and, after he has related the different Opinions of the Fathers about this, he concludes, that there is none but God, who can Bind and Unbind the Sinner, by blotting out the Stain of his Sin, and freeing him from Eternal Punishment; that the Priests Bind and Unbind, by declaring, that Men are Bound or Unbound before God, and in imposing a Penance upon them, and in receiving those into the Communion who were Excommunicated. In the Nineteenth, he speaks of the Qualities that the Ministers ought to have that are employ'd for the Binding and Loosing of Sinners; yet he owns, that the Wicked have the Power of the Keys as well as the Good. The Twentieth contains the Sentiments of the Fathers, upon Death-bed Repentance. In the Twenty First, he speaks of the Remission of Venial Sins by the Pains of Purgatory, of the general Confession of Venial Sins; and of the Punishment establish'd against Priests that reveal'd Confessions. In the Twenty Second, he proposes this Question, If we become guilty of the Sins that are once forgiven us by the Sins that we afterwards commit? And, after he has brought several Reasons for and against this, he leaves it undecided. In the Twenty Third, he speaks of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, which he believes to have been instituted by the Apostles, and the Effect of which is the Remission of Sins, and the Easing of the sick Person of his Troubles; and He proves, that this Sacrament may be reiterated. In the Twenty Fourth, he treats of the Functions and of the Dignity of the Seven Orders, and of the different Dignities that are amongst the Bishops. - In the Twenty Fifth, he treats of the Validity of the Ordinations perform'd by Heretics; and, after he has given the different Sentiments of the Fathers upon this, he seems to approve of their Opinion, who believe that those, who are Ordain'd in the Church, have the Power of Ordaining others, tho' they become Heretics; but who do not believe, that those whom they Ordain have the Power of Ordination: Then he speaks of the Ordinations of those, who are guilty of Simony; and of the Age requir'd for receiving of Holy Orders. In the Twenty Sixth, he shews the Antiquity of the Sacrament of Marriage. In the Twenty Seventh, he shews in what Marriage consists, and distinguishes the Promise of Marriage from a Marriage contracted by a present Consent. In the Twenty Eighth, Twenty Ninth and Thirtieth, he treats likewise of the Conditions that are requisite for making a valid Consent in Marriage. In the Thirty First, he explains the Advantages of Marriage, which are, Fidelity, Conjugal Love and Affection; and the Sacrament it self which conveys a hidden Grace; and then treats of the opposite Vices. In the Thirty Second, he treats of the Continence of Married Persons at certain times. In the Thirty Third, he narrates several Considerations of the Fathers, upon the Polygamy of the Patriarchs. In the Thirty Fourth, he treats of the Hinderances that render Persons incapable of Marriage, and that disannul the Marriage. In the Thirty Fifth, he shews, that a Wife and a Husband may separate from one another, upon the Cause of Adultery, and may be reconcil'd to one another again. He adds, that he who has committed Adultery with a Woman may Marry her after her Husband's Death, providing that he was not the Cause of the Husband's Death, and that he did not promise, whilst the Husband was alive, to

Marry her. In the Thirty Sixth, he treats of the Impediment that arises from the different Conditions and Ages of the Persons to be Married. In the Thirty Seventh, he treats of the Law of Celibacy amongst Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Sub-Deacons, and of the Decrees of Pope *Calixtus*, who declar'd their Marriages Null. In the Thirty Eighth, he treats of the Impediment of the Vow of Chastity. In the Thirty Ninth, he treats of the Impediment of the Difference of Religion. In the Fourtieth, Fourty First and Fourty Second, he treats of the Degrees of Affinity and Consanguinity. The other Distinctions contain diverse Questions upon the Resurrection, upon the State of the Blessed and of the Damn'd after their Death, upon Prayers for the Dead, upon the Invocation and Intercession of Saints, upon the Circumstances of the Last Judgment, upon the Inequality of the State of the Blessed, and upon the State and Pains of the Damn'd, which is the Fiftieth and Last Distinction of the Fourth and Last Book of the *Master of the Sentences*. And it is upon these Distinctions or Questions, that our Author has written Seven large Volumes in *Folio*, and has so much subtiliz'd upon them, that, ever since, he has been call'd, in the Schools, the *Subtile Doctor*.

Besides our Author's Commentaries upon the Four Books of *Sentences*, he has written a Speculative Grammar, which the Critics, for some time, falsely attributed to *Albert of Saxony*, a Monk of the Order of St. *Augustine*, and Large Questions upon all *Aristotle's* Logics, with the Commentaries of *Maurice*, Arch-Bishop of *Tuam*; these, with the Life of our Author, and the Testimonies of the Learned concerning him, make up One Volume in *Folio*. Then follows his Commentaries upon *Aristotle's* Eight Books of Physics, and Imperfect Questions upon *Aristotle's* Books of the Soul; these, with the Commentaries of some of his Followers, make up another *Folio*. The Third Tome contains several other Treatises of Philosophy upon *Aristotle*. The Fourth Tome is Commentaries upon all *Aristotle's* Physics, with several Metaphysical Conclusions and Questions. And the Last Tome contains the *Quodlibet's*, with the Commentaries of some of his Followers. And these are all our Author's Works, which he wrote during his Stay at *Oxford* and *Paris*. He liv'd not long after he went to *Cologne*; for he died the same Year, viz. 1308. of an Apoplectic Fit, upon the Eighth of *November*, in the 34th Year of his Age. And 'tis said, that he was buried so hastily, that his Spirits return'd to him after he was laid in his Grave; upon which *Jacobus Latomus*, an *Italian* Poet, made this Epigram.

His Death
and Chara-
cter.

*Quæcunque Humani fuerant Jurisque Sacratæ,
In dubium veniunt cuncta vocante Scoto. . .
Quid? quod, & in dubium illius fit vita vocata,
Morte illum simili ludificante stropa;
Quon non ante virum vita, jugularit adempta
Quam vivus tumulo conditus ille foret.*

But *Lucas Wadingius*, who writes his Life, and several others deny that ever he return'd to Life again. But whatever Truth be in this, 'tis certain, that, whilst he was alive, there was none equal to him for his prodigious Knowledge in all the Parts of Literature, as may be seen by the concurring Testimonies of a great many Learn'd Men, which *Lucas Wadingius* has collected in the First Volume of his Works, and annex'd

to his Life : But I shall only trouble the Reader with Two or Three of them. *Nicolaus Vernulæus* says, that, at the beginning of every Work, he alwise Invoked God's Assistance, and at the end return'd his Thanks, for having enabled him to perform it; and that he was so fervent in these his Devotions, that he had very often such Extasies and Raptures, that they have look'd upon him as a dead Person : During which time (says he) he was learning in Heaven, what he afterwards committed to Paper. *Joseph Scaliger*, in his Exercitations upon *Cardan de Subtilitate* 324. says of him, That there was nothing but what that Man's Incline was capable of; for he was a good Logician, Physician or Philosopher, Metaphysician, Mathematician, well seen in the Civil and Canon Law, and the greatest Theologue of his Age; only, as *Claudius Verder* observes of him (*Censur. in Aust.*) he was so delighted and pleas'd with the handling of New Questions, altogether useles and unnecessary, that that of the Seventh Chapter of *Ecclesiastes* may be fitly apply'd to him, V. 29. *Lo, this only have I found, that God hath made Man up right, but they have sought out many Inventions.*

Several Epitaphs and Poems have been made in Praise of this Author; the oldest of which was that upon his Tomb, in the Church of the Minorites at Cologne, nigh to the High Altar, at the end of the Quire, viz.

*Scotia me genuit, Anglia suscepit,
Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet.*

But this Tomb being defaced, another was erected with this Inscription upon it.

*Ante oculos saxum Doctorem deprimit ingens,
Cujus ad interitum sacra Minerva gemit.
Siste gradum, Lector, fulvo dabis oscula saxo
Corpus Joannis hæc tegit urna Scoti.
Anno milleno ter centum cum adderet octo
Postremum clausit letbo agitante diem.*

In *Philip Labbe's* Collection of Epitaphs, we have the following one, compos'd upon our Author by *Janus Vitalis* an Italian Poet.

*Quod nulli ante hominum accidit, viator,
Hic Scotus jaceo semel sepultus,
Et bis mortuus, omnibus Sophistis
Argutus magis atque captiosus.*

And *Dempster* gives another old Epitaph upon him, viz.

*Claudius hic rivus, fons Ecclesie, via, vivus
Doctus Justitie, studii flos, arca Sophie,
Ingenio scanderus, scriptura abditæ pandus.
Dux fuit hic Cleri, Claustræ lux & tuba veri.*

Robert Swinton, one of our own Poets, plac'd beneath his Picture the Two following Lines.

*Pingere vis Scotum, Sophiam depinge: Sophiam.
Pingere vis, Scotum pinge, Sophia Scotus.*

And lastly, that I may mention no more, there was put upon the Frontispice of the *Franciscanis* at *Bononia*, where his Doctrines were Taught, this Inscription.

*Scotia habet cunas, famam Orbis, funera Rhenus.
Cælum animam, hic magni spirat imago viri.*

From all these, and many other Testimonies of the Learn'd Men that have been in all the Ages since his time, it appears what Esteem they have had of him; and it must be acknowledg'd, that, if we consider the few Years that he liv'd, and the Number of the Books that he wrote, he was certainly one of the greatest Prodigies of Learning that any Age has produc'd.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *Grammatica Speculativa, a nonnullis Alberto de Saxonia Augustiniano falso adscripta.*
 - II. *Quæstiones uberrimæ in universam Logicam cum Mauricii a Portu Hibernici Archiepiscopi Tuamensis expositione. Prodiierunt scorsum Ven. 1512. & 1600. in 8vo.*
 - III. *Commentaria in 8 Libros Aristotelis.*
 - IV. *Quæstiones in Libros Aristotelis de Anima imperfectæ.*
 - V. *Tractatus de Rerum Principio.*
 - VI. *Tractatus de Primo Principio.*
 - VII. *Tractatus Theorematum 23.*
 - VIII. *Collationes 23.*
 - IX. *Physico-Theologicæ Collationes aliæ 4.*
 - X. *Tractatus imperfectus de Cognitione Dei.*
 - XI. *Quæstiones Miscellaneæ de Formalitatibus imperfectæ.*
 - XII. *Meteorologicorum Lib. 4.*
 - XIII. *Expositio in Metaphysicam Aristotelis.*
 - XIV. *Conclusiones Metaphysicæ.*
 - XV. *Quæstiones Metaphysicæ.*
 - XVI. *Quodlibeta & Commentaria in Lib. 4. Sententiarum.*
 - XVII. *Reportatorum Parisiensium Lib. 14.*
 - XVIII. *Quæstiones Quodlibetales 21.*
- Opera isthæc Scoti omnia, collegit notis fere perpetuis illustravit, & in 12 Tom. Distributa edidit Lucas Wadingus, Lugd. 1639. in Folio. Alia ejus Opera, & in his Commentaria in Genesim, Evangelia & Epistolas Pauli, Sermones de Tempore & Sanctis, & Tractatus de Perfectione Statuum enumerant Trithemius Balæus, Dempsterus & Wadingus, quæ nondum lucem aspexerunt.*

T H E

LIFE of *William Dempster*, Professor of Philosophy in the University of *Paris*.

THIS Gentleman was descended from the Family of *Curestone* (a), and was Born in the Reign of King *Alexander*. the III. In his younger Years he apply'd himself to the Study of the *Belles-Lettres* and Philosophy; and, having finish'd the Course of his Studies at Home, he resolv'd to improve himself by Travelling Abroad; and upon that Design he went over to *France*, where he studied for some time in the University of *Paris*, and was at length made one of their Professors in Philosophy. About this time *Raymond Lully* form'd a new Philosophy, the Teaching of which he endeavour'd to establish in all the Universities of *Europe*; and having made his Address to the University of *Paris*, as one of the most Considerable, they and the Parliament of *Paris* (b), order'd our Author to examine his Project.

His Birth and Education.

He goes over to *France*, where he enters into the University of *Paris*, and is made a Professor of Philosophy in that University.

This *Raymond Lully* was descended from an Illustrious Family of *Catalonia*, and Born in the Island of *Majorca* (c), in the Year 1236. He spent his younger Years in the Court of the Prince of *Majorca*. In the Fourtieth Year of his Age, he retir'd from the World, and entered into the Order of the *Minorites*. After which he apply'd himself to Letters, and in a very short time made a very great Progress in all the Sciences, and in the Oriental Languages. After this, he invented his New Method of Teaching the Sciences. This Method consisted in Ranking certain general Terms under different Classes, from whence sprung up an unintelligible Jargon, which made them imagine, that they understood All Things, when at the bottom they understood Nothing, as may be evidently seen in our Author's Examination of his Works; yet he endeavour'd to obtain a Permission from Pope *Honorius* IV. for Teaching it at *Rome*; But that Pope having rejected his Petition, he form'd to himself a Design of Converting the *Mahometans*. With this Resolution he sail'd to *Tunis*, where he had a Conference with several *Saracens*, the effect of which was, that he very narrowly escap'd with his Life, being oblig'd to go out of *Africa*, and to promise, that, if ever he return'd; he should be put to Death without any further Trial, where ever they could seize upon him. After this, he came to *Naples*, where he Taught his New Method, till the Year 1290. at which time he made another Journey to *Rome*, to obtain the Pope's Permission for Teaching it at *Rome*; but *Boniface* VIII. who was then Pope, would not permit him by any means to do it. Upon which he went to *Genes*, where he Compos'd several of his Books. From thence he went, by *Majorca*, to *Paris*, and, after he had Taught his Art for some time, he return'd again to *Majorca*, where he had frequent Disputes with the *Saracens*, *Facobites*.

He is order'd by the University and Parliament of *Paris* to examine *Raymond Lully's* Books. An Account of this Author and his Project.

N n n 2

(a) Vid. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 4. Pag. 235. (b) Vid. Præf. ad Exam. in brev. Artem R. Lully. (c) Mr. Du Pin Nov. Bib. Eccles. Tom. 11. Pag. 59.

cobites and *Nestorians*. After this, he went to *Genes* and *Paris*, to encourage his Disciples; and from thence went to *Rome* to solicit Pope *Clement V.* but he had no better Success with him, than he had with his Predecessors: Upon which he return'd to *Afric*, where he was imprison'd, in order to suffer Death, according to his Agreement with them; but at the earnest Solicitation of the *Genoese*, he was set at Liberty; and being set on board a Ship, he landed at *Pisa*, having lost all his Books in the Voyage by Shipwrack. As a Return of his Thanks to God Almighty, he immediately set himself about the Preaching up the Holy War; and having gather'd together some Money in *Italy* for that end, he went to *Avignon* to propose it to Pope *Clement V.* but, not being well receiv'd by the Pope, he return'd to *Paris*, where he Taught his Art till the Year 1311. that the Council of *Vienna* was call'd, to which he went and propos'd to them, the Erecting of Colleges in every Nation, for Teaching the Oriental Languages; To Unite all the Military Orders into one; To Prosecute the Holy War; And to Condemn the Writings of *Aurores*: But the Council rejected all his Propositions. Upon which they say, that he addicted himself to the Study of Chymie; and, after he had Taught it for some Years in *France*, *Spain* and *England*, he return'd to *Majorca*, and from thence sail'd to *Afric*, where he was put in Prison and so Rudely handled, that he Died of his Wounds in his Return, in a *Genoese* Ship, upon the 29th of *June*, in the Year 1315, in the 80 Year of his Age. The *Lullists* no wise lost their Courage by the Death of their Master, but endeavour'd to Propagate his Doctrine every where; upon which they were severely handled by *Nicolas Eymarie*, a *Dominican* Friar, whom Pope *Immoent VI.* had made Inquisitor-General in the Year 1356. The *Lullists* to be reveng'd on him, assisted underhand a Curate, who had a Debate with him concerning the Presence of the Trinity in the Eucharist, which had its first rise in the Kingdom of *Valentia*. The Curates there had a Custom of asking at dying Persons, to whom they gave the Sacrament, If they believed that the Father was there, that the Son was there and that the Holy Ghost was there? And they were taught to answer, That they did. A Curate having ask'd this Question at a Doctor, he answer'd, That he did not believe it; but that he believed it was the Body of *Jesus Christ*, who was the Son of God. This Answer being noised abroad, and the Affair being brought before the Inquisitor, it was found, that this Abuse was generally practis'd every where in *Spain*. The Cardinal of *Valentia* endeavour'd all that he could to suppress it, but to no effect; for they still grew worse and worse, by the Preachings that were daily made for and against it. Amongst those Preachers there was one, who in one of his Sermons said, That the Question the Curates ask'd, was Impertinent; and the Answer that the Dying Persons gave, was false. The *Lullists*, laying hold of this Opportunity, encourag'd the Curates to Vindicate themselves against that Doctor and the Inquisitor-General, who had approv'd of what he had said; and, that they might be equal with the Doctor who had made this Sermon against them, they caus'd one of their Number Preach a Sermon in the City of *Valentia*, wherein he said, That there were Three Things in *Jesus Christ*, His Body, His Soul and His Divinity: And if it be ask'd, If the Flesh of *Jesus Christ* be in the Eucharist; They ought to Answer, That they believe it is: And if it be ask'd, If the Soul of

Jesus Christ be there? It ought to be answer'd, That they believe it is: And if, in speaking of the Divine Nature to which the Soul and Body is inseparably united, they believe That to be the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost? Every good Christian ought to answer, I do believe it, I do believe it, I do believe it; because the Three Persons are Essentially there. Some of those, who were present at this Sermon, did take the Liberty to Contradict him; upon which so great a Tumult arose, that the Inquisitor-General, with all his Authority, could not get them appeas'd. Whereupon the Cardinal of *Valentia* call'd a Meeting of the Theologues, who prevail'd with this Curate to Retract what he had said in his Sermon: But it seems it was more out of Fear than Perswasion; for their Assembly had no sooner broke up, but this Curate went out of the City of *Valentia*, Retracted all that he had done, Appeal'd to the Holy See, and caus'd Cite the Inquisitor-General to answer for what he had done. Upon this *Emyric*, to Vindicate himself, and to Inform the Pope of the true State of the Affair, Compos'd a Treatise upon this Controversy, which he presented to Pope *Clement VII.* together with a Treatise against the Works of *Raymond Lully*, which the Pope gave to the Cardinal de *St. Angelo* to examine. After this, the *Lullists* insensibly dwindled into nothing, and *Aristotle's* Philosophy prevail'd so much every where, that *Patricius*, a *Venetian* Philosopher, who liv'd not long after this, says, That there were Twelve Thousand Volumes, Printed and extant in his time, upon *Aristotle's* Philosophy. So I shall not trouble the Reader with any further Account of them, but refer him to our Author, who gives a more particular Account of them and their Doctrines. The particular Year of our Author's Death is not known; but it was in the beginning of the Fourteenth Century. The Respect, that was put upon him by the University and Parliament of *Paris*, is a sufficient Proof of his being one of the best Scholars of his Age.

His Death
and Character.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *Examen in breuem Ramundi Lullii Artem.* Lugduni 1514 Typis Steph: Balaud. in 4to.

T H E LIFE of JOHN de FORDOUN, APresbyter of the Fourteenth Century.

THIS Author was Born, towards the latter End of the Reign of King *Alexander III.* at *Fordoun*, a small Village in the *Mer-^{His Birth Name and Education:}* nis, famous for the Burial-Place of *St. Paladius*, who was sent to *Scotland* by Pope *Celestine (a)*, and was Buried here in a Church

Q o o

Coni.

(a) Prosper contra Callator. in fine.

Consecrated to his Name; and which is corruptly call'd by the People to this Day St. Padie's Church (b). But Dempster thinks, that he was Born (c) long before this time; for he says, that he flourish'd in the Year 1210: This is certainly a Mistake; for we find by his History, that he did not begin to Write till the Year 1341. and that which seems to have led Dempster into this Mistake is, That there was another John Fordoun, as the Learned Dr. Cave Informs us (d), who flourish'd in the Year 1210. and was Confessor to John King of England. This Author gives us a very Mystical Information of his own Name, in the following Copy of Verses, prefix'd to his History:

*Incipies Opus Hoc Adonai Nomine Nostri
Exceptum Scriptis Dirigat Emanuel
Fantes Ornate Rustent, Dum Verbula Nestant.
Compilatoris Nomen Superis Elementis
Construe, quem lector precor ora scandere Caelum
Atque Pater Noster offer amore Dei Amen.*

He Studies
Theology
and enters
into Holy
Orders.

He writes
the History
of his Coun-
try.

An Account
of his Hi-
story.

Where the Initial Letters of the Words in the Three First Verses make, *Johannes de Fordoun*. We know nothing of the Particulars of his Education, but that, after he had finish'd his Studies in Grammar and Philosophy, he apply'd himself to Theology, and enter'd into Holy Orders, as we are inform'd by Macculloch his Continuator. Sometime after this he Form'd to himself a Design of Writing the History of his Country, from all the Ancient Records and Chronicles he could find; and accordingly, about the Year of our Lord 1341. having got together sufficient Materials, he began to write the History of Scotland from its remotest Antiquities to his own Time: But he lived only to Finish the first Five Books, and left the Materials to make up the rest. This was done by one Macculloch (e), Secretary to Shevez Bishop of St. Andrews, who flourish'd in the Year 482.

The Learn'd and Judicious Mr. Cambden has observed (f), That all the Scots Historians, who have wrote since Fordoun's time, have been very much beholding to his Diligence; and yet there are very Material Differences betwixt his Account of several things and theirs; of which I shall give the Reader a few Instances.

And First, concerning the Original of the *Scotish* Nation: He says, in the 9 Chapter of the 1st Book (g), That one Gathelus, Son of Neolus one of the kings of Greece, having displeas'd his Father, was Banish'd his Country and went into Egypt, where he was Married to Scota the King's Daughter. But he quotes another Chronicle, which saith, that he was sent to the Assistance of the King of Egypt against the *Ethiopians*, who gave him his only Daughter Scota to Wife; and this is confirm'd, from the Legend of St. Brendan. He cites another Chronicle, which makes him to be Grand-child to Nimrod, who was driven into Egypt, and there Married this Scota. After the Destruction of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, Gathelus was chosen King: But Discontents arising, he tells us in the 12 Chapter, how he and his Wife Scota, with their Company, put to Sea and made Westward, and after many Difficulties Landed in Spain, where,

(b) Spotiswood's Church Hist. Book 1. Page 7. (c) Dempster Hist. Eccles. Lib. 6. Pag. 288. (d) Gull. Cave Hist. Lit. Par. 2. Pag. 511. (e) See Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. Pag. 249. (f) Vid. Cambd. Brit. Pag. 712, (g) Vid. Scotl Chron. Lib. 1. Cap. 9. Vid. etiam Stillingfleet's, Origin. Brit. Pag. 250, &c.

where, after the Conquest of the Inhabitants, he built the City of *Britantia*. In the 14th Chapter he tells us, how that *Gathelus*, being wearied out with continual Wars, sent some of his Company to Sea, to find out an Island without Inhabitants; upon Discovery whereof they return'd to *Gathelus*, who soon after died. In the 16th, 17th and 18th Chapters we have an Account of *Gathelus's* Death, and how he charg'd his Sons and Friends to go and take Possession of that Island, which they accordingly did; and it was call'd from his eldest Son *Iber*, *Ibernia* or *Ireland*, and from his Mother *Scotia* or *Scotland*, "which Name was afterwards given to Part of *Britain*, because the Inhabitants of the other Island settled there (saith *Macculloch* in his *Additions to Fordoun*) as it appears from the Affinity of their Language and Customs, which," saith he, continues to this Day. In the 21st and 22d Chapters he cites an *Old Chronicle*, which says, That *Gathelus's* Posterity remain'd in *Spain* for 240 Years: After which arose a King, whom he calls *Micelius*, who had Three Sons, *Hermonius*, *Partholomus* and *Hiberus*, whom he sent into *Ireland* with a great Army. The Eldest return'd to *Spain*, but the other Two continued there. In 27th, 28th and 29th Chapters we are told, how that afterwards *Simon Brek*, with his Company, made a Third Descent into *Ireland*, who sprang from *Hermonius*, and carried along with him the *Marble Chair*, in which our Kings were Crown'd, and which *Gathelus* brought out of *Egypt*, as some think: But he cites other *Chronicles*, which say, that *Simon* drew it up from the Bottom of the Sea with an Anchor in a great Tempest, and therefore was preserv'd as a precious Relict; and he took it as a Prefage of his Kingdom, which was to continue where ever that Stone was, as the Soothsayers said in the Two following Verses,

*Ni fallat Fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
Invenient Lapidem, regnare tenentur Ibidem.*

Which is thus render'd in the *Old Translation of Hector Boetius's History* by Mr. *John Ballenden* Arch-Deacon of *Murray* and Chanon of *Ross*.

*The Scottis fall bruke that Realme, as Natyve Ground
(Geif Weirdis sayll nocht) quhair eue this Chai is found.*

From *Ireland*, *Esbachius Rothay*, a Descendent from *Simon Brek*, took Possession of the Island *Rothsay*. In the 30th, 33th and 37th Chapters, he gives us an Account, how the *Scots* associated with the *Picts* in the Northern Parts of *Britain*: But being hardly us'd, and having no Head, *Fergus* the Son of *Fercard* or *Ferard*, being descended of the Royal Family, went over and took upon him the Government of them, which he saith was before *Christ* 330 Years, in the Time of *Alexander the Great*, who carried the *Fatal Chair* into *Scotland*, and was Crown'd in it. In the Second Book, in the 12th, 13th and 14th Chapters, we learn how some time after, *Rether*, whom *Bede* calls *Renda*, succeeded, and how he endeavour'd to enlarge the Borders of the *Scots* in these Parts, and fix'd himself in that which from him was call'd *Retherdale*, but since *Rydisdale*: And this he makes the Second Coming of the *Scots* out of *Ireland*. After this he tells, how the Kings of the *Britains*, of the *Scots* and the *Picts* liv'd very lovingly together, till *Julius Cæsar* disturb'd them all, who, he saith, went to the very Borders of *Scotland*, and there

sent Letters to the Kings, both of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who both return'd Answers in *Latin*. But it hapned, that *Cæsar*, hearing of the Revolt of the *Gauls*, made a speedy Return out of those Parts. In the 28th, 29th, 30th, 37th and 38th Chapters, he relates the Bloody Wars of the *Scots* and *Picts* against the *Britains*, and how *Fulgentius*, Head of the *Britains*, join'd with the *Picts* and *Scots* against *Severus*, and kill'd him at *Tork*; and then gives an Account of *Carausius* and *Maximus*, and their Wars with the *Scots* and *Picts*, till he comes to *Fergus II.* with whom he begins his *Third Book*, and, between the Two *Ferguses*, he reckons *Forty Five Kings*; but he confesses, that he cannot distinguish the Times of their Reign as he can do those from *Fergus II.* because he could not find any full Account of them in any Ancient Annals or Records. And this is what he says of our Original, and of our first coming here into *Britain*.

This Author has Three different *Genealogies* of our Kings; and all of them differing from the *Genealogies*, that are given us by the Historians that have Flourish'd since his Time. The First is that of an old *Highlander*, which he gives us in the Tenth Book and the Second Chapter; where this *Highlander* repeats, in the *Irish* Tongue, all King *Alexander's* Predecessors, from him backwards to *Fergus I.* Son of *Fercbard*. This *Genealogy* differs considerably, not only from all our other Historians; but from *Fordoun* himself; for after *Fergus*, he leaves out *Ferithbaris*, and makes *Main* his next Successor; the next he calls *Arindal*, the same with their *Dornadilla*; his Son *Roveya*, their *Nothatus*; then *Recher*, the same with their *Reutber*; then *Tber*, the same with their *Thereus*, and here he omits their *Reutba*; then *Rosin*, the same with their *Josna*. After this, instead of *Fimmanus*, *Durstus*, *Euenus*, *Gillus*, *Euenus II.* *Ederus*, *Evenus III.* *Metellanus*, *Caractacus*, he has only *Dethach*, the same with their *Durstus*; *Faw*, *Aliela Euen*, the same with their *Evenus Ederskeol* and *Comermore*; then succeeded *Corbre*, their *Corbred*; after him *Dardiamore*, their *Dardanus*; then another *Corbre*, instead of their *Galdus*; and then *Lutbach*, their *Lugtacus*; then *Mogalama*, their *Mogallus*; then *Conor*, their *Conarus*; then *Erbath*, their *Erbodius*; then *Fiacbrath*, for their *Satrabel*; then another *Erbath*, their *Erbodius II.* But King *Donald*, our First Christian King, is intirely omitted. After *Erbodius* is *Atbirkiver*, their *Atbrico*; then *Findachar*, their *Findocus*, and *Nathalocus* is omitted, and so after him are the Two *Donalds*; for the next that follows is *Ibrinklind*, their *Cratblintus*; then *Fencormach*, their *Fincormachus*; after him *Romaich*, their *Romachus*; then *Engussa*, their *Angustamus*; then *Fetbelmech*, their *Fetelmachus*; then *Engusafich* and *Erbat*, instead of *Eugenius* and *Erbodius* his Brother, Grand-father to *Fergus II.* whose Father is call'd, in this *Genealogy* and by *Fordoun*, *Eirch*, their *Ertus*. The rest of the *Genealogy* agrees with the Historians. The Second *Genealogy* is from King *David*; and our Author says (Book 5. Chap. 59.) that he had it from Cardinal *Walter de Wardlaw*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, by which we plainly know in what Age *Fordoun* liv'd; for (b) *William Rae*, his Predecessor, died in the Year 1367. and *Walter de Wardlaw* was preferr'd to be Cardinal in the Year 1384. and died in the Year 1387. In this *Genealogy*, all, from *David* to *Fergus II.* is cut off with an *&c.* but the other Part from *Fergus*

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gus II. up to *Fergus* I. is preserv'd entire, and, excepting the Spelling of some few Names, exactly agrees with the former Genealogy, leaving out all those Kings, which are omitted in the other. The Third Genealogy is the Succession of *Kenneth*, who subdued the *Picts*; next to whom he places *Alpin*, their *Alpinus*; next to him *Achai*, their *Achaius*, leaving out *Convallus* and *Dongallus*; next to him is *Ethfin*, their *Ethfinus*, omitting *Soluathius*, *Fergus* III. and *Eugenius* VIII. next him is *Eugenius*, omitting *Mordacus*; next to him is *Dongard*, the Son of *Donwald Brek*, omitting *Ambirkilethus*, *Eugenius* VI. *Eugenius* V. *Malduinus* and *Ferquard*; next to *Donal-brek*, their *Donald* IV. is *Eugenius*-bind, their *Eugenius* IV. omitting *Ferquard*; next to *Eugenius* is their *Aidanus*, omitting *Kenneth* I. then *Gouran*, their *Conranus*, omitting *Kinnatillus*, *Convallus* and *Eugenius* III. then *Dongard*, omitting *Congallus* and *Constantine* I. and *Fergus* II. omitting *Eugenius* II. So that, by this Genealogy, there were but Ten Kings betwixt *Fergus* II. and *Kenneth*, whereas all our Historians make Twenty Eight. In the Sixth Book he gives us an Account of the Succession of the Bishops of *Kilremont* or *St. Andrews*, from the time of the Expulsion of the *Picts*, and of the Extirpation of the *Killedees* or *Culdees*, first by *William Wisbart* Bishop of *St. Andrews* in the Year 1273. and next by his Successors, *William Fraser* and *William Lamberton*, Parson of *Campsay* and Chancellor of the Church of *Glasgow*. This Bishop, having sworn Fealty to *Edward* King of *England*, was by him prefer'd to the See of *St. Andrews*; but the *Culdees*, who claim'd a chief Vote in the Election of the Bishop, would not give their Consent to *Lamberton's* Promotion; for before the Abby was founded (i), the *Culdees* were the only Electors of the Bishop, but, being afterwards excluded by a Bull of Pope *Innocent* the II. the Election was committed to the Prior and Chanons; whereupon arose a great Controversy amongst them, which, by the Authority of good King *David*, was agreed upon this Condition, That so many of the *Culdees*, as would become Chanons and enter into the Monastery, should have a Vote with them: But to elude this Agreement, a Mandate was procur'd from the Pope to admit none into the Convent, without the Advice of the Prior and most part of the Chanons, by which means the *Culdees* were kept out, and quite depriv'd of having any Vote in the Election of the Bishop. *William Cuming*, *Præpositus Keldeorum*, as our Author calls him, or their Provost, thinking to recover their Right by the Assistance of the Court of *England*, appeal'd to *Rome*. Upon which both he and the Bishop went thither to debate their Rights; but at length the Bishop prevail'd with the Consistory to decide in his Favour, and he was Consecrated by Pope *Boniface*, in June 1298. and after this we hear no more of the *Culdees*.

These *Killedees* or *Culdees* were a Religious Order of People, of whom we have this particular Account in the Register of the Priory of *St. Andrews*; which was written some time before our Author's History. There liv'd in the Fourth Century one *Regulus*, a *Græcian* Monk, in *Achaia*, who had a Vision or a Dream, whereby he was order'd to go to the City of *Patras*, where the Apostle *St. Andrew* suffer'd; and to bring along with him the Arm-Bone, Three Fingers and as many Toes of that Apostle, and to take them to an Island call'd *Albion*, situated in the most Northern Parts of the World. This Dream having made a great

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(i) See Spotswood's Hist. Book 2. Pag. 51.

Impression upon his Mind, he and several of those that were under him put to Sea, and having taken up these Reliques, the Ship in which they were, by various Tempests was at last driven in to the Land of the Picts, upon the Eve of St. Michael, and landed at *Mukros* now call'd St. Andrews. *Humius* King of the Picts being advertis'd of all this in a Dream the Night before their Arrival, he went from his Dwelling-place at *Forteviot* to *Mukros*, which was afterwards call'd *Kilremont*, from the Kings making it the Principal Church of his Kingdom, in Honour of St. Andrews; for, as the Bishop of St. Asaph has rightly observ'd, *Keil* or *Cylle* both in the *Welsh* and *Irish* Tongues signifies a Cell (*k*); and, as Bishop *Stillingfleet* (1) has observ'd, *Remont* is the same with *Mons Regius*, or the King's Hill, *Rhy* or *Ree* signifying the King in *Irish*: So that the King having given them a Hill to build their Cell or Church upon (for in these Days all their Churches were nothing but little Cells, or Monasteries, where they had their Oratories for Divine Worship:) It was call'd *Kilremont*, or the Church upon the King's Hill; and the Clergy who belong'd to this Church were call'd *Killedees* or *Guldees*, or those who had Houses allotted for them, for attending upon the Service of that Church, for *Tee* or *Dec* signifies a House in the *Irish*. *Humius* the Pictish King, having settled *Regulus* and his Companions at St. Andrews or *Kilremont*, he was chosen to be their Bishop; for so he is call'd in this Register, and all his Successors are call'd by our Author Bishops of St. Andrews de *Kilremont*. By this Register we likewise find, that these *Keldees* did not live by the Statutes of the Holy Fathers, that's to say, of those Fathers who instituted Monkish Orders, but that they had some things in Common, and others in Property, That after they were made *Keldees*, they were not allow'd to have their Wives in their Houses, nor any other Women. They, and they only, were the electors of the Bishop. They divided the Offerings at the Altars in Seven Parts, Five of which belong'd to themselves, and One to the Bishop, and another to their Hospital, which was a Lodging for Strangers, of whom they could not receive above Six at once: But after the Hospital came into the Hands of the *Canon Regulars*, they receiv'd all the Sick, and kept them there till the time of their Recovery or Death, having a Chaplain and Two Friars constantly attending them. This Order of *Keldees*, which was first settled at St. Andrews under *Regulus*, came afterwards to spread through the whole Kingdom, and there was hardly a considerable Church in the Nation but had so many appointed for the Service of that Church, and who, as I have said, were call'd the *Kil-dees* of that Church; and our Kings and Bishops, for their Service, gave them many Lands and Privileges; for by the same Register of the Priory of St. Andrews we find, that King *Malcolm* and Queen *Margaret* gave them *Villam de Balchristin*, and their Son *Ethelradus* Abbot of *Dunkel* and Earl of *Fife*, gave to the *Keldees* at *Dunkel* the Lands of *Admore*; and because he was under Age, *Alexander* and *David*, his Brothers, did afterwards confirm his Gift in the Presence of *Constantine* Earl of *Fyfe* and of *Nesse*: *Cormac*, *Malnechte*, *Thuadel* and *Augustinus* design'd *Filii Sacerdotum de Abernethy*, and the Bishops of *Kilremont* gave them several other Lands and Churches mention'd in the Excerpt of the said Register. From this Account of the First Rise and Institution of the *Keldees*, it will appear.

pear how ill founded that Fable is, of our Churches being Govern'd by them, before we had Bishops.

In the Third Book and First Chapter he gives us an Account how the *Scots* were Restored to their Country, after they had been Expell'd by *Maximus* the Roman Præfect, in these words "After the Death of *Maximus* more Troubles following in the *Roman* Empire; the *Picts* and the *Scots* did Negotiate a Mutual Peace and sticter Alliance, in order to recover their Country again: For *Maximus* had made use of the *Picts*, to drive out the *Scots*, and put Garisjons among the *Picts* to keep them under, and upon this Agreement, *A. D.* 403 in the Sixth of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, *Fergus* the Son of *Erk*, the Son of *Ethadins* the Brother of *Eugenius*, who was driven out by *Maximus*, came with his two Brothers, *Loarius* and *Tenegus*, and great Supplies of *Scots*, from the Islands of *Ireland* and *Norway*, whither they were driven: The *Picts* to prevent all Suspicion of Treachery, Surrender'd up their Forts to *Fergus*, (Chap. 2.) who now became King of all *Scotland*, i. e. of all that Part, which is beyond *Drum-Albain*, as well as on this other; which how he came to, (he saith) doth not appear, whether by the Sword, or any other Right, none of his Predecessors having any Power there. The *Picts* and *Scots* being thus United, their first Work was to drive out the *Romans* and *Britains* from their Country; and then to Invade *Britain*, which was then left Destitute of any Defence: And so by their IncurSIONs they either kill'd the Common People, or made them Slaves. Then, in the Third Chapter, he shews from *Bede*, how that from that time, the *British* Part of the Island being spoil'd of all their Forces, which, by the Rashness of the Tyrants, were taken away and never returned, they became a Prey, being altogether Ignorant of War: And at length, were suddenly brought under the Power of the *Scots* and *Picts*, for many Years, whom *Bede* calls *Transmarine Nations*, not because they were Settled without *Britain*, but because they were remov'd from the Possessions of the *Britains* by two Arms of the Sea, whereof the one was from the East, and the other from the West Sea, being the Rivers of *Forth* and *Clyde*. Upon the frequent IncurSIONs of the *Scots* and *Picts*, the *Britains* sent Messengers to *Rome*, with Letters and lamentable Petitions, imploring Aid: Whereupon an Armed Legion was sent to them, who drove back the *Scots* and the *Picts*; and perswaded the *Britains* to Build a Wall for their own Security. For says *Gildas*, "The *Romans* told the *Britains* plainly, That they were not at leisure to bring over Legions as often as their Enemies Invaded them; but they must Train up their own People to Arms, to Defend themselves, their Wives and Children, against a sort of Men no ways stronger than themselves. And to encourage them the more, they Built a Wall of Stone from Sea to Sea, and Forts on the Shoar, and Exercis'd them in Arms, taking their leave of them, and telling them they must expect their Return no more. And *Bede* agrees in all this with *Gildas*, only he enlarges a little more upon the Description of the Wall, saying, "That it was Eight Foot in Breadth and Twelve in Highth, and that it Stood where the Wall of *Severus* Stood, being all made of Stone, and not of Turf, as that unserviceable Wall was, which the *Britains* had before without Skill or Direction Built for themselves. It hath been much Debated a-

mong the Antiquaries, where this last Wall stood (*m*), whether in the place where the former of Turf was rais'd by the *Britains*, between the two Firths; or where *Adrian's Wall* was first Built, between the *Tine* and the *Esk*: *Bede* puts a great Distance between these two Walls, and makes the former to have been between the Two Firths, beginning at a Place call'd *Penclun* two Miles from *Abercorn*, and ending in the West near *Alcluyd*, which, saith he, is a Rock in the River *Clyde* (which is now call'd *Dumbarton*;) but the latter Wall was from Sea to Sea in a direct Line, between the Cities there Built for Security, against Incurfions, and it stood in the Place of *Severus's Wall*. Our Author in his Third Book 4. 5 and 7 Chapters distinguishes between the Old Wall call'd *Grimyse-dyke*, from *Grime* a *Britain*, (whose Daughter *Fergus* Married, and after his Death Ruled over the *Scots* during his Grand-child's Minority, and which Wall this *Grime* overthrew, and so Recover'd the Ancient Possessions due to him, as descended from *Fulgentius*) and the other Wall Built where *Severus's* stood, and he gives very different Descriptions of them; the former Wall, he saith, begins from the East, upon the South-side of the *Scottish* Shoar, near a Village call'd *Karedin*, and then for twenty two Miles crosses the Land, leaving *Glasgown* on the South, and ends on the Bank of the River *Clyde* near *Kirk-Patrick*. The other, he saith, begins on the East in the Southern Bank of the *Tine*, to *Gaitshaved* or *Goatshad*, where *Severus*, saith he, a long time before had made a Wall and a Trench over-against *Newcastle*, and so it continued to the River *Esk* call'd *Scotishmath*, for 60 Miles, and ends near *Carlisle*, on the West; but *Buchanan* contends (*n*), that *Severus* his Wall was where *Graham's* Dike was, and at least Eighty Miles distant from *Hadrian's Wall*, which he proves from Antiquities there found, and the Square Stones taken up. Which do sufficiently prove, as Bishop *Stillingfleet* has observed, an Ancient Stone Wall to have been there, but not that of *Severus*, and the Roman Inscriptions found there alwise mention *Antoninus*, and not *Severus*; *John Major* (*o*) places *Severus's* Wall, as our Author does, between the *Tine* and the *Esk*, Arch-Bishop *Usher* (*p*) endeavours to clear all this, by yielding to *Buchanan*, that the *Scottish* Wall was made of Stone, viz. by the Romans, under Gallio *Ravennas*, and by proving, that *Bede* was Mistaken as to *Severus's* Wall being made of Turf before, which was the Reason that he thought it turned into Stone at this time, it being not likely, that the Romans would bring the *Britains* at least Eighty Miles back, and put them to Defend a Wall so very much longer, than the other; but I think Bishop *Stillingfleet's* Opinion much more Probable, who thinks that *Severus's* Wall was now Repair'd, and a larger Scope allow'd for the *Picts* and *Scots*; and this seems to be very plainly Intimated by our Author, who tells us in the 10 Chapter of his Third Book, "That when the *Scots* made a new Incurfion, they "open'd Passages in the Wall, from whence it was call'd *Thirle-* "Wall, *Murus perforatus*; and Bishop *Usher* (*q*) grants that a Place call'd *Thirle-Wall* stood on the Borders of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*; and since our Author says that *Thirle-Wall* was Built by *Severus* upon the *Tine*, therefore *Bede* seems to have been in the Right, as to *Severus's* Wall, but only Mistaken in thinking that it was made of Turf; be-

(*m*) Vid. *Stillingfleet's* Origin. Britan. Cap. 5. Pag. 298. (*n*) Hist. Lib. 4. Rege 27. Lib. 5. R. 41. (*o*) Lib. 1. Cap. 14. (*p*) Primord. Pag. 605. 1024, &c. (*q*) Primord. Pag. 1028.

before which it was built of Stone by *Severus*, and accounted One of the greatest Works of the Roman Empire; which was impossible to be built of Stone a-new, by one Legion and the Help of the Country, but might very well be repair'd, and made defensible against the Scots and the Picts. The Learn'd *Christopher Cellarius*, in his Book *de Notitia Orbis Antiqui* (r), thinks, that there were Three Walls built by the Romans, against the Incurfions of the Scots and Picts; the First by *Hadrian* in *Northumberland*, and this he asserts from the Authority of *Spartian* (f), who says, that *Hadrian* was the First that built a Wall of Eighty Miles in length, which separated the Barbarians, as he calls them, from the Romans. The Second Wall, he thinks, was built further North by the Emperor *Antoninus*, and this he asserts upon the Authority of *Capitolinus*, who says, *Alio muro Cespititio submotis Barbaris ducto*; now, from these Words, *submotis Barbaris*, he thinks that it evidently follows, that the Emperor *Antoninus's* Wall is different from that of *Hadrian's*, and this Conjecture he endeavours to establish by an old Map of *England*, mention'd by *Cambden*, wherein this Wall is different from these built by *Hadrian* and *Severus*; and *Philippus Britius* following *Cambden*, draws a Wall obliquely from *Esk* to the Mouth of *Tweed*, *Quod Tacitus*, says he, *vocat Taurum Æstuarium*: But both he and *Cambden* are mistaken in thinking that the *Taurum Æstuarium* was *Tweed*, for the *Taus* mention'd by *Tacitus* is the River of *Tay*, in *Perth-Shire*, as has been abundantly proven, by the Learn'd *Sir George Mackenzie* in his Answer to the Bishop of *St. Asaph* (t). The Third Wall he thinks, was Built by the Emperor *Severus* betwixt *Clyde* and *Forth*, being 32 Miles in length; and this he asserts upon the Authority of *Eutropius* and *Bede*, and says, that they who make it 132 Miles in length, have not rightly understood *Eutropius*, being deceived by the Authority of *Pænius*, whom he calls the Greek *Metaphrastes*.

This History of *Fordoun's* was so universally esteem'd, that there was hardly a Monastery in *Scotland*, but had a Copy of it, and it was continu'd by several Hands; but I shall only give the Reader an Account of the most Remarkable Ones, that are now to be found. 1. That which *D. Gale* Publish'd at *Oxford* was from the same Manuscript, which belong'd formerly to *Hector Boetius*, and Ends with the Eleventh Chapter of the Fifth Book. 2. That which is in *St. Bennet's College* at *Cambridge*, was taken Notice of long ago by *Dempster* and *Pits* (u); and a late Author tells us, that more than the half of this Copy is destroy'd by the Rats and the Mice (w), which agrees with *Vossius's* Account of it (x). 3. That of the *Cottonian Library* by *Mr. Selden's* Account (y) comes to the Year 1360. 4. That of *S. James's Library*, has likewise considerable Additions (z). 5. The *Black Book* of *Scoon* was nothing else but a continuation of this History, by *Macculloch* a Monk of that Monastery, as it appears from the Abstract, that *Sir James Balfour* made of that Book. 6. The like may be said of the *Black Book* of *Passy*, as it appears from the Observations made upon it by the Learn'd Bishop of *Carlisle* (a). 7. That in the College Library of *Edinburgh*, is one of the most Noble MSS. Copies we have of it, being writ in a very fair Hand

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(r) In *Hadriano* Cap. 11. (f) In *Ant. Pio*, Cap. 5. (t) Pag. 77, 78, 79. (u) *Dempst. Hist. Eccl. ubi sup. Pitt. Pag. 277.* (w) *Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. Par. 3. Numb. 1338.* (x) *De Hist. Lat. Lib. 2. Cap. 56.* (y) *Præf. ad. 10 Scrip. Pag. 19.* (z) *Vid. Præf. D. Gale Pag. 15.* (a) *Scots Hist. Lib. Pag. 93.*

upon *Vellum*. The Author of this Continuation of *Fordoun* tells us, that he undertook it at the earnest desire of *David Stuart de Rossiffe*; that the first Five Books were Compil'd, and Finish'd by *Fordoun*, a venerable Presbyter; and that he had provided Materials for the most of the rest, which he had Digested into that Order, and very carefully he distinguishes his own Interpolations by the Word *Scriptor*, from the Original Text, which is Marked with *Auctor*. At the End of it some Monkish Verses are written in Commendation of the Work, whereof these are Four:

*Continet iste Liber actus gesta Venerandos
Regum Pontificum sic procerum Populi.
Quinque libros Fordoun, undecim Auctor arabas:
Sic tibi clarescit, sunt sedecim Numero.*

The Author of this Continuation Flourish'd in the Year 1440, as it appears from this Passage, in the End of the Eighth Chapter of the First Book. *Ad presentem diem hujus Scripturæ qui est xii dies Nausimbris Anni Domini MCCCCXL.* 8. That in the Library of the College of *Glasgow* is nothing else but a Transcript of that of *Edinburgh*. 9. That of the Library of *St. Andrew's* is in Royal Paper, and in a more Modern though less legible Hand, than that at *Edinburgh*; it is likewise in Sixteen Books and continued by *Macculloch*. 10. The Book of the *Cartusians* of *Perth*, and that which belongs to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Cromerty*, are nothing else but Copies and Continuations of this History; and I shall give the Reader a full and particular Account of this Copy of the Earl of *Cromerty's*, in the Life of *Walter Bommaker*, his Lordship having granted me the use of it. 11. That which belongs to the Earl of *Murray*, is continu'd by *Patrick Russel* a *Cartusian* Monk, and differs very little from that of *Edinburgh*. Lastly, there is one in the *Scots* College in *Paris*. These are the most considerable Copies and Continuations of *Fordoun's* History that we now know of.

Some have taken this Author to be the same with *John de Fordham*, Abbot of *Ford* in *Devonshire* and Confessor to *John* King of *England*, as we have formerly observed; others, for *John Fordham* Prior of *Worcester*, who flourish'd in the Year 1423 (b); and others, for *John de Fordham*, who was Canon of *Tork*, and Consecrated Bishop of *Durham* in the Year 1381 (c). But as the Bishop of *Carlisle* has observed (d), *He, who knew his own Name best, has Spell'd it otherwise, and left no Room for such wild Conjectures.*

His Death
and Character.

This Author must have Died towards the latter End of the Fourteenth Century; for as the above-cited Prelate says (e), "We have no Reason why we should not believe, that that Copy which is in the Cottonian Library, and which comes as low as the Year 1360, as well as that in the King's Library in *S. James's*, may not be the Author's own Work; since in the Part that is already Publish'd, we find a Quotation (f) out of *R. Higden's Poly-Chronicon*. So that *Fordoun* himself must have lived after that Historian, since no Man doubts, but the first Four Books were all of his own Composition. As for our Author's History, we may easily Conjecture in what esteem it was, from the many Copies, that we still have of it, and that (as we have formerly observ'd) there

(b) Monast. Angl. Tom. 1. Pag. 158. (c) Angl. Sacr. Vol. 1. Pag. 774. (d) Scots Hist. Lib. Pag. 86. (e) ubi sup. Pag. 91. (f) Lib. 4. Cap. 36.

there was hardly a Monastery, but had a Copy of it, so that the Bishop of St. *Asaph* upon his Second-hand Observations, had no reason to say (g), That it was a Book no more worth Consulting, than Printing. The Learn'd Bishop *Stillingfleet* says, That the most of all our Historians, that have written since his Time, have been very much oblig'd to him; and tho' he makes him the Ancientest Historian that we have, yet he acknowledges that he had several Ancient Chronicles out of which he compos'd his: But he endeavours not only to invalidate his Authority, but likewise that of all our other Historians, from the different Genealogies that they have of our Kings, and the different Accounts that they give of several Transactions. This would overthrow the Authority of all History, there being hardly Two Historians in the World to be found, that agree in their Relations of the most memorable Transactions, but more especially in that of their Antiquities: So that when *Hector Boetius* and our other Historians give a more full and distinct Account of things than *Fordoun* has done, all that in Justice should be inferr'd from thence is, that they have had very different Memoirs, from whence they compos'd their Histories.

(g) Hist. Account Pag. 134.

The Catalogue of his Works.

Scoti-Chronicon inter Scriptores xv. a. D. Tho. Gale, Edit. Oxon. 1691.
in Folia

T H E

LIFE of JOHN BASSOL, Of the Order of the Minorites.

THIS Author was Born in the Reign of King *Alexander III.* In his younger Years he apply'd himself to the Study of the *Belles-Lettres* (a) and Philosophy, after which he went to the University of *Oxford*, where he apply'd himself to the Study of Theology, under his Country-man the Famous *John Scot of Duns*, with whom he went over to *Paris* in the Year 1304. And having study'd for some time in that University, he entred into the Order of the *Minorites*, in the Year 1313. After this he was sent by the General of his Order to *Rheims*, where he apply'd himself to the Study of Medicine, and taught there for Seven or Eight Years, with great Applause, upon the

His Birth and Education.

He goes to the University of *Oxford*, where he studies Theology.

He goes over to the University of *Paris*, and enters into the Order of the *Minorites*.

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(a) Vid. Guil. Cave, Hist. Liter. Par. 1. Phil. Labbe de Script. Eccles.

He goes to
Rheims,
where he
studies
Medicine.

And from
thence to
Meblin,
where he
dies.
His Chara-
cter.

Master of the Sentences; in the Year 1322 he was sent to *Mechlin* in *Brabant*, where he spent the Remainder of his Days in Teaching of Theology, and died in that City in the Year 1347.

We have a large Folio of this Author, upon the *Master of the Sentences*, wherein every Question is so regularly and orderly handled, that he is stil'd by the School-Men *Doctor Ordinatifissimus*, or the most orderly Doctor; for during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, the most Noted and Eminent School-Men were distinguish'd by such Titles; thus, *St. Francis of Assis* was call'd the *Seraphic Doctor*; *Alexander Hales*, the *Irrefragable Doctor*; *Thomas Aquinas*, the *Angelical Doctor*; *Hendricus Bonicollius*, the *Solemn Doctor*; *Gulielmus Durantes*, the *Speculator*; *Richard Middleton*, the *Solid Doctor*; *Egidius Columna*, the most *Founded Doctor*; *Johannes Scot*, the *Subtile Doctor*; *Francis Mayron*, the *Acute Doctor*; *Durandus a S. Portiano*, the most *Resolute Doctor*; *Petrus Aureolus*, the *Eloquent Doctor*; *William Ocham*, the *Singular Doctor*; *Thomas Bredwardin*, the *Profound Doctor*; *Joannes Ruysbrok*, the *Divine Doctor*; and several such Titles as these were given them: But tho' our Author was the most Regular and Accurate Writer that was amongst them, yet there is to be found in his Works all or most of the Faults that are charg'd upon the School-Men; the First of which is their extravagant Opinion of *Aristotle's* Philosophy, and *St. Thomas of Aquin's* Works. How much Prejudice this has done to the *Christian Religion*, has been abundantly shown by several Eminent Pens; and, if we may believe a late Famous Author (b), had it not been for the Respect that the Fathers of the Council of *Trent* bore to *Aristotle's* Philosophy, they had not made so many Articles of Faith, as they did: And it seems pretty odd, that at that very time that *Thomas Aquinas* wrote his Commentaries upon *Aristotle's* Works, they stood prohibited by a Decree of Pope *Gregory IX.* and of late, almost in our time, (c) a Proposal was made at *Rome* to Pope *Gregory XIV.* That *Aristotle's* Philosophy might be banish'd the Schools, as having too much in it of Sophistry and unbecoming Notions of God and Providence, and that *Plato's* might be order'd to be taught in its Place, as being more agreeable to the *Christian Religion* and Sense of the Fathers; and above Forty Propositions were then produc'd, wherein *Plato's* Consonancy was shown, in all which *Aristotle* was pretended to be dissonant to the *Christian Religion*. But the Opinion that our Author and the rest of the School-Men have of *St. Thomas Aquinas*, is much better grounded, who was certainly a Person of great Knowledge and Holiness, if they had not given him extravagant Elogiums, and very near approaching to Blasphemy; and even to this Day we find some Learn'd Men guilty of this intolerable Fault (d). Thus one of the last Commentators upon *Aquinas's Sums* (e), in a Prefatory Discourse, intitled *Commendatio Doctrinæ D. Thomæ*, endeavours to prove, in so many several Chapters, That *St. Thomas* had writ his Books not without the special Infusion of the Spirit of God Almighty, Chap. 1. That in writing them he receiv'd many things by Revelation, Chap. 2. That all he wrote was without any Error, Chap. 4. That *Christ* had given Testimony to his Writings, Chap. 6. And to show of how near the same Authority *St. Thomas's Sum* is to the Holy Scriptures, he assures us, that as in the First General Councils

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(b) Vid. Hist. of the Counc. of Trent, Book 2. (c) Vid. Lannoy, de Var. Arist. Fort. Cap. 7 & 14. (d) See Refl. upon Learning Page 225. (e) Vid. Bapt. Gonet. Clymp. Theologiæ, Par. 1669.

it was usual to have the Holy Bible laid open upon the Altar, as the Rule of their Proceedings, so in the last General Council (which was that of *Trent*) *St. Thomas's Sum* was plac'd with the Bible upon the same Altar, as another inferior Rule of *Christian Doctrine*, Chap. 8. And a Learn'd Jesuit (*f*) says upon the same Subject, That all the General Councils, which have been held since *St. Thomas* liv'd, have taken the Opinions they defin'd from his Doctrine. And *Peter Labbé*, another of the same Society, styles him an Angel (*g*), and says, That as he learn'd many things from the Angels, so he had taught Angels some things; That *St. Thomas* had said what *St. Paul* was not suffered to utter; That he speaks of God, as if he had seen Him, and of *Christ*, as if he had been His Voice. Upon which an Excellent Author (*h*) has this Judicious Reflection, "When such bold Expressions are openly vented, it is time to look about us, and it concerns every Man to endeavour to give a Check to such daring Assertions. I am far from the detracting either from the Knowledge or Holiness of *St. Thomas*, which doubtless were both extraordinary; but when a Mortal Man is equall'd to the Angels in Heaven, and such Elogies given him, as if he were capable of Hearing, he must blush to deceive, it is Justice to him to rescue him from false and undue Praises. Another Fault, that our Author and most of the School-Men are guilty of, is of being too subtle and nice in obscure Questions; for they have started such insuperable Difficulties, that they have thereby furnish'd the Adversaries of the *Christian Religion* with several plausible Objections against its Being. In this, as the above-cited Author has observ'd of them, like your too profound Politicians, who foresee Designs that are neither practicable, nor ever were intended, so these Men have propos'd Objections, that would never have been thought of, had not they first started them; and so subtle was One of them, call'd the *Calculator*, that *Cardan* says (*i*), only One of his Arguments was enough to puzzle all Posterity, and that when he grew old he wept, because he could not understand his own Books: But it certainly would have been a better Character to have written so plainly and distinctly, as to have puzzled none, and to have been useful to Posterity; yet it had been well if the Mischief had stopt here, and that their Curiosity had led them no further; but from nice and subtle Questions they proceeded to those that were Impious, and altogether unworthy of *Christians*, some of which the Reader will find in the Famous Cardinal *Peron's* Book upon the *Eucharist* (*k*).

There is likewise extant, with our Author's Commentaries upon the Book of *Sentences*, some small Treatises of his in Philosophy and Medicine, but they are of so little use, that I shall not trouble the Reader with any further Account of them, but conclude with the Observation that the Ingenious Author of the *Reflections upon Learning* has made upon *St. Thomas Aquinas* and the other School-Men, That, to do them right, they improv'd Natural Reason to an uncommon height, and many of those Proofs, of a God, Providence and Natural Religion, that have been advanc'd of late, as new Arguments, with so much Applause, have been borrow'd from the School-Men, and are only theirs by being put in a new Dress, and sometimes in a worse Method; and had it

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(*f*) Tauner. Quæst. 1. Dub. 2. (*g*) Apud Gonet. ubi sup. (*h*) *Reflections upon Learning*, Page 226. (*i*) Vid. Card. de Subtil. Lib. 16. (*k*) Card. Peron de l'Euchar. Lib. 3. Chap. 20.

been our Author's Fortune to have liv'd in a happier Age, under better Opportunities; and with those helps that we now enjoy, he would have been a greater Person than many of those whom we now look upon with Wonder and Amazement; and he was so much belov'd and esteem'd by his Master, whom all must acknowledge to have been a very good Judge, that he usually said of him; when he taught in the Schools, That if *Joannes Bassolis* was present, he had a sufficient Auditory, thinking that none of all his Auditors were so capable of understanding him as he; and I cannot but admire how that one of so great Fame for his Learning in the Schools, should have escap'd our Two Great Biographers *Dempster* and *Camerarius*, they not having so much as mention'd him.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *Commentaria seu Lecturæ in 4 Libros Sententiarum, Paris. 1517. in Folio.*
 - II. *Miscellanea Philosophica & Medica, ibid.*
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T H E

LIFE of JOHN BLAIR,
A Monk of the Order of St. Benedict.

THIS Author was Born in the Shire or County of *Fife*, in the Reign of King *Alexander III.* and brought up with Sir *William Wallace* at the School of *Dundee* (a). After which he went over to *France*, where he study'd for some time in the University of *Paris*; and, having finish'd the Course of his Studies there, he entred into Holy Orders, and became a Monk of the Order of *St. Benedict*. This *St. Benedict* (b) was Born in the Province of *Nursia*, in the Year of Our Lord 480. He was brought very young to *Rome*, where he study'd for some time; but designing to lead a Solitary Life, he retir'd to *Sublaco*, which is 40 Miles distant from *Rome*, where he liv'd for Three Years in a frightful Cave, without the Knowledge of any but *St. Romanus*, who fed him with Bread, which he convey'd to him by the means of a long Rope or Cord; but this at length coming to be known, he was taken out by the Monks of a Neighbouring Monastery, who made Choice of him for their Abbot: But, their way of Living nowise agreeing with the Strictness and Rigour of his Temper, he left them, and retir'd to his former Solitude, where such Numbers of People resorted to him, that in a short time he founded 12 Monasteries. From thence he went to Mount *Cassin*, about the Year 529, where he compos'd the Rules of his Order, which in a few Years after spread it self over all *Europe*, and was the First that ever came to *Scotland*, where they had the following Convents (c), The Abbacy of *Icolmkil* or *Hy*, founded by *St. Columba* about the Year 590. The Abbacy of *Dumfermling* in *Fife*, to which our Author belong'd, founded by King *David* in the Year 1130. The Abbacy of *St. Colme* in *Inch-Colme*, in the River of *Forth*, founded by King *Alexander I.* about the Year 1120. The Abbacy of *Aberbrothock* in *Angus*, founded by King *William* in the Year 1178; The Priory of *Urquhart* in *Murray*, founded by King *Alexander III.* in the Year 1265. A Cell belonging to *Dumfermling*; The Priory of *Coldinghame* in the *Mers*, founded by King *Edgar*, in the Year 1106. A Cell belonging to *Durham* in *England*; The Monastery of *South-Berwick*, founded by King *David* in the Year 1130. The Monastery of *Three-wells* or *Tresfontana* in *Lammermoor*, on the Borders of *Lothian*, founded by the Countess of *March*; A Cell belonging to *South-Berwick*; The Monastery of *Kilconquhar* in *Galloway*, founded by *Eibred* (or rather) *Fergus*, Lord of *Galloway*.

Upon our Author's Return from *France*, he found all things in great Disorder and Confusion by the Death of King *Alexander the Third*, who died without any Off-spring, but one Grand-child by his Daughter *Margaret*, who was Married to the King of *Norway*, and who died likewise

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(a) See the Acts and Life of Sir *William Wallace* Book 4. Pag. 42. Vid etiam Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 2. Pag. 86. (b) Vid. M. Du Pin, Bib. Eccles. Tom. 5. Pag. 65. (c) See the Append. to *Spens. Hist.* Pag. 13.

And retires
to a Con-
vent at
Dumferm-
ling.
He is made
Chaplain
to the Go-
vernour.
He writes
the History
of Sir Wil-
liam Wal-
lace's Life.
An Account
of this Hi-
story.

before she could be brought home: Upon which no less than Twelve Competitors arose for the Crown. During the Beginning of these Troubles, our Author retir'd to the *Benedictine* Cloister at *Dumfermling*; but when Sir *William Wallace* was made Governour or Vice-Roy of the Kingdom, in the Year 1294, he was call'd out of that Monastery, and made his Chaplain; and, being an Eye-witness to the most of his Actions, he compos'd the History of his Life in *Latine*, but we have only a Fragment extant of it, or rather Excerptions taken out of it by some other Hand, as it will very evidently appear to any who reads it. This Fragment was copy'd by Sir *James Balfour* out of the *Cotton Library*, and Publish'd a Year ago with a Commentary or Notes upon it, by Sir *Robert Sibbald*. This History was written in the Year 1327. and from the Fragment of it, that is extant, and our other Historians, I shall give the Reader a brief Account of this Gentleman's Life, who may be compar'd to any of the most admir'd Heroes amongst the *Grecians* or *Romans*, for his extraordinary Actions.

All our Historians are agreed, that this Gentleman was descended of a good Family (*d*); and the most of them say, that his Father was Sir *Malcolm Wallace* of *Ellerslie*: But *Balenden* and our Author say (*e*), That his Father was Sir *Andrew Wallace* of *Cragie*. But this is no material Difference; for *Thomas Crawford*, one of our most Learn'd Antiquaries, tells us (*f*), "That his Father was Laird of *Ellerslie* beside *Paisly*, "and was Brother to the Laird of *Riccartoun*, now stil'd Laird of *Craigie*, "an Ancient Baron in *Kile*; but *William Wallace* was but a Second Brother. So that we have no reason to doubt of the Account that is given us of his Parentage, in the Book of the Acts and Deeds of Sir *William Wallace*, written by one *Blind Henry* (whom I shall give an Account of hereafter) who had it, as he assures us, from our Author's History, and which he gives in these Rhimes (*g*).

Of William Wallace, as ye have beard told,
His Forefathers, who likes to understand,
Of Old Linage, and true Blood of Scotland,
Sir Raynauld Crawford right Sheriff of Air,
In his Time he had a Daughter fair.
To young Sir Raynauld Sheriff of that Town,
Was Sister fair of good Faine and Renown,
Malcolm Wallace her got in Marriage,
That Ellerslie then had in Heritage
Achenbothie and many other Place, &c.
Now Malcolm Wallace got with his Lady bright
Malcolm Wallace a good and Gentle Knight,
And William too, as Chronicles bear on hand,
Who after was Reskewer of Scotland.

This Gentleman was born towards the latter end of King *Alexander* the Third's Reign, a Prince of great Hopes, who lost his Life by a Fall from an unruly Horse, upon the Sands of *Kinghorn*, leaving (as I have said before) no Off-spring behind him, but one Grand-child by his Daughter *Margaret*, who was Married to the King of *Norway*. This Lady,

(*d*) Vid. Joh. Major de Gest. Scot. Lib. 4. Fol. 70. Hest. Boet. Scot. Hist. Lib. 14. Fol. 249. Buch. Rer. Scot. Lib. 8. Pag. 250. &c. (*e*) Fol. 206. Book 14. (*f*) In his Notes upon Buch. MSS. (*g*) Pag. 2.

Lady *Edward I.* King of *England*, demanded in Marriage for his Son from the Nobility of *Scotland*, that thereby the Two Kingdoms might be United. Upon this the Nobility met, and sent Sir *David Weems* and Sir *Michael Scot*, two Knights of *Fife*, to *Norway*, to bring home this Lady; and in the mean time committed the Administration of Affairs to *William Frazer* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, *Duncan* Earl of *Fife* and *John Cuning* Earl of *Buchan* for the Countries on the North-side of *Forth*; and to *Robert* Bishop of *Glasgow*, *John* Lord *Cuning* and *John* Lord *Stewart* for the South Parts; and they condescended to the King of *England*'s Proposal, that the Lady should be given in Marriage to his Son, providing alwise, (b) "That he should give it under his hand, that he should leave the Kingdom of *Scotland* free, and Subject to no Man for ever, and "if there happen'd to be Children by that Marriage, that he should "leave the Kingdom in its Ancient State, and restore it as he receiv'd "it; That it should retain the Name and Dignity of a Kingdom as before, both in enjoying its own Laws, appointing Officers of State, "holding of Parliaments, and deciding Causes within the Kingdom, "and that none of the Inhabitants should be oblig'd to go out of the "same for Judgment. But this design'd Union was of no long standing; for, as the *English* Historians say, this young Lady died in her Return at *Orkney*; but our Historians say, with more probability, that she was dead before they came there. 'Tis not to be imagin'd what Consternation and Amazement this Lady's Death struck into the Minds of all Men; for there arose no less than Twelve Competitors for the Crown, and all of them being Men of great Power and Authority, there could not but arise a most Cruel and Bloody Civil War in this Juncture. These, to whom the Government of the Nation had been committed, met to deliberate upon what should be done, and at length concluded, That since the King of *England* was a Wise and Sagacious Prince, and had given them a late Testimony of his Love for *Scotland*, in the Offer that he had made of a Marriage betwixt his Son and the Heiress of the Crown, it would be their safest Course to submit the whole Affair to him, and to let him judge which of the Competitors had the best Right. Upon this Resolution they made Choice of the Bishop of *Brichen*, the Abbot of *Fedburgh* and *Galsfred Moubry* a Gentleman, to go to *France*, to acquaint the King of *England* of what they had done. They found King *Edward* at *Xantaigne*, and, having told him their Commission, it is not to be imagin'd with what Joy he receiv'd them, this giving him such a fair Opportunity of rendering himself Absolute Master of *Scotland*, which all his Predecessors had, for so many Years before, attempted in vain; yet he dissembled the Satisfaction of his Mind, and dismiss'd them with very obliging Expressions, appointing a Diet for the Competitors to appear at *Norham* upon *Tweed*, which he promis'd to keep very punctually. The Day being come, King *Edward* comes to *Norham* with a great Army, under a Pretence of suppressing any Tumults that might arise from his Decision. At first he seem'd unwilling to take the Arbitration upon him, pretending that he was not able to undertake so great a Burden; but at length he seem'd not unwilling to comply with it, being only induc'd thereto, as he said, for preserving the Dignity of the *Scottish* Nation, which he would maintain

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(b) See Pope Boniface VIII. his Letter to King *Edward*.

more inviolably than his own : But for the effectuating of this, he told them that it was necessary for them all to swear, that they should acquiesce in his Sentence, and surrender up to him all their Castles, Garisons and Fortified Places, that he might thereby force the opposite Parties to submit ; which being accordingly done, he told them very gravely in a premeditated Speech, “ That altho’ he might very justly claim the Superiority of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as belonging to him by Right ; yet as a Friend and Arbiter elected by themselves, he would labour to compose the present Controversy, in the best sort he could ; for the Right, said he, howsoever there be divers Pretenders, belongeth to one only, and for my self, I am resolv’d to wrong no Man, but to do that which is just, assuring my self you will acquiesce, and take him for King, who shall be pronounc’d so. Then told them, that he did not demand any thing that was new, but only the Right of his Predecessors, protesting that he would defend the Prerogative of his Crown with his Blood : And for proving of his Right, says *Walsingham* (i), he adduc’d several Proofs. The *Scots*, finding this, were struck with Astonishment, being surrounded on all hands by the *English* Soldiery, and having madly given up all their Forts, Castles and Garisons to King *Edward*, yet *Robert Wisbart* Bishop of *Glasgow*, a Prelate of great Wisdom and of undaunted Courage and Resolution, rose up, and gave the King most hearty Thanks in name of the rest, for the Love and Kindness he had for their Country, and the Pains that he had taken to come and remove their Debates, shewing that out of a Perswasion they all had of his Wisdom and Equity, they were well pleas’d to submit to him, as sole Arbitrator, the Judgment and Decision of that weighty Affair ; but where it had pleas’d him to speak of a Right of Superiority over the Kingdom, it was sufficiently known, That *Scotland*, from the First Foundation of the State, had been a Free and Independent Kingdom, and not subject to the Power of any other State whatsoever ; That their Ancestors had valiantly defended themselves and their Liberties, against the *Romans*, *Picts*, *Britains*, *Danes*, *Norwegians* and all others, who sought to usurp them ; and howbeit, said he, the present Occasion hath bred some Distraction of Minds, all true-hearted *Scots*-Men will stand for the Liberty of their Country till Death ; for they esteem their Liberty more precious than their Lives, and in that Quarrel will neither separate nor divide. Wherefore, as he had profess’d in way of Friendship, and as an Arbitrator elected by themselves to Cognosce and Decide the present Controversy, they were all in most humble manner to intreat him, that he would proceed to Determine the Question, which they and their Posterity would remember with their best Affections and Services. This Procedure of King *Edward* must be acknowledg’d to be very surprising, not to call it worse ; for, as our Learn’d Lawyer and Antiquary Sir *Thomas Craig* has observ’d (k), he must have suppos’d the *Scots* to have been the most stupid People in the World, that did not so much as know who was their Superior, Lord and Master. But

*Non obtusa adeo gestabant Pectora Scoti,
Nec tam aversus equos nostro Sol jungit ab orbe.*

For

For King *Edward* finding by the Bishop's Speech, that he would gain no Ground of them this way, he resolv'd to try what he could do with them under-hand; he caus'd therefore all the Competitors to be call'd, and having heard all their Claims, he found that *John Baliol* and *Robert Bruce* were the Principal Competitors, and all the rest were order'd to desist from their Claims. *John Baliol* was an *English* Man, Great-grand-child to that *Eberhard* or *Bernard*, (who, according to *Cambden*, had the Glory of taking *William* King of *Scots* in an Ambush,) Son to *Darne-gild* the eldest Daughter of *Allan* Lord of *Galloway*, by *Margaret* eldest Daughter to *David* Earl of *Huntington*, Younger Brother to *William* King of *Scotland*. *Robert Bruce* was Earl of *Carrick*, Son to *Robert Bruce* Lord of *Amandale* in *Scotland*, and *Cleveland* in *England*, begotten on *Isabel* Second Daughter to *David* Earl of *Huntington* afore-named. Which of these had the best Right was very strongly Debated, and therefore King *Edward*, that his Integrity might appear the more Specious, appointed Twelve of either Kingdom, who were Learn'd in the Laws, to Debate the same at *Berwick*, and also order'd them to Consult the Lawyers in *France* about it. This Controversy continued for Five Years: At length King *Edward* came to *Berwick*, about the end of *September*, in the Sixth Year after King *Alexander's* Death, resolving to Decide in his favour who would acknowledge him for his *Liege Lord* and Master; and therefore he first applys himself privately to *Bruce*, and promis'd, that if he and his Successors would hold the Kingdom of *Scotland* of him and his Successors, he would settle him in the Kingdom. To this the *Bruce* answer'd, "That he was not so desirous to be a King, as thereby to infringe the Liberties of his Country. King *Edward*, neither satisfy'd nor well pleas'd with this Answer, makes the like Offer to *Baliol*, who having more Ambition and less Honour, willingly comply'd with the Offer; whereupon King *Edward* in that Assembly, excluding all other Rights, Adjudg'd the Kingdom of *Scotland* to *John Baliol*, as the True and Lawful Heir thereof, who upon *St. Andrew's Day* next was Crown'd King at *Scoon*.

The *English* and *Scots* Historians are extremely divided in their Opinions, about the Justness of this Sentence of King *Edward*; for the *English* say, That it was a very Just Sentence, since there is no Body who does not prefer the First Born to the Second in *Individual Fies*; and by consequence the Off-spring of the First to the Off-spring of the Second. On the other hand, our Historians and Lawyers have urg'd several Arguments to the contrary; but I shall only trouble the Reader with what Sir *Thomas Craig* has said upon this Head, whom all will acknowledge to have been One of the greatest Lawyers of his Age. And, First, he urges against King *Edward's* Sentence (1) the Custom of several Nations, where, in the Off-spring of diverse Sisters, the First Male was preferr'd, as in the Case of the Count of *Nivern* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, for the County of *Flanders*, approv'd of by all the Parliaments of *France*, and especially by the Senate of *Paris*, and in that of *Henry I.* of *England*; for *Henry I.* his Male Issue being dead, and having a Grand-Son, afterwards *Henry II.* by *Maud* his Daughter, who was Married to *Geffry Plantagenet* Earl of *Anjou*, he was solicitous how to secure the Succession of the Crown to them, and made all the States of

(1) See his Book of Homage, Chap. 29. Pag. 363. &c.

England swear Fealty to them, as those who were to Reign immediately after him. Nevertheless, he being dead, *Stephen*, Grand-Son to the Conqueror by a Daughter, got the Crown : And it is not likely that the *English* would have receiv'd him contrary to their Oaths, unless the Law had been for him ; for *Henry II.* Son to *Maud*, having the Title by a Woman, and *Stephen* having the same, affirm'd himself to be First in the Succession, because he was the First Male, tho' descending from a Woman ; nay he urg'd, that, tho' *Maud* her self had been alive, he ought to be preferr'd to her, as being the First Born Male, and by consequence his Off-spring ought to be preferr'd to *Henry II.* This Matter was debated for a long time in *England* ; yet *Stephen* was never accounted an Usurper, or Tyrant, but look'd upon as lawful Heir and King. Secondly, The Feudal Law it self, which was at that time tenaciously observ'd by the Noblest Kingdoms in *Europe*, is express in this Case ; and amongst the many Texts to this purpose, he only cites One, viz. " The like if any Man be invest'd in a Fie, so that it descend upon Women, and leave only Two Daughters, of which the one has a Son, and the other a Daughter, whether after their Death the Male ought only to have the Fie ? According to *Gerard*, the Male only. *Obertus* on the contrary : And on the other Hand if he have Sons. Now *David* Earl of *Huntington* and *Chester*, on whom, as the next of the Paternal Line, the Right to the Kingdom of *Scotland* (the whole Off-spring of his Brother *William* being extinguish'd) and its Succession devolv'd ; of which Succession a Woman, and those who descend from her are as capable as an Heir Male. *Huntington* left Two Daughters, *Margaret* the eldest, who Married *Allan* Earl of *Galloway*, of which Marriage was born, as we have said, *Dornagilla* Mother to *John Baliol*, afterwards King ; the other was *Isabel*, Married to *Robert* Earl of *Carrick*, of which Marriage was born *Robert Bruce* Father to King *Robert the Bruce*. The Question is, Whether King *Robert Bruce*, tho' born of the Second Daughter, yet the First Male, or *Dornagilla*, Grand-Child by the First born Daughter, is to be preferr'd in the Succession to the Crown, which admits of no Division ? In this Question, the Two great Lights of the Feudal Law, *Gerard* and *Obert*, are oppos'd to one another ; but the Opinion of *Gerard*, that the First Male is to be preferr'd, is not only confirm'd by other Places, as well of the Civil as Feudal Law, but also by the Suffrages of all the Interpreters, *Baldus*, *Alvaroltus*, *Hottomanus*, *Duarenus*, *Baro*, *Conerus*, *Cujacius*, *Hortensius*, &c. Neither, says he, is there any Reason to doubt, because the Text does not express whether this Son be born of the Eldest or Second Daughter ; for, if this Son had been born of the Eldest Daughter, there had been no place for doubting. And Lastly, a Prince who governs a Free People, cannot render them Slaves, or subject to the Dominion of another Prince, nor can the Barons of that Kingdom transfer the Prerogative of that Liberty they have receiv'd from their Ancestors. The Authors of this Proposition are *Alexander Cardinalis*, *Jason* and *Imola*, most Noted Lawyers, who do all of them hold, That the Rights of Majesty have that Prerogative, that no Prince has Power to dispose of them in any manner, that they cannot be alienated, renounc'd ; or taken away from a Sovereign Prince, or suffer Prescription by any Tract of Time ; and therefore, *Baldus* calls those Rights *Sacra Sacrorum*, and *Cynus* the *Individua*, which cannot be separated from the Crown ;

Crown ; for these, who are intrusted with the chief Care of the Common-wealth, cannot so much as diminish One Foot of the Public Patrimony, much less give away the Property of it ; for Kings or Sovereign Princes, says *Bodin* a most Famous Lawyer, are so far from having the Dominion or Property of the Public Farms, that they have not the entire Usufruct, but must content themselves with the use of it ; for they are only Proctors or Administrators of what belongs to others, and all the rest are owing to the Common-wealth, with the Government whereof they are entrusted. And these are the Reasons that are brought, by this Learn'd and Excellent Gentleman, against King *Edward's* unjust Sentence.

But to return to the Transactions of those Times, *Baliol* was the First, and the only one of all the Kings of *Scotland*, who acknowledg'd the King of *England* as Superior of *Scotland* as he did *Edward*, according to his Paction with him, which as soon as it was known to the *Scots*, who had receiv'd *Baliol* as King because of their Oath, they took it very ill ; and tho' all the fortify'd Places were in the Enemy's Hand, tho' the Nobility were bound by their Oath, tho' a great Army of *English* were ready to pour in upon them, and, tho' they were destitute of the Assistance of the Greatest amongst the Nobility, the most part, as is usual in such Cases, adhering openly to the *English*, for fear of being undone ; yet first they chide *Baliol* for rendering the Kingdom subject to an Enemy, which he had receiv'd Free from his Ancestors ; but he, promising to be govern'd afterwards by the Peers, took Arms with all Expedition against *Edward*, who was then in *France*. When *Edward* came home, and demanded Homage of him, *Walsingham*, *Polydore Virgil* and *Holinshed* say, That the *Scots* answer'd, that they were born Free, were Subject to none but their own King, nor would they acknowledge any other Sovereign but their own Prince. *Edward* being incens'd, says *Polydore*, did not only deprive *Baliol* of the Earldom of *Huntington*, for his Ingratitude, but led a great Army against the *Scots*, and, having kill'd many Thousands, took *Berwick* by Storm, where *Walsingham* says, that there were 60000 slain ; and our Historians say, 50000 Men, Women and Children, and Sir *William Douglas*, Governour of the City, was taken Prisoner. At the same time certain of the Nobility of *Scotland*, commanded by *Baliol*, had besieg'd the City of *Carlisle*, burnt and laid waste all the Country as far as *Hexam*, without meeting with any Opposition. From thence they march'd to *Dunbar*, belonging to *Patrick Earl of March* ; but King *Edward*, meeting *Baliol* and his Army, gave them Battel, and, if we may believe the *English* Historians, not only overthrew them, but kill'd 22000 *Scots*. After which he besieg'd the Castle of *Dunbar*, which he took ; and from thence went to *Roxburgh*, *Edinburgh* and *Striveling*, all which Places he took without any great Resistance. At last *Baliol*, who was a Cowardly Man, finding himself deserted by his Subjects, and unable to maintain the War, came to King *Edward* at *Bricben*, and resign'd all the Right that he had to the Crown of *Scotland*, and acknowledg'd him as his Liege Lord and Master. After which he sent *Baliol* to the Tower of *London*.

Scotland being brought to this sad and miserable State ; and every one despairing of ever recovering their Liberties again, but of being bond

Slaves to the *English* for ever, the Fame of Sir *William Wallace* began to spread Abroad, for by this time he was come to the Age of a Man; and, having an innate Hatred against the *English*, or rather being fir'd with a Noble Generosity of being Instrumental in delivering his Country, from the Boudage and Slavery they were groaning under, he endeavour'd upon all Occasions to engage the *English* into Quarrels with him, and never fail'd to come off with unexpected Victory, killing sometimes Two or Three of them at a time. Upon the Noise of this, several, who bore as great Hatred to them as he did, resorted to him, and in a small time he became a Terror to the *English*; for by several Stratagems he cut off great Numbers of them. Upon this, many Excellent and Brave Gentlemen, who were willing to sacrifice their Lives and all they had for the Liberty of their Country, join'd him; such as, *Malcolm Earl of Lenox*, Lord *William Douglass* Governour of *Berwick*, Sir *John Grabame*, Sir *Neil Campbell*, Sir *Christopher Seton*, Sir *John Ramsay*, Sir *Fergus Barclay*, *Andrew Murray*, *William Oliphant*, *Hugh Hay*, *Robert Boid*, *John Johnston*, *Adam Gordon*, *Robert Keith*, *Rainald Crawfurd* younger, *Adam Wallace* his Brother, *Roger Kilpatrick*, *Simon Fraser*, *Alexander Fraser*, *James Crawfurd*, *Robert Lauder*, *Scrimzor* Constable of *Dundee*, *Alexander Auchinleck*, *Ruthven*, *Richard Lundie*, *William Crawfurd*, *Arthur Bisset*, *James Lindsay*, *Robert Lindsay*, *John Cleland*, *William Ker*, *Edward Little*, *Robert Rutherford*, *Thomas Haliday*, *John Tinto*, *Walter Nembiggings*, *Jaradan Burde*, *Guthrie*, *Adam Currie*, *Hugh Dundas*, *John Scot*, *Steven Ireland*, Mr. *John Blair* our Author, Mr. *Thomas Gray* and several other Gentlemen, with their Friends and Servants, whose Names should never be forgot, as the Noble Supporters of their sinking Country's Liberty. With these he perform'd several Noble Exploits, and at length at *Biggar* he defeated *Thomas Earl of Lancaster*, who came to assist *John Warren Earl of Surrey and Sussex*, whom King *Edward* had made Regent and Warden of all *Scotland*; in which Battel the *English* lost Ten Thousand Men. For these singular Services, the Nobility and Gentry met at *Forest-Kirk*, and made *Wallace* Governour of *Scotland*, in the Year 1294. In which Station he so valiantly behav'd himself, that in a short time he recover'd all the Strengths on the Borders, and reduc'd all the South Parts of *Scotland* to his Obedience. The *English* upon this, fearing they might lose all their Conquests, made a Truce with the Governour for a Year, beginning in *February*, which he willingly condescended to, thinking thereby, during the Peace, to strengthen his Party. In the Month of *June* following, the *English* proclaim'd a Justice-Air to be kept in the Cities of *Glasgow* and *Air*, the Eighteenth of that Month, designing thereby, that if the Governour and his Followers came thither to cut them off. All the Landed Men about coming, according to the Custom, to this Court, they contrary to all Justice most perfidiously condemn'd them, as guilty of Felony; and having apprehended several of them, they caus'd them immediately to be hang'd, amongst whom were Sir *Rainald Crawfurd* Sheriff of *Air*. Uncle to Sir *William Wallace*, Sir *Brice Blair*, Sir *Niel Montgomery*, and many of the Barons of *Kyle*, *Cyminghame*, *Carrick* and *Clidisdale*; they who escaped inform'd the Governour, who was coming up with his Attendants, of what had happen'd: upon which he got together of the Country-People as many as he could; and in the beginning of the Night entred into the Town of *Air*, with

Sir

Sir John Grubame, Sir John Monteith, Alexander Scrimzor Constable of Dundee, and about 50 Arm'd Men, and, finding the *English* Soldiers securely sleeping, surrounded them, and, having set Fire to the Houses in which they were lodg'd, they burnt them all alive, upon the 28th Day of *August* 1296. The Garison of the Castle issuing forth to quench the Fire, an Ambush, which the Governour had laid for that purpose, expecting that they would come out to their Assistance, immediately took Possession of the Castle, and secur'd it for the Governour. The next Morning he came to *Glasgow*, where the Lord *Henry Piercy* was, to whom he gave Battel, and kill'd several of his Men. This Victory he so hotly pursued, that immediately thereafter he took the Castle of *Striveling*, recover'd *Argile* and *Larn*, with the Town of *St. Johnston* and the Country about. Then, marching thorow the Countries of *Angus* and *Merns*, he came to *Aberdeen*, which he found deserted by the *English*, who were so terrified with the News of the Governour's coming, that they betook themselves to their Ships, and made their escape by Sea, with their Commander *Henry Beaumont* an *English* Nobleman. Thus all the North was reduc'd to the Obedience of the Governour but the Castle of *Dundee*, which he immediately laid Siege too. Whilst the Governour was Besieging this Place, News was brought him of a great *English* Army that was coming to Attack him, under the Command of *John Warren* Earl of *Surry* and *Sussex* and Sir *Hugh Cressingham*. This Army consisted chiefly of *Northumberland* Men, and such of the *Scots* as held with *England*, and were reckon'd to be about Thirty Thousand Men. The Governour with his Army, which consisted only of Ten Thousand Men, but well harden'd in War, met them at *Striveling* on the North-side of *Forth*, which, having no Foord at that Place, was passable only by a Wooden Bridge. This the Governour caus'd purposely weaken; so that when the half of the *English* Army had pass'd the Bridge, or as they say 6000 of them, the Bridge broke with the weight of their heavy Baggage: Upon which the Governour Charg'd them suddenly before they were put in Order, and cut the most part of them in pieces, with their Commander Sir *Hugh Cressingham*, *William Ormesby* Chief Justice, with divers other Officers and Captains, and the rest, who endeavour'd to make their escape, were Drown'd in the River. The Earl of *Surry* and *Sussex*, who Commanded the part of the Army on the other side of the River, being put into great Confusion with this Accident, was in the mean time attack'd by *Malcolm* Earl of *Lenox*, Governour of the Castle of *Striveling*, and put likewise to the Flight, and was so hotly pursu'd by the Governour and the Earl of *Lenox*, that he hardly escap'd himself, flying into the Castle of *Dunbar*, which then belong'd to *Patrick* Earl of *March*, who had been a Traitor to his Country from the beginning. In this Battel, fought upon the Thirteenth of *September* 1297, there perish'd no *Scots* Man of Note, but *Andrew Murray* of *Bothwell*. The *English* Garisons, hearing of this Overthrow of their Army, fled and deserted them on all hands; so that before the last of *September* all the Strengths of *Scotland* were recover'd, except *Berwick* and *Roxburgh*.

After this Victory, his Army very much increas'd; so that he reduc'd in a short time the Castle of *Roxburgh* and the Town of *Berwick*, which he furnish'd with Victuals, Men and Ammunition; and then broke up his Camp, and went with his Friends to *St. Johnston*, where he call'd

a Parliament; in which he Swore all the Nobility to be Faithful to their Country against the *English*, till such time as they might condescend who should be their King. After which they declared *Patrick* Earle of *Dunbar* a Traitor and Runnagade from his Country, and then Dissolv'd. At this time, by reason of these Wars and Devastations, there were great Fears of a Dearth to ensue in *Scotland*; for preventing of which, the Governour rais'd a great Army, with which he March'd into *Northumberland*, where he continu'd from *All-ballow-Tide* until *Candle-mass* after, living upon the Enemy's Country, and enriching his Army with the Spoil of their Goods. King *Edward*, being inform'd of all this, return'd immediately out of *France* to *England*; and upon his arrival sent Messengers to the Governour, commanding them to tell him, That he durst not have done so if he had been at Home. In answer to this, the Governour told them, That what he had done, if it were to do, he would do it over again; and desir'd them to tell their King, That he design'd to keep his Easter in *England* in despite of him and of all those that would Join with him; and accordingly, at the time appointed, he enter'd into *England* with an Army of 30000 Men. Upon this, King *Edward* came against him with a great Army of New levied Soldiers. They met at *Stanesmore*; but King *Edward*, perceiving the Discipline of the Governour's Army, and knowing them to be all Resolute and Old Soldiers, immediately retir'd and left the Governour Master of the whole Country; and then made Proposals of a Peace to the Governour for Five Years, which was agreed to. By this time the Fame and Glory of the Governour's Actions were grown so great, that it drew upon him the Envy of *Bruce* and *Cuming*, and all their Followers. King *Edward*, wisely making his Advantage of this, having by his Agents had several Conferences with those who envy'd the Governour's Glory, breaks the Peace, and Invades *Scotland* with a mighty Army, consisting of Seven Thousand Men at Arms, and an Army on foot of *Welch* and *Irish* answerable, and Five Hundred Men at Arms out of *Gascoigne*: But our Historians say, that they consisted of Forty Thousand Men, and that the Governour's Army consisted of Thirty. These two Armies met at the Town of *Falkirk*; the Van-guard of the *English* Army was led by *Humphry* *Bobun* Earl of *Hereford* High Constable of *England*, *Roger* *Bigod* Earl of *Northfold* Marischal of *England*, and *Henry* *Lacy* Earl of *Lincoln*. Now, as the Two Armies were going to Join Battel, there arose a Contest amongst the *Scots* about the leading of the Van-guard; for *John* *Cuming* Lord of *Cumbernald*, who had an Eye to the Crown, claim'd it as his Due; *John* Lord *Stewart* said, that it belong'd to his Family; and Sir *William* *Wallace* said, that it belong'd to him as Vice-Roy and Governour of the Kingdom. *Cuming*, perceiving that the Soldiery favour'd the other Two more than him, went off with all his Forces; for the rest suspected him as a Favourer of the *English*, nor was it without Ground; for *Matthew* of *Westminster* and *Walsingham* do both of them exhibite the Form of the Oath, which he swore to be true to *Edward* before that time; and by this his Family, which was then the Greatest and most Potent of any in *Scotland*, was so brought under, that the Name of *Cuming* is now very rare in *Scotland*. As to the other Two, *Stewart* and *Wallace*, *Stewart* upbraiding *Wallace* with the Fable of *Æsop*e or *Horace* little Raven, he was so exasperated, that, not being able

to master his Passion, he march'd off also with his Forces; the only Blot that can be charg'd on him during the whole Course of his Life, that he should not have sacrific'd the Resentment of the Injury done to himself to that of his Country, at such a Critical Juncture. *Stewart*, being left alone in the Field with the Third Part of the Army, gave Battel to the *English* with a great deal of Gallantry; but that which prov'd most fatal to him was his Engaging on plain Ground, and not being aware of *Bruce*, who fell upon his Rear: So that, being encompass'd with a Multitude of Horse and Foot, he was cut off with the most of his Men. In which Action *Bruce* was justly branded with the being the main Author of this Loss, having brought to the Field so many Forces against his own Country-Men, and fought with so much Bravery in favour of King *Edward*. There was lost in this Action, upon the *Scots* side, *Macduff* Earl of *Fife*, *John Stewart* and Sir *John Grabame*, whom the Governour lamented most of all, and very deservedly; for, next to himself, he was the Bravest Man of his Age. This Battel was fought upon *St. Mary Magdalen's Day*, in the 27 Year of the Reign of King *Edward*. The *English* Historians say, That the *Scots* lost 200 Knights and 40000 Men: But tho' this be a meer Romance, according to the Account that our Historians give of it; yet 'tis certain that it was a great Battel, and that many *Scots* Men were kill'd. But tho' they were broken by this Battel, yet they did not abandon their Cause; for, the Governour's Anger being asswag'd, he brought back his Forces into the Field; and tho' he durst not give Battel to the numerous and Victorious *English* Army, yet, following them close, he did, by falling on their Rear, and cutting off the Straglers, so much pinch the *English* Cavalry for want of Forrage, that King *Edward* was forc'd to return into *England*. *Bruce* follow'd him, by reason of his Dependance upon him, and his Promise to him of making him King: But, when he desir'd him to fulfil his Promise to him, he answer'd him, with a Frown, in *French*, That he was not to conquer Kingdoms for him. Upon which he was seisd with so deep a Melancholy, that he shortly thereafter died, without seeing his eldest Son *Robert Bruce*, afterwards King, who was kept, as a Pledge of his Father's Obedience, in the Castle of *Calis* in *France*. And it was generally thought, that that which lighten'd his Grief the more, was a severe Reprimand which he had gotten from the Governour, in a Conference betwixt them, on the Banks of the River *Carron*, after the Battel of *Falkirk*; wherein he upbraided him for his mean Submission to a Foreign Prince, and being so instrumental in enslaving of his own Native Country, he himself being their Lawful Prince.

After this unhappy Battel, the Governour, endeavouring to regain such Castles and Strengths as the King of *England* had taken, such was the Backwardness of the Nobility in assisting of him, that he resolv'd to trouble himself no more with them, but to lay down his Charge, and to take a final Adieu of them and his Country, which he accordingly did, in a Parliament which he call'd for that end at *St. Johnston*, and went over to *France* about the end of the Year 1300. So that now, for a Second Time, *Scotland*, by their own Treachery, became subject to the *English*. King *Edward*, being now as he thought secure of *Scotland*, concludes a Peace with *Philip IV.* King of *France*, by Marrying his Si-

fter *Margaret* in the Sixtieth and Second Year of his Age, and affianced his Son to the same King's Daughter. After which King *Philip* procur'd a Cessation of Arms between the *English* and his old Allies the *Scots*, to continue from the Feast of *All-Saints*, till the Feast of *Pentecost* next following. In which time, King *Edward*, by the calling in of certain base Monies and coining them a-new again, fill'd his Coffers so, that he was thereby enabled to make a Third Journey into *Scotland*; for the *Scots* were resolv'd once more to try if they could recover their Liberty; and for that end, they made Choice of *John Cuming* Earl of *Buchan* to be Governour of the Realm. As soon as King *Edward* had knowledge of this, he sent some Officers to *Scotland*, who reduc'd all these who were rising in Arms betwixt the Borders and *St. Johnstoun*; but *Cuming*, having associated to himself *Simon Fraser*, a Person of known Honour, Valour and Integrity, rais'd an Army of 8000 Men, with whom they not only chas'd out of the Realm these Officers, but all the *English* Officers that King *Edward* left in *Scotland*. King *Edward* upon this rais'd an Army of 30000 Men, and sent them into *Scotland*. The *Scots* Historians say, That this Army was commanded by *Ralph Confray*; but the *English* say, that such a Man is scarce mention'd in their Histories, and that it was *John Seyrave*. But, whatever Truth be in this, it is certain that the General of this Army divided them into Three Bodies, and order'd them to take different ways to ravage and spoil the whole Country before them, and to meet upon such a Day at *Roslin Moor*. *Simon Fraser*, being inform'd of this, came to *Roslin* upon the Day appointed with his 8000 Men, and had the good Fortune to meet with one of those Armies, whom he entirely overthrew and vanquish'd; but he had scarcely gathered the Spoil, when another Part of the *English* Army came up, and set upon him with more Fury and Violence than the First: But the *Scots*, being fresh'd with their fresh won Victory, got themselves immediately into Order, and receiv'd the *English* with such incredible Manhood, that they defeat them also. And lastly, tho' they were much weakned by Weariness, Wounds receiv'd in the Two former Encounters; and want of many of their Numbers that were slain, yet they rushed forth desperately upon their Enemies; and, after a sharp Conflict, put the whole Number of them that surviv'd to Flight. Thus, with 8000 Men, this Gallant Gentleman put 30000 to the Flight in Three Pitch'd Battels, all fought in the Compass of one Day; which is such a singular Instance of Valour and Conduct, that the like is not to be paralleld in History. King *Edward*, hearing of this wonderful overthrow of his Army at *Roslin*, raises a mighty Army of *English*-Men, *Gascognes*, *Irish*-Men and such *Scots* as took his Part, and, being sufficiently provided both by Sea and Land, he makes his Third Journey into *Scotland* in Person, and Invades the *Scots* upon every side: But the *Scots* not having sufficient Power to resist him, he pass'd through all *Scotland*, from the South to the North, without any opposition, the most of them having with-drawn themselves to the Woods and Mountains; but the Castle of *Striveling*, which was commanded by Sir *William Oliphant*, refus'd to yield. Upon which King *Edward* laid Siege to it; but the Governour of the Castle, seeing no appearance of any relief, was at length obliged to yield, after Three Months Siege, upon this Honourable Condition, *vz.* That all Persons within the Castle should

should have their liberty, and with safe Conduct to depart with Bag and Baggage at their Pleasure. Notwithstanding thereof, King *Edward*, contrary to his Promise, sent the worthy Governour, Sir *William Oliphant*, Prisoner to *London*, where he was detain'd for several Years. After this, King *Edward* took several other Forts and Castles, and amongst the rest that of *Urquhart* in *Murray-land*, belonging then to *Alexander Bois*, where the *English* put all to the Sword, except his Wife, who, being big with Child and disguis'd in mean Apparel, escaped their Hands and fled into *Ireland*, where she was deliver'd of a Son, call'd also *Alexander*, who, in following times, when *Scotland* was deliver'd out of the Hands of the *English*-Men, was by the goodness of *Robert Bruce*, then King of *Scotland*, recompens'd with certain Lands in *Marr*, for the loss of the Castle of *Urquhart*, and the Lands thereunto belonging. This second *Alexander*, because he slew a Bear in those Parts, by his great Strength and Dexterity, had his Name from thenceforth chang'd into the Name of *Forbes*; from whom the present Family of that Sur-name are descended. And now, the King of *England*, resolving to make an entire Reduction of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, pursued such of them as refused to submit, to the Woods and Mountains: But his Army was so fatigued, by pursuing them and wanting Sustenance, both for themselves and Horses, by the Barrenness of those Parts, whereby many of their Horses were starv'd, that King *Edward* was forc'd to accept of the Oaths of Fidelity of such of the Nobility, as came and subjected themselves to him, and appointed *Aymer de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, his Lieutenant over the Realm of *Scotland*, and so return'd with his Harass'd Army to *London*, leaving all things as he suppos'd in such Order, that it shou'd not be in the Power of the *Scots* ever to recover their former Liberty.

The *Scots*, being now in a worse Condition than ever, by reason of their frequent and late Wars, the loss of their old and best Friends the *French*, by the Peace betwixt them and the *English*, made their Application to Pope *Boniface VIII.* and Sir *William Wallace* for Relief, that the one might do it by his Intercession with the King of *England*, and the other by his Valour, of which they had so many repeated Instances. The Pope, who was one of the most Ambitious Prelates that ever was in the Popedom, and aimed at the Subjecting of all the Princes of Christendom under him, was glad of this occasion of shewing his Spiritual Authority, against a Prince who was as Ambitious as himself. The Pope therefore wrote a Letter to him, wherein he accused him of Injustice, in undertaking this War against the *Scots*, and threatned him with all the Ecclesiastical Censures, if he did not desist from Troubling the *Scots* any further, because the Kingdom of *Scotland* did not belong to any other but the See of *Rome*; for which he brings no other Proof except his own Assertion: But then brings the following undeniable Arguments against King *Edward's* Pretensions over the Kingdom of *Scotland*. First, From his Father's Deeds and his own; for when *Alexander III.* King of *Scotland*, sent Auxiliary Forces to his Father, King *Henry III.* in his War with *Simon de Montfort*, he demanded an express Caveat, that they should not be looked upon as sent on the account of any Subjection or Right, which *Henry* did also testify by his Letters Patents, viz. "That he had receiv'd those Auxiliary Troops, not as any

"Assistance any way due to him, but as a special Favour from his Neighbour

“bour Prince. Then, as for his own Pretence, he tells him, That when he requir’d his Neighbouring Monarch, *Alexander King of Scotland*, to be present at his Coronation, the King of *Scotland*, not being ignorant of the *Engliff* Tricks, refus’d it, till *Edward* did by his Letters “grant him “a Caveat, That his Presence was not requir’d, as that whereunto he “was oblig’d, but only as a special Favour: And that moreover, when the King of *Scots* appear’d before him in Person, to do Homage for *Tyndal* and *Penreth* in *England*, he did openly, and in presence of a great many Persons, *viva voce* declare, That he swore Fealty for the Lands which he held in *England*, and not as King of *Scotland*; for he neither ow’d nor would perform any Homage or Fealty to the King of *England* for the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and that he himself did then agree to what was spoken. Secondly, That when *Alexander III.* King of *Scotland*, died, leaving only a Grand-child by his Sister, who was his Wife, behind him, as Heiress of the Crown of *Scotland*, he did solícite a Marriage betwixt her and his Son *Edward*, then Prince of *Wales*, by all Methods imaginable; “whereas, had he been Liege Lord of *Scotland*, the Wardship “of the Damsel, who was Heiress, and that also of the Kingdom “it self would have fallen to him by Law, as the Superior: But the Pope evidences the contrary, by the History, as we have above related it. Thirdly, He says, That, when this *Margaret* was dead, a Controversy arising amongst the Nobility of *Scotland*, about the Succession of the Crown, the greatest part were willing, that the King of *England* should be Arbitrator; and thereupon he came to the Borders with an Army to support those of his own Faction; the rest being call’d thither, were somewhat afraid; “And, not trusting the King’s bare Word, “That their Obedience should be nowise prejudicial to the Kingdom, “nor infer any Servitude, they would not come over the Borders into “his presence, except he did first assure them by his Letters Patents, “that they were not required to do the same, as being thereunto oblig’d, but out of a special Favour; and that the Liberties of the “Kingdom should suffer no Prejudice thereby: And these Letters “Patents were then produced before the Pope. And to prevent an Objection, which *Edward* might raise, that the King of *Scots* did Homage to him, afterwards the Pope subjoins, that tho’ the same was performed by one, in whose Favour he had unjustly pronounced Sentence, and that some Innovations were thereupon made by him, contrary to the usual Custom; yet all these things were extorted by Violence and Fear, which may befall a constant Man, and therefore they ought not to subsist in Law, nor to redound to the Prejudice of the Kingdom. Fourthly. He argues from the Custom of the Church of *Rome*; for when a Legate was sent into *England*, from the Apostolical See, to exercise his Function, he could not upon that Pretèxt do the same in *Scotland*; neither ever was he, or ought he to be admitted amongst the *Scots*, except he brought special Letters from the Pope to the King of *Scotland*, which were not necessary, if *Scotland* had been a Fee of *England*; for in that Case, as Lawyers speak, the Embassy into *England* had been sufficient alone. Fifthly. That the Pope might leave nothing untouched, he brings in also the Controversy betwixt the Bishop of *Tork* and the *Scots* Clergy, concerning the Superiority, which the Bishop of *Tork* did Arrogate to himself, over all the *Scots* Bishops, which being brought in

into Judgment in *England*, could not be determined, tho' the *English* Bishops themselves did preside: But both Parties appeal'd to the Pope; and therefore the Pope, says the Bishop of *Tork*, could never obtain Judgment for himself, because he produced nothing for the Confirmation of his Cause, but a Letter from some *Scots* Bishops, in which they had wrote to the Bishop of *Tork*, *Memento quod tui sumus, Remember that we are yours.* And *Lastly*, He condemns the Design and Intention of the King of *England* to subdue *Scotland*, especially being then without a Head or Captain, and trusting themselves wholly to the King of *England*; and he Admonishes him sharply to withdraw thence on pain of Excommunication, and leave the *Scots* to their own Liberties and Laws; and, if he had any equitable Plea to alledge for himself, that he would appear before him by his Ambassadors, within six Months, to answer the *Scots* upon that Head; for there were then *Scots* Ambassadors at *Rome*; and in their Calamities they did implore the Assistance of the Pope as Liege Lord of *England*. The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* brought this Denunciation of the Pope to *Edward*, then raging in *Scotland*, admonishing him to leave that Kingdom on Pain of Excommunication. *Edward*, being nothing afraid of the Pope's Threats, swore, "By the Blood of God, for *Sion's* sake will I not hold my Peace, and for *Jerusalem* will I not be at rest (alluding to these Words, *Sion* and *Jerusalem*, in the Pope's Message) while there is Breath in my Nostrils; but will defend my Right, which is known to all the World, to the utmost of my Power. And therefore, that he might obviate the Pope's Threatnings, he sent Two Letters to him, one from himself and another from his Nobility, both of them Apologetical in defence of his Superiority over *Scotland*. The Tenor of both these Letters are to be found in *Westminster* and *Walsingham*; and all King *Edward's* Arguments are solidly answer'd by our Incomparable Sir *Thomas Craig*, in his Dispute concerning Homage: The Pope was willing enough to have pass'd the Sentence of Excommunication against King *Edward*; but he, having his Hands full of other Business, surceases any further to sollicite King *Edward* in behalf of the *Scots*.

As for Sir *William Wallace*, who was then in *France*, I find that some of our Historians doubt if ever he was there (m); and that others say, that he was not only there, but that he was made Duke of *Guyen* by the King of *France*. As for his being in *France*, the Author of the Preface to *Hart's* Edition (n) of *Wallace's Life* sufficiently makes it appear, from the *Scoti-Chronicon* and other Proofs, that he was certainly there, and that he serv'd the *French* King against the *English* in the Province of *Guyen*: So that he must have been there, before the Peace was made betwixt the *French* and the *English*. And this probably gave the Rise to the Story of his being made Duke of *Guyen*; for the Name of *Dux* or Duke had anciently Two different Notions (o), one of which signified an Absolute Supremacy, and differs rather by the mildness of Expression, than by Nature from the Supreme Title of King, according to that of *Philip* of *Macedon* in *Justine*, *Ita visit (saith he) ut victorem nemo sentiret, Sed nos Regem se Græcis sed Ducem appellari jussit.* And in this Sense it is us'd, in the more Barbarous times, for such as were not

X x x

Crown'd

(m) Vid. Ju. Maj. de Gest. Scot. Fol. 74r. (n) Ed. 1620r. (o) Vid. Seld. Tit. of Hon. Chap. I. Page 21. Page 241.

Crown'd as Kings, but yet acknowledg'd no Superiour, especially in some Parts of *Germany* and the Neighbouring Countries; and that after, as well as before, the beginning of the *French Empire*: So we see it also attributed to the Emperor of *Russia*, who is oft stil'd the Duke of *Russia*, in such a Sense as in that of *Martial* speaking of *Domitian*,

Plurima qua summi fulget imago Ducis.

And, in the Title of the Duke of *Venice* also, 'tis meerly Supreme, and not Subordinate to any Prince. The other Notion of it is, as it hath been Honorary, Officiary, or Feudal under a Superior; and in this Sense, the Lieutenants, or Presidents of Provinces or Frontiers, were call'd *Duces* or *Dukes*; and the *French Kings*, in the more Ancient times (*p*), us'd to commit their Provinces, sometimes to *Patricii*, sometimes to *Counts*, and their Commission gave them Jurisdiction both Civil and Criminal: And the Officiary Dignities were in the Abstract call'd *Ducatus*, *Patriciatus* and *Comitatus*. The Dignities of *Comes* and *Dux*, being first at the King's will, and only Officiary, became afterward to be join'd with Feuds, first for Life, and at length they were also with the Feuds transmitted to Heirs; so that *Wallace*, being the King of *France's* Lieutenant in *Guyen*, might give the First rise to this Story.

But to return to our History, King *Edward*, with a numerous Army, made a Fourth Expedition into *Scotland*; and, having Winter'd at *Dumfriesling-Abby*, he return'd to *England* in Triumph, having in a most Barbarous manner Ravag'd and Plunder'd the whole Country; for it was in this Expedition, that he bestow'd most of the Estates and Honours of such Earls and Barons of *Scotland*, as stood out against him, upon the *English* Nobility, thereby to make them more careful to keep what he and they had got: And, not content with this, he carry'd away Captive all such as had any likelihood or shew of Power, ever hereafter, to make any Opposition against him, abolish'd all our Ancient and National Laws, subjected our Church to that of *England*, demolish'd all our Ancient Monuments and Monasteries, burnt all the Chronicles and Records of the Kingdom, save what he sent into *England*; and, lastly, seis'd upon the Marble Chair at *Scoon*, wherein all our Kings had been Crown'd, and sent it to *London*: So that he not only bereav'd them of their Strength, but also of all those other Means, that might put them in mind of their former Glory, or any way encourage them to resume their wonted Valour for the Recovery of their Liberty, not doubting but that he had now secur'd, for himself and his Successors for ever, the Absolute Sovereignty of *Scotland*. In the mean time Sir *William Wallace*, having come to *Scotland*, and having got together several of his old Friends, recover'd diverse Castles and Towns in the North; and, having greatly increas'd his Army, he laid Siege to the Town of *St. Johnston* and took it by Force of Arms: But, as he proceeded in the Course of his Victories, he was Betray'd, by Sir *John Monteith* at *Glasgow*, to *Amyer de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, or (as others write) to *Robert Umfraville*, then Regent of the North Part of *Scotland*; and with him likewise was Betray'd his Brother, whom the *English* Historians call *James Wallace*, and several others, who were all sent to *London*, where they were all Barbarously Executed, being drawn at Horse Tails, affix'd to Gib-

bets

bets, and their dissected Members hung up in the Public Places of *Scotland*, to the Terrors of others. Upon which our Author has this Reflection. "Upon the Seventh Day of *September*, in the Year 1305, the "Noble *William Wallace*, suspecting no evil Designs against him, was at "Glasgow, by Sir *John Monteith*, most Fraudulently and Traiterously "Taken and Deliver'd to the King of *England*. After which he was "Quarter'd at *London*, and his Members affix'd upon several Eminent "Places in *England* and *Scotland*, in Derision and Contempt of the *Scots*. "And here it is to be observ'd, that these Three Things concur to the "enrolling of the Name and Glory of the Noble *Wallace* in the Records "of Fame, The Tyranny of *Edward*, The Cruel Treachery of *John Monteith*, And the Innocency of Sir *William Wallace*. Accurs'd be the Day "of *John Monteith's* Nativity, and let his Name be blotted out of the "Book of Life; Accurs'd to all Eternity be that Inhumane Tyrant, whilst "the Noble Conductor of the *Scots* shall have Eternal Glory for the Reward of his Virtue, for ever and ever, Amen. And then concludes his Book with this Rhime,

Non Scotus est Christe, cui Liber non placet iste.

O *Christ*, he can be no *Scots* Man who is not pleas'd with this Book. And in another Place he gives us this Character of him (q), That he was of a Tall and Gigantic Stature, of a Serene Countenance, a Pleasant Aspect, Broad Costed, Large and Broad Shoulder'd, Big Bon'd, but of no unweildy Bulk; That he was Liberal in his Gifts, Just in his Judgments, Compassionate to those in Distress, Wise in Council, Eloquent in Discourse, and a great Enemy to Liers, Traitors and Cheats; That he had a great Veneration for the Church and all Church-men, was a Father to Orphans and Widows, a strong Protector and Deliverer of the Oppress'd and Poor, and a severe Punisher of Robbers and Thieves. Our Author is likewise thought to have Compos'd the following Epitaph upon him.

In Obitum Clarissimi Ducis *Gulielmi Wallace*, quem *Edwardus* Primus *Anglorum* Rex, sibi proditum, supplicio *Londini* affecerat, Carmen.

*I*Nvida Mors tristi *Gulielmum* Funere Vallam,
 Quæ Cuncta tollit, sustulit.
 Et tanto pro Cive, Cinis; pro finibus Urna est:
 Frigusque pro Lorica obit.
 Ille quidem Lerras, Loca Se inferiora, reliquit;
 At Fata Factis suppressens.
 Parte Sui meliore Solum, Cælumque pererrat,
 Hoc Spiritu, illud Gloria.
 At tibi si inscriptum Generoso Pectus honesto
 Fuisset, Hostis proditi
 Artibus Angli tuis, in *Panas* parciorem isse:
 Nec oppidatim spargeret
 Membra Viri Jacranda Adytis. Sed sci'n quid in ista
 Immanitate viceris?
 Ut Vallæ in cunctas Oras spargantur & Horas
 Laudes; tuumque Dedecus.

X x x 2

Thus

Thus done into English by the Author of the History of the Douglasses (r).

ENVIOUS Death, who Ruines All,
Hath wrought the Sad Lamented Fall
Of *Wallace*, and no more remains
Of Him than what an Urn contains.
Ashes for our Heroe we have,
He for his Armour a Cold Grave.
He left the Earth, too low a State,
And by His Worth o'ercame His Fate.
His Soul; Death had not Pow'r to Kill;
His Noble Deeds the World do fill,
With Lasting Trophies of His Name:
O, hadst thou Virtue lov'd or Fame,
Thou couldst not have Insulted so
Over a Brave, Betray'd, Dead Foe,
Edward, nor seen those Limbs expos'd
To Public Shame, fit to be clos'd,
As Reliques, in an Holy Shrine;
But now the Infamy is thine:
His End Crowns Him with Glorious Bays,
And stains the Brightest of thy Praise.

This Author, who was a very good Judge of Poetry, says, That every Line in this *Latine* Epitaph is so well done, that *Buchanan* himself needed not to be asham'd of them; and the Learn'd Bishop of *Carlisle* says (s), That this Translation is no Foil to the Original.

His Death
and Chara-
cter.

What came of our Author after his Master's Death is not certainly known; but 'tis highly probable, that he retir'd again from the World into his Monastery, and that he chang'd his Name from *John* to *Arnold*, which makes some Authors call him *John* and others *Arnold*; and, from the Fragment of his, that we have still extant, it is certain, that he died in the beginning of the Reign of King *Robert Bruce*. As for our Author's Learning and Parts, we can but little judge of them by what is left us; but only that he had an inexpressible Zeal for the Good of his Country, which no doubt was not a little heightned by the Miseries that he saw them daily involved into, and the Ignominious Death he saw his Master brought to; for, even in the Judgment of the most partial of the *English* Historians, he deserv'd a better Fate: And one of them, who upon all Occasions expresses no good Will to our Country, speaking of his Death, says of him (t), "Thus, by this Ignominious Death, suffer'd that Brave Spirit in a Strange Country, for his Endeavours to Defend the Liberties of his own, and may well remain amongst the best Examples of Fortitude and Piety in that kind. *Dempster* says (u), That our Author wrote Two Books, the one call'd, *Gesta Gulielmi Wallace*, and the other, *De Liberata Tyrannide Scotiæ*: But I am suspicious that both these were but one, out of which the Excerptions were taken, which Sir *Robert Sibbald* oblig'd the Public with, under the following Title.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *R*elationes quadam *Arnoldi Blair Monachi de Dunfermelelem & Capellani D. Willielmi Wallas Militis. Cum Comment.* Edinb. 1705. in 8vo.

T H E

T H E
LIFE of JOHN BARBOUR,
Arch-Deacon of Aberdeen.

THIS Gentleman was Born in the City of *Aberdeen* (a), towards the beginning of the Reign of King *David*, as it appears from his History. In his younger Years, after he had study'd his Grammer and Philosophy, he apply'd himself to Poetry, and made such a considerable Progress in it, that he was esteem'd one of the best Poets of his Age. Having spent some Years in these inferior Studies, he at length apply'd himself to the Study of Theology; and, having enter'd into Holy Orders, was prefer'd, by King *David*, to the Arch-Deaconry of *Aberdeen*. Whil'st he was in this Station, he wrote the History of King *Robert the Bruce* in an Heroick Poem, which we have still extant; and for which he was rewarded with an Annual Pension during his Life by his Son King *David*. And since this History is a Continuation of the Troubles and Wars, betwixt *Scotland* and *England*, from Sir *William Wallace's* Death during that Prince's Reign, I shall from our Author give an Account of this Prince's Life, as I have done that of Sir *William Wallace*, only Illustrating some few things from the *English* Historians, which could not come to his Knowledge.

His Birth and Education:

He applies himself to Poetry,

And to Theology.

He enters into Orders and is made Arch-Deacon of *Aberdeen*.

He writes the History of King *Robert the Bruce*, for which he is rewarded by his Son King *David*.

King *Edward*, apprehending, by the Death of *Wallace* and his Friends, that now there was an end put to all his Troubles in *Scotland*, thought of no more but of ending his Life in Peace and Quiet: But so things fell out otherwise; for *John Cumming*, Earl of *Buchan*, and *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Carrick*, Son to that *Robert Bruce* who had been one of the Competitors for the Crown of *Scotland*, having met together, and having had a long Conference about the State of their Native Country, they at length agreed between themselves, by Indentures mutually Seal'd and Subscrib'd, That, if, by their Endeavours or Industry, they could deliver their Country out of the *English*-Mens Hands, then *Bruce* should be King, and *Cumming* should enjoy all *Bruce's* Lands and Possessions, with many other Honours and Dignities, as next to him in all Authority in Affairs touching the Government of the Realm: But the Bond of this Confederacy lasted not long; for *Bruce*, knowing himself to be suspected by King *Edward*, in respect of his Title to the Crown, durst not stay long in *Scotland*; and therefore immediately, upon the Sealing and Delivery of the Writings aforesaid, he went Post to *London*. On the other side, *John Cumming* presently after began to doubt, that this Conspiracy would not succeed well, either fearing the great Power of King *Edward*, or else, that his own Power would not be great, if *Bruce* once attain'd the Crown, and hereupon he reveal'd the Conspiracy to King *Edward*; and, to make it more apparent, sent his Counter-Part of the Indenture to him. At first King *Edward* gave but light Credit to it; supposing it to proceed from Envy and Malice; but at length, upon a more Serious View

An Account of this History.

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of

(a) Vid. Hume's Hist. of the Dougl. Part 1. Pag. 30. 31. Bish. Nicol. Scot's Hist. Lib. Pag. 145.

of the Affair, he call'd for *Bruce*, and, having shew'd him the Paper, he ask'd him, If he knew his own hand Writ? But *Bruce*, stoutly denying that he was Privy to any such Writing, desir'd to have it for one Night to peruse at leisure, and offer'd, that, if he did not prove that the same was maliciously Forged to put him to Death, he would Forfeit to the King all the Lands that he had, either within the Realm of *England* or else-where. King *Edward*, upon this seeming Confidence of *Bruce*, began to think, as at first, that it was meer Malice in *Cuning*; and therefore granted him his desire. He was not long out of King *Edward*'s Presence, when the Earl of *Glocester*, (or as some say the Earl of *Montgomery*) his old Friend, sent him a Pair of Sharp Spurs and some Crowns of Gold, as if he had Borrow'd them from him. *Bruce*, understanding what the meaning of this Mystical Message was, immediately caus'd three Horses, for himself and Servants, to be Shod the contrary way, that they might not be followed: And Departing out of *London* about Midnight, notwithstanding King *Edward* used all means that he could to impede his Flight, yet he made such speed, that, the seventh Night after his Departure from *London*, he came to his own Castle of *Lochmabane* in *Argandale*, where he found his Brother *Edward Bruce*, *Robert Fleming*, *James Lindsay*, *Rodger Kilpatrick* and *Thomas Charters*, to whom he related the Danger he had escaped. They, hearing this, were overjoy'd with his Resolutions, and told him, that they would follow him where ever he went, and expose themselves to the utmost, to make his Design effectual. Upon this, they immediately resolv'd to go in Search after *Cuning*, and by the way they apprehended one of his Servants with Letters to King *Edward*, desiring that *Bruce* should be dispatch'd in haste, lest, being a Nobleman much favour'd by the Commons, he should prove a troublesome Enemy; and by this means they not only made a further discovery of his Treachery, but also, that he was to be found at *Dumfries*; whereupon they Rode straight there, and found him in the Quire of the Church, before the High Altar, at his Devotions, and having shewed him his Letters, *Bruce* Stabb'd him first with his Dagger, and then all the rest Thrust their Daggers in him, and not only dispatch'd him, but also his Cousin Sir *Edward Cuning*, and all those that were with him. This Slaughter fell upon the Ninth of *February*, in the beginning of the Year 1306. for which he had afterwards Absolution from the Pope.

Bruce having rid himself thus of his principal Enemy, the whole Name of the *Cumings* rose up against him with their Allies, viz. the Earl of *March*, the Lord *Lorn*, the Lord *Abernethy*, the Lord *Briben*, the Lord *Soules*, and the most Part of the North and *Galloway* follow'd them. The Lord *Lorn* had great Power in the West Highlands; the Earl of *March* and Lord *William Soules* commanded the *Mers*, with *Berwick* and the Borders. At the same time *Bruce*'s Two Brethren, *Thomas* and *Alexander*, with *Rainald Crawfurd* younger, secretly landing in *Galloway*, were taken by *Duncan Mackdougall*, a Great Man in *Galloway*, and sent to King *Edward*, who caus'd them all Three to be hang'd. On the other side *Bruce* was join'd by several Gentlemen; for, besides the above-named Persons, there came to him the young Lord *James Douglas*, who, hearing of his Father's Death, had return'd from *France*, and staid for some time with his Cousin, *William Lamberton* Bishop of *St. Andrews*,
Mal-

Malcolm Earl of Lenox, John Earl of Athol, Sir Niel Campbel, Sir Gilbert Hay, Sir Christopher Seton, Sir Thomas Randal, Sir Hugh Hay, John Sommervel, David Barclay, Alexander Frazer, Simon Frazer, Sir Robert Boyd, Sir William Haliburton, and several others who had join'd Sir William Wallace before. With this Company he went to Scoon, where he was Crown'd King of Scotland in the Month of April, in the Year 1306. Upon this, King Edward immediately sent into Scotland Sir Aymer de Valence, the Lord Clifford, the Lord Percy and Sir Robert Umfrevile, to whom King Edward had given the Earldom of Angus and a powerful Army. Sir Aymer de Valence, having with all imaginable Expedition march'd this Army to Methuen, hard by St. Johnston, where King Robert then lay with his Army; and, having assaulted him unexpectedly, he was discomfited, but had very few of his Men kill'd, and a few only taken Prisoners, as Sir Thomas Randal, David Barclay, Alexander Frazer, Inchmartine, John Sommervel and Sir Hugh Hay, who were all constrain'd to swear Homage to the King of England. The Country being extremely discouraged with this Defeat, King Robert was forsaken by all, save a few Gentlemen, with whom he travell'd towards Argyle Shire, designing to lurk for a time with his Brother in Law, Sir Niel Campbel; but he was met by the way by John of Lorn Cousin to John Cuming, who gave him another overthrow; yet he himself and a few of his Friends made their Escape. After which he sent his Queen, who was Daughter to Gratny Earl of Mar, with his Brother Sir Neil Bruce and John Earl of Athol, to the Castle of Kildrummy in Mar. In the mean time King Edward rais'd a great Army, designing another Expedition in Person to Scotland: But first, that he might be the more nobly attended, he Knighted the Prince his Son, and by a Commission empower'd him to bestow in like manner the Honour of Knighthood, with great Solemnity, upon Three Hundred Gentlemen, the Sons of Earls, Barons and Knights, which was accordingly done; and, to encourage them the more, the King gave them out of his Wardrobe Military Ornaments, such as Purples, Silks, Sindons and Scarfs wrought with Gold and Silver, according to every Man's Estate. He also made a Vow, before them all, to revenge the Death of Cuming upon Bruce and his Adherents, and swore his Son and all the Nobility about him upon their Allegiance, That they should prosecute his desired Revenge, whether he liv'd or died, and never to make Peace with the Scots, till they were utterly destroy'd. After which, having rais'd from the Clergy and Laity a Contribution for carrying on the Charges of the War, he made his Fifth and Last Expedition into Scotland, in the Thirtieth and Fourth Year of his Reign. With this Army he run over the whole Country, killing and destroying all the Bruce's Adherents, where ever he could meet with them; and amongst these were Sir Neil his Brother, whom he sent to London, where he was hang'd, drawn and quarter'd; John Earl of Athol, being of the Royal Blood and Father in Law to Edward Bruce the King's Brother, had his Drawing, at the Request of the Queen, remitted; but was prefer'd to a higher Gallows than the rest. And, after his Head was smitten off, and his Body burnt to Ashes, the Countess of Buchan, who had been at the Coronation of the King, in her Brother's Absence, the Earl of Fife, whose Office was to Crown the King, was likewise taken Prisoner, and sent to Berwick, where she was

put into a Wooden Cage, made after the Fashion of a Crown, and hang'd out upon the Walls of that City for People to wonder at. After these things were done, he sent his Son the Prince, with a strong Army, to besiege the Castle of *Kildrummy*, where the Queen was: But she, being inform'd of it, fled to the Shrine of St. *Duthac* in *Ross*; for this Saint, who was Bishop of *Ross*, and lyes buried in the Town of *Tane*, was then esteem'd the most powerful Interceder for the *Scots* Nation of all the Saints in Heaven. But as she was imploring this Saint's Assistance, she was taken Prisoner with her Daughter, by *William Cuming* Earl of *Ross*, and sent to King *Edward*, who sent them to *London*, where the Queen was kept Prisoner, and her Daughter was sent to a Religious House in *Lincoln* Shire. The Castle of *Kildrummy* was treacherously burnt by one of the Garison; upon which they were obliged to surrender themselves, and were all hang'd the next day. King *Robert* seeing Winter approaching, and finding no Retreat in the main Land, retir'd, with some of his Friends, amongst whom were the Earl of *Lenox*, Sir *James Douglass* and *Gilbert Hay*, who never forsook him even in his greatest Straits; with these, I say, he retir'd to the *Isles*, where they were kindly receiv'd by *Angus* Lord of the *Isles*. And, having staid for some time in *Kintyre*, he sail'd over to the Isle of *Raughbrine*, where he liv'd unheard of all that Winter, every Man esteeming him to be dead. 'Tis said, that, during his stay here, he compos'd a Consolatory Poem in *Latine*; but we have none of it except the Two following Verses, which shew the extreme Love that he had for his Country, and the great Hardships that he suffer'd, (b).

*Ni me Scotorum Libertas prisca moveret,
Non tantum paterer Orbis ob Imperium.*

That's to say,

To Rule the World I would not undergo,
What Scotland's Ancient Freedom moves me to.

In the mean time, King *Edward* caus'd his Army march thorow all the Mountains and Woods in the Highlands, thinking to have got him; but, finding that all was in vain, he went to *Carlisle*, where he stay'd all that Winter. In the beginning of the Spring, King *Robert*, having got together some Men, Armour and Weapons, landed with them privately in *Carrick*, where he surpris'd his own Castle of *Turnberry*, slew all the *Englisb* that he found within it, and divided the Spoil amongst his Soldiers; but the Governour, the Lord *Piercy*, made his Escape into *England*. From thence he sent Sir *James Douglass* into *Douglass-Dale*, where, by the means of one *Thomas Dickson*, an old Servant of his Father, he took the Castle of *Douglass*, kill'd all the *Englisb* he found there; and, having demolish'd the Castle, return'd to the King, whom he found at *Crammock*, and gave him an Account of what he had done; and how that Sir *Aymer de Valence* and *John* Lord *Lorn* were marching against him with an Army. Upon which the King, with Five Hundred Men which he had with him, retir'd to the Top of a high Mountain, that he might the better discover their Number and Motions: But, the *Englisb* General being inform'd of this, the Lord

Lorn,

(b) Vld. Geor. Conr., de Dupl. Statu Relig. apud Scot. Lib. 1. Pag. 71.

Lorn, who knew the Country, propos'd to go a secret Way with the half of the Army, and by that means come in upon his Rere, whilst he was attacking in the Front. This being agreed to, the King, who was only intent in observing the Body of Men, who appear'd under the Conduct of the *English* General in the Plain, was advertis'd, that the Lord *Lorn* was coming upon his Rere with a Body of Eight Hundred Highlanders. The King, perceiving the great Danger he was in of being entirely cut off, divided his Men into Three Bodies, and, appointing where they should meet at Night, order'd them to fly Three several Ways. This was hardly put in Execution, when the Lord *Lorn* came up with his Men, and pursu'd so hotly that Body in which he thought the King was, by the Direction of a Slouth Hound, who constantly run upon their Foot-steps, that he had been certainly apprehended, had he not order'd all his Company to forsake him, save One Man, with whom he fled into a Neighbouring Wood; and so by that means escap'd, the Hound following alwise upon the Tract of the main Body. After this, the King, having got together so many of his dispersed Men as had come to the Place appointed, march'd with them to the Wood of *Glentrole*, where he was again attack'd by the *English* General; but, by the Bravery of his Men and the Strength of the Place, he oblig'd the General to retire, with the Loss of several of his Men. This Success having given them a little more Courage, he leaves the Wood; and, coming to the plain Fields, in a very short time he reduc'd all *Kyle* and *Cunninghame* to his Obedience. About the same time also, Sir *James Douglas*, with Sixty Men, lying in Ambush at a strait Place in *Cunninghame*, call'd the *Netherfoord*, fell so unexpectedly upon Sir *Philip Mowbray*, who was going with a Thousand Men against the King, at that time in *Kyle*, that he put them all to the Flight, and kill'd several of them. Upon the Tenth of *May* following, the *English* General march'd an Army of Three Thousand Men to *Kyle*, where the King then lay. The King, being inform'd of it, tho' his Army consisted only of 600 Men, gave him Battel, at a Place under *Loudon-Hill*, which he so fortify'd on either hand with Dykes and Fouses, that the Enemies could not enclose them upon the Sides; and, by the Valour and Bravery of his Men, after a sharp Fight of some Hours, he defeat the whole *English* Army, and chas'd *Gilbert Clare*, Earl of *Glocester*, into the Castle of *Air*, to which he laid a close Siege, but was oblig'd to raise it, by the coming up of a fresh Army upon him. King *Edward*, hearing of this Defeat, and of the Increase of *Bruce's* Power, summon'd all the Nobility and Barons of *Scotland* to repair to him at *Carlisle*, at Mid-summer following; and in *July* after, tho' he found himself much indispos'd, he set forward for *Scotland* with a fresh and mighty Army: But, as it is not in the Power of Man to bring to pass all that he intends, tho' grounded upon the most probable ways, the Conduct of the Divine Providence being otherwise, so it fell out with this Prince, who came very far short of his Reckoning; for he had not led his great Army beyond the Borders, when he died at a Town in *Cumberland*, call'd *Burgh*, upon the Sands near to the Marches of *Scotland*. Such an inveterate Enemy was this King to the *Scots*, tho' otherwise a Great Prince, that upon his Death-bed he call'd his Son, and all the Nobility that were there, and took an Oath of them; That, if he died in his

Journey, they should carry his Corps with them about *Scotland*, and not permit it to be buried till *Scotland* was brought to the lowest Subjection, supposing, that, as he had very often brought them to extreme Misery, so that his very dead Body would be a Terror to them.

After his Death, the *Scots* became more United than they had been for several Years before, and consequently more embolden'd and encourag'd; whereas the *English* grew every day less and less able to hurt or annoy them. In the mean time, King *Robert* went to the North, leaving Sir *James Douglas* upon the Borders, who took his own Castle of *Douglas* (which the *English* had repair'd) for a Second Time, and raz'd it to the Ground; and, in a very few days, chas'd all the *English* out of *Douglas-Dale*, *Atrick-Forrest* and *Jedburgh-Forrest*, and took Sir *Thomas Randal* the King's Sister's Son, who had been oblig'd to follow them ever since his Captivity, and Sir *Alexander Stewart* of *Bonkle*. On the other hand, Sir *Alexander* and *Simon Frazer*, having met with King *Robert* in the North, told him, how *John Cuming* Earl of *Buchan*, *David* Lord *Brichen*, Sir *John Moubray* and the rest of the *Cuminian* Faction were gathering an Army against him: But King *Robert*, that he might strike some Terror into his Enemies, suddenly surpris'd the Castle of *Inverness*. Upon which, the most of all the other Garisons in the adjacent Highland Countries submitted to him, and his Army was considerably augmented. In his Return to the South, he fell sick at *Inverury*, which *John Cuming*, Earl of *Buchan*, being inform'd of, thought it a fit Opportunity to attack him, which he accordingly did at *Old Meldrum*: But the King, nowise surpris'd with this, caus'd carry himself in a Litter to the Field, which so animated his Army, that they gave the Earl a total Defeat, and kill'd and took a great Number of the *English* who were in his Army. This Battel was fought on *Ascension-Day*, in the First Year of King *Edward* the Second's Reign. Yet, notwithstanding of this Victory, the Earl of *Buchan*, in a very short time, got together a more numerous Army than he had before; and, having met King *Robert* at *Glenesk* in *Angus*, they had a Second Battel, wherein the King, who was now in a perfect State of Health, fought with incredible Valour and Manhood, and at length cut off the Earl's whole Army, he himself and Sir *John Moubray* hardly making their Escape into *England*, where the Earl shortly after died. About the same time, *David*, Earl of *Athol* took the Castle of *Brichen*, *Philip Frazer* the Castle of *Forfar*; and the King and they, pursuing their Victories, reduc'd all the North to the King's Obedience. After this, the King having join'd his Army with Sir *James Douglas*, they return'd to the South; and in their way took the Town of *Perth*, put all the *English* to the Sword, and levell'd the Fortifications with the Ground. From thence they march'd into the Country of *Argile*, where *John* Lord *Lorn* thought to have cut them off, by an Ambush of Two Thousand Men, which he had plac'd upon a high and steep Hill, where the King behoved to march his Army: But the King, being inform'd of this, sent Sir *James Douglas*, Sir *Alexander Frazer* and Sir *Andrew Gray* before him, and they, having with great difficulty got up the Hill at another Place, fell unexpectedly on their Backs, and cut them all in pieces, save the Lord *Lorn*, who made his Escape by Sea into *England*; but his Father, Lord *Alexander Mackdougall*, was forc'd to yield himself and the Castle of *Dunstaffage*

staffage to the King's Mercy. By this means, all the North and West-Highlands, and all be-north *Forth* were reduced to the King's Obedience. The like Success; at the same time, had the King's Brother, *Edward Bruce*, in *Galloway*, against a great Army of *English* and *Scots* led by *Donald* of the *Isles*, whom he not only overthrew, but likewise took *Donald* himself Prisoner and some brave Commanders; and many of the *English* were slain. Sir *James Douglas*, upon *Shrove-Tuesday*, or *Fa-stens-Even*, surpris'd the strong Castle of *Roxburgh*; they of the Garison being overcome with immoderate Eating and Drinking. The Report whereof so wheted the Courage of the Valiant *Thomas Randal*, newly restor'd to his Uncle's Favour, and made Earl of *Murray*, that, having besieg'd the Castle of *Edinburgh* for some Months, he set himself by all means to carry the same; and, having discovered a narrow Passage up the Rock, by which he and sundry Valiant Gentlemen secretly went up, and having scal'd the Wall, after a long and dangerous Fight, they made themselves Masters of the Place. The Garisons of *Ruthglen*, *Laner*, *Dumfries*, *Air*, *Dundee* and *Bute* were shortly after reduc'd, and all of them raz'd to the Ground: So that now all the Garisons in *Scotland* had Subjected themselves to King *Robert*, but the Castle of *Siriveling*, which Sir *Edward Bruce*, the King's Brother, had Besieg'd for Three Months; but, finding it very strong and well provided in Men, Victuals and Munition for many Months, a Truce was concluded betwixt them, upon this Condition, That if the Castle was not reliev'd within Twelve Months, it should then be deliver'd up to King *Robert*, and that, during that time, no Assault should be made nor Force us'd against it. In the mean time, King *Robert* not only expell'd all the *English* out of *Scotland*, but enter'd into *England* with a great Army, laid waste all the Northren Parts, and brought from *Northumberland* great Booties of Cattel and other Riches, by which the Country was greatly reliev'd; for the Year before, the *English* had so haras'd them, that, as their Historians say, there was so great a Famine in *Scotland*, that they were, to sustain their Lives, constrain'd to eat Horse Flesh and other loathsome Meats. In the mean time King *Edward* rais'd a great Army, not only of *English*, *Irish*, *Welch* and such of the *Scots* as adhered to him, but likewise of Forreign Soldiers, from *Normandy*, *Britany*, *Aquitain*, *Flanders* and other Transmarine Provinces which were then Subject unto him. There did also flock to him all Men, who were Drown'd in Debt, Spendthrifts, Criminals, those of desperate Fortunes, and such as had neither Credit nor Wealth to live upon at Home, that the *Scots* Nation being destroy'd, they might settle there; it being no ways doubted, but that the whole Nation would be utterly extirpated by such a Powerful Army, which some say consisted of Three Hundred Thousand Men, others of a Hundred and Fifty Thousand, and the least Number, mention'd by any Historian, is a Hundred Thousand. But this increase of their Number added nothing to their Strength; for the access of these unusual Multitudes begat such Disorders, that there was no Warlike Discipline observ'd in the Army, by reason of the Comixture of Men, Women and Children, their Clamor, Noise and Diversity of Language. On the other side, the King of *Scotland*, with Thirty Thousand hardy and well experienc'd Men, met him at a small Brook, call'd *Bannockburn*, not far distant from *Siriveling*; and,

what he wanted of his Adversary's Army, he supply'd by his good Order and Prudent Advice, appointing his Men, for their further Advantage and better Security, to dig deep Ditches in the Place where it was expected the Battel should Join, and pitch sharp and hardned Stakes within the same, and to cover them over slightly with Green Turfs, in such sort, that, if any great Number should come pressing together, or that any Horse-Men should come thereupon, the Turfs should sink to the Bottom of the Ditches, and by that means, inevitably expose them either to the Danger of falling upon these Stakes, or of being Surrounded and Cut off in their Confusion.

Both Armies being now in readiness to Join Battel, King *Edward* sent, by a secret way, Seven or Eight Hundred Horse-men to Advise Sir *Philip Mowbray*, Captain of the Castle of *Striveling*, that he was come with his Army to relieve him : But King *Robert*, having got Notice of this, sent *Thomas Randal*, Earl of *Murray*, with Five Hundred Horse-men to Fight them, which was accordingly done in sight of both Armies; and, it being very obstinately fought on both sides, Sir *James Douglass*, being extremely afraid of his Friend and Noble Companion; the Earl of *Murray*, rush'd out of the Scots Army with a select Company of Men to his Assistance ; but as he approach'd them, seeing the *English* give way, he made a halt, and did not Join him, being unwilling to deprive his worthy Friend of any of the Glory of that Action; wherein the *English* were at length overthrown with great Slaughter. King *Edward*, being extremely exasperated with this, determin'd to give Battel to the Scots King to Morrow; and in the mean time, King *Robert*, with all Diligence made all necessary Preparations for the Battel, commanding all his Men to receive the Sacrament of the Blessed Eucharist the next Morning, and he himself spent all that Night in Prayer. Here we are told of a Miracle that happen'd to King *Robert*, whilst he was at his Devotions. This Prince had a particular Respect for St. *Fillan*, and for that reason order'd his Chaplain to bring alongst with him to the Army St. *Fillan's* Arm, which he had in great Veneration, and enshrin'd in a small Silver Chest : But the Chaplain, being afraid that they might lose the Relique, if the *English* happen'd to Defeat them, brought only the empty Chest; but behold whilst the King was desiring the Assistance of St. *Fillan's* Prayers, the empty Chest, being plac'd upon the Altar, open'd and shut of its own accord. Upon which the Chaplain, going to see what the Matter was, found the Arm of St. *Fillan* there, to his great admiration. Upon this he told the King the whole Story ; and, whatever Truth was in it, it is certain that it serv'd the King to very good purpose; for he having told it to his Army the next Day, the People then being abundantly Credulous, it did not a little add to their Courage. This St. *Fillan* (if we may believe *Camierarius* (c), who tells us the Story from the Chronical of *Pasly*) was Born in the Shire of *Fife*, in the Seventh Century; his Father *Feriath* was a Nobleman, and his Mother's Name was *Kintigerna*. At his Birth he appear'd like a Monster, having something in his Mouth like a Stone: Upon which his Father order'd him Privately to be Drown'd in an adjacent Loch ; but, the Boy being preserved by the Administration of Angels, a holy Bishop, call'd *Itharus*, coming accidentally by, took up the Child, and, having Baptiz'd him, caus'd

bring

(c) Vid. de Scoti. Doct. Fort. & Piet. Pag. 76.

bring him up in all vertue and literature, in the Monastery of *Pittenweem*; and at length, upon the Death of the Abbot, he was chosen in his Place. But, sometime before his Death, he retired to the solitary Desert of *Syrus*, where he spent the Remainder of his Days in Devotion, and Died about the Year of our Lord 649.

But to return to our History, the next Day King *Robert*, as he had Commanded over Night, had Mass said to him and his Army on the top of a high Hill, and, after that he had Receiv'd the Sacrament from the Hands of *Mauritius*, Abbot of *Inchcaffry*, he call'd all his Captains and Soldiers to his Standard, and said to them.

" I believe there is none amongst you but knows, how necessary it is
 " for us to Fight our Enemies this Day; you see an Army brought a-
 " gainst you, not only consisting of *English*-Men, but of several other
 " Neighbouring Nations, who are come against us with their Wives and
 " Children, desiring to possess our Country and Banish us, to manure
 " our Lands, rife our Houses and Churches, and, in one Word, to cut
 " us off from the Face of the Earth. Our Enemies have advis'd amongst
 " themselves, to what cruel Deaths they will put us, as not doubting
 " of the Victory; and being Ignorant of your invincible Valour, known
 " so well to me by a long tract of Experience. But would you know,
 " what sort of Men these are, who thus vainly boast of overthrowing
 " us; they are the Refuse and Rascality of all the different Nations;
 " from whence they came, nowise skill'd in War, but drown'd in their
 " Lusts; and because they have spent all their own Patrimonies and
 " Goods, by their flagitious Lives, they come with a Design
 " to Possess themselves of ours: But you will find, that we
 " will have no more Difficulty in overcoming of them, than if they
 " were so many Sheep; and supposing, that they were People of known
 " Valour and Probity, yet, from the Justness of our Cause, we have
 " reason to believe, that God would rather favour us than them; yea,
 " has he not shown us so much by the Miracle of *St. Fillan*, which you
 " have all heard of. Let us then trust in Him, for, if He be with us, we
 " need not be afraid of all their Multitudes, and the more Numerous
 " and Richer they are, the greater will be the Spoil and Prey; that you
 " and your Families will Possess.

After this, he divided his Army into Three Bodies. The first whereof consisted of Seven Thousand *Borderers*, and Three Thousand *Highlanders*, who were commanded by *Thomas Randal*, Earl of *Murray*, and Sir *James Douglas*, two Commanders of approv'd Valour and Experience. The Second Body, which consisted of Ten Thousand Men, was commanded by *Edward Bruce*, the King's Brother, and some other wise Officers, who were join'd with him to Qualify and Moderate his rash, inconsiderate and hot Nature. The Third Body, which consisted of Ten Thousand, was led by the King himself. Thus prepared, with a cheerful Countenance, he attended the Onset of his Enemies. The King of *England*, on the other hand, caus'd the Collonels of each Nation, within his Camp, to put their under-Officers and common Soldiers in Mind, that if they behaved themselves like Men, and like their *English* Ancestors fought Valiantly, if it were but for an Hour or two, they should Purchase the Realm of *Scotland*, and all such Riches as was therein to themselves, in Reward of their Labour and Service;

that he desir'd nothing for himself, but only the Sovereignty thereof; and also, that they should take it into their serious Consideration, what irreparable Shame and Disgrace they should undergo, if they would return with empty hands, and not Victorious over their Enemies, which could not be, considering their great and unequal Multitude, without a very great Stain and Brand of base and extreme Cowardise; so, presuming on the greatness of his Army and Multitude of his Men, he promis'd to himself undoubted Victory. All things thus prepar'd, the Abbot of *Inchaffry*, above-mention'd, advanc'd before King *Robert's* Army, with a Crucifix in his hand, whereupon the whole *Scots* Army, in Devotion, fell upon their Knees before it, which the *English* Army beholding, they thought, that it was to beg their Lives of them: But, when they saw them rise again and come foreward, they perceiv'd their Error, and furiously rush'd foreward to meet them. At their first Joining, many on each side were slain and overthrown. The *English* Archers, who were posted upon the Skirts of their Army, were like to prove very troublesome to the *Scots*, which *Edward* the King's Brother perceiving, came upon their Backs with a Thousand Spear-men, and cut them all to Pieces. The *English*, seeing this, gave the *Scots* a furious Charge with their Horse, intending to have violently run them down and over-ridden them: But, being in their highest speed galloping towards them, they tumbled confusedly one upon another, into the Pits and Ditches, upon the Stakes, where, about Twenty Thousand of them were slain; yet, by reason of their great Multitudes, the *Scots* were in very great danger of being overpower'd, when the Women, Waggoners and other Servants that attended the Baggage of the *Scots* Army came rushing down upon the *English*, with a hideous Cry. Upon which, they taking them to be another Army, that were coming up to their Assistance, turn'd their Backs and fled for 't, the *Scots* pursuing them with an incredible Slaughter. In this Battel were slain of the *English*, *Gilbert Clare* Earl of *Glocester*, *Robert* Lord *Clifford*, one of the Noblest of the *English* Barons of that time, the Lord *Pagan Tiptoft*, the Lord *William Marisbal*, the Lord *Giles de Argenton*, whose Death was extremely lamented by King *Robert*, having been his great Friend while he was in *England*, and who had behaved himself with great Valour against the *Turks*, the Lord *Edmond de Maule* the King's Stewart, *Reginald Deincourt* and Seven Hundred Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen; and of common Soldiers a great but uncertain Number. There were also taken Prisoners, *Humphry Bobun* Earl of *Hartford*, *Ralph de Montbermer* (who had married *Joan* of *Acres*, King *Edward's* Sister, Countess Dowager to the Second *Gilbert Clare* Earl of *Glocester*) the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Oxford*, *Robert Umsfrevile*, whom King *Edward* I. had made Earl of *Angus*, the Earl of *March*, *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, the Lord *Nevil*, the Lord *Scroope*, the Lord *Lucy Aston*, with many others. King *Edward* and Fifteen Earls were pursued by Sir *James Douglas* and Four Hundred chosen Men, the length of *Dumbar*: From whence by *Patrick Dunbar* Earl of *March*, a Man who had alwise been a Traitor to his Country, they were safely convey'd unto *Bernick*. Upon the *Scots* side, there were about Four Thousand slain, but no Persons of any Note, save Sir *William Wepont* and Sir *Walter Ross*. This great Army of King *Edward* was so Richly and Gloriously furnish'd, both with Armour, Tents, Apparel

parel and all other Things that might add to the Splendor and Bravery thereof, that, after the Defeat, the Spoil, which King Robert order'd to be distributed amongst his Army, did considerably enrich them; for, besides the Silks, Velvets, Cloth of Gold and other Rich Stuffs that they found, which was mostly bestowed in Adorning the Churches and Monasteries that had been defaced by the *English*, they found great Store of Coin, Gold, Silver, Jewels and Armour. They also receiv'd great Sums of Money for the Ransom of the Noblemen, who were taken Prisoners, the Earl of *Hartford* being only deliver'd by Exchange for the *Scots* Queen, who had been detain'd for Eight Years Prisoner in *England*. The *English* Historians tell us, That the Kingdom of *Scotland* was so overjoy'd with this Victory, which they acknowledge to be the greatest Defeat that ever *England* met with, that the Women and Children did nothing but sing, upon all Occasions, a Ballad, which was made against the *English*, and began thus:

Maydens of England sore may ye mourne,
For your Lemmons you have lost at Bannockborne
With Hevalogh.

What weend the King of England
To have gotten Scotland

With Rummilogh.

But that which afforded greatest Matter of Mirth, was the Verses of a Carmelite Friar, Robert Baston Prior of *Scarborough*, whom King *Edward* had brought alongst with him to compose a Poem in Praise of his Conquest of *Scotland*; and, being taken Prisoner by King *Robert*, after he had examin'd him, and found upon what Design he had come, he caus'd him compose a Poem in Praise of the Victory he had obtain'd over the *English* (d), which began thus.

*De planctu cudo metrum cum Carmine Nudo,
Risum retrudo, dum tali themate ludo, &c.*

In Imitation of which, a *Scots* Monk compos'd the following Verses upon the same Battel; by which the Reader may judge of their Poetry in that Age.

*M. semel & C ter, semel X. I. Jungito quater
Nato Baptista, nova gratia contigit ista,
Quod Rex Scotorum, peditum cum parte suorum
Anglos prostravit, Equites cum Rege fugavit,
Rivulus est super hoc testis, cognomine Banoc,
In quo submersa jacuerunt corpora versa
Quo Rex Anglorum, numero fidendo suorum
Armatis populis, equitum termillibus centis,
Et peditum turmis circumdatus in numerosis
Scotos aggreditur, & eos delere molitur.
Recursum facere castæ cupiens Strivelinæ;
Te Strivelina commendans prælia bina,
Gens vi divina cadit Anglica teste ruina,
Turba ruit procerum, cadit hic utroque dierum
Ad magnum numerum sit ibi dispersio rerum,*

A a a 2

Gens

(d) Vid. Scot. Chron. Lib. 12. Cap. 20. Camer. de Scot. Doct. Fort. & Piet. Pag. 28. &c.

Gens cadit Anglorum, fugit & Rex tristis eorum.
 Stat Rex Scotorum fervens in amore suorum,
 Hic relevat jura quæ jam fuerant peritura,
 Per vigili cura tollit Rex noxia plura,
 Amisus totos quos Anglia pluribus annis
 Concepit in Scotos, lux obruit una Joannis:
 Nam Rex Anglorum molitus nomen eorum
 Funditus auferre, luis in se prælia Guerræ,
 Arma movet, concepta fovet, perit in perimendo,
 Aggreditur, dum non fugitur, fugit ipse latendo,
 Dedecus assequitur aggressor quando fugatur,
 Cui bene consulitur, quod vel sic se tueatur,
 Cum paucis fugit, in campo Rex ense relicto;
 Nec populo patet ulla fugæ via, Principe victo,
 Turba superba Ducum, morbum perpeffa caducum,
 Si tamen evadit equos ante, pedes modo vadit,
 Aspiceres illos Proceres aliosque Potentes
 Dispersos, illos mersos, hos ense ruentes,
 Si forsan vivi fugiant, alii fugitivi
 Rupibus aut Rivis latitant aut Vallibus imis
 Dum captivatur prosternitur atque fugatur.
 Forth sepelit multos armis & equis bene cultos,
 Quos tu serviles reputabas Anglice miles,
 Et quos tu viles opus est fatearis beriles
 Sic levat Elisos Dominus, dans robora parvis
 In se confisis, altos prosternit in armis;
 Anglica quos plenus promebas cantica venis
 Summe sub his pænis Jeremiæ consona Threnis
 Expertos Scotos metuens tibi jam bene notos,
 A modo ne temere contemnas disce cavere
 Expulit a primis Anglis lux alma Joannis
 Christi Baptistæ, pro quo tibi gloria Christe
 Bannoc habet limus, quorum nec nomina scimus
 Quando domi desint, perpendit gens sua qui sint;
 Palma Triumphalis, inimicis exitialis
 Scotis dum cessit laus bis celeberrima crescit
 Anglica militia, bis victa, fugata, perempta.
 Per loca Forthina fugientum facta ruina,
 Divitiæ captæ, currus, res denique raptæ
 Materiem flendi dedit Anglis atque gemendi:
 Sic gens Scotorum laudas Dominum Dominorum.
 Inter Deposuit fontem castrumque nodosum
 Corruit Anglorum gens perfida, fraude suorum.
 O Deus immense! quam justo percutis ense,
 Colla superbiorum calcans, & vota tuorum
 Supplens supplicium precibus placatus eorum,
 Scotorum cætus vigeat virtute repletus:
 Et Rex sic lætus vertens in gaudia fletus
 Anglis Prostratis divisis, atque fugatis,
 Et Captivatis, sit laus Regi Pietatis.

After this Defeat of the *English* at *Bannockburn*, King *Robert* wasted and destroyed all the *English* Marches, demolish'd all their Forts, and reduced all *Scotland* to his Obedience. In the mean time King *Edward*, having made one *Peter Spalding*, an *English* Man, Governour of *Berwick*, and receiv'd the Sons of some of the best of the Town's-men as Hostages for their Loyalty, return'd from thence to the City of *Tork*, where he shew'd a great desire to Revenge and Repair the Dishonour of his late Defeat : But he could do little or nothing; for his People were so discouraged by their late Overthrow, and also their Affections were grown cold towards him, by reason of his too much adhering to the Counsel of his Favourites, which begat a Dissention between him and his Nobility; yet some of them, as *Edmond* Earl of *Arundel*, *Robert* *Umsfrevile*, the Lord *Piercy*, the Lord *Nevil*, the Lord *Beaumont*, with a great Power of the North of *England*, made an Inroad into *Scotland*, and destroy'd some Part of the Marches; but they were so quickly Pursu'd by Sir *James Douglas*, Sir *Walter Warren* and a great Power with them, that they were forc'd presently to return again into *England*. The *Scots* Army went after them the length of *Northbalerton*, Burnt and Destroy'd all the Towns in *Northumberland*, and then return'd again, thro' the West-Marches, into *Scotland*.

Much about this time, at the Invitation and Request of the Lords of *Ireland*, who then thought themselves oppress'd with the Tyranny of the *English*, King *Robert*, being now absolute Master of *Scotland*, sent his Brother *Edward* into *Ireland* with a great Army; where he had so good Success, that he was Proclaim'd King of *Ireland*, and enjoy'd that Title for the space of Two or Three Years. The *Irish* Historians tell us (e), That he Landed in the North Parts of *Ulster*, with a great Army, in the Year 1315. in the Month of *May*; and that, immediately after his Landing, he Burnt and Destroy'd the Town of *Dundalk*, and a great part of *Urgil*. Then he Defeat an Army, under the Command of *Richard* Earl of *Ulster*, and took Sir *William Bourgh*, Sir *John Mandevile* and Sir *Allan Fitz-Warren* Prisoners, then he Defeat the Lord *Roger Mortimer* at *Kenlis* in *Meath*, took several of his Men Prisoners, and Burnt the Town. After this, he went as far as *Finnagh* and the *Skerries* in *Leinster*, where he met with Three Powerful Armies against him; the one Commanded by *Edmond Butler* Lord Justice of *Ireland*; the other by *John Fitz-Thomas*, afterward Earl of *Kildare*; and the Third, by Lord *Arnald Power*. But, as they were going to Join their Forces together; a great Contest arose amongst them; upon which every one March'd off with his own Army, and left the Field to King *Edward*, upon the Twenty Sixth Day of *January*. Then he March'd his Army to the Castle of *Leye*, which he took and Burnt. After this, he return'd to *Ulster*, and Besieg'd and took the Castle of *Knockfergus*, and having Rencounter'd with the Valiant Sir *Thomas Mandevile*, and his Brother *John Mandevile* at *Down*, he Defeat their Forces, and slew them both. Then he return'd to *Scotland*, to Visite his Brother King *Robert*. The next Year he went back to *Ireland* with the Earl of *Murray* and a great Army before *Easter*, and immediately laid Siege to *Knockfergus*, which had been Re-taken in his absence, and took it. Then he March'd his Army to *Castleknock*, which he likewise took, and made the

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(e) See Sir James Ware's *Annals of Ireland*, Pag. 18. &c.

Baron thereof Prisoner. Having stay'd sometime at *Castleknock*, he March'd his Army as far as *Limerick*, where he stay'd till after *Whist*. In the mean time, *Roger Mortimer* Landed with a great Army at *Waterford*. King *Edward* went with his Army to *Ulster*, where he stay'd till towards the end of the Year 1317. and then went over again to *Scotland* with *Sir Walter* and *Sir Hugh de Lacy*, who were both Forfaulted, by *Roger Mortimer* the King of *England's* Lieutenant; for adhering to King *Edward*. In the beginning of the next Year, King *Edward* Landed with a great Army at *Dundalk*, accompany'd with *Sir Walter* and *Sir Hugh de Lacy*: Upon the knowledge of which, he was met by *John Lord Brimingham*, *Richard Tute* and *Miles Verdon*, with an Army of One Thousand, Three Hundred and Twenty Four Men, who gave King *Edward* Battel, and overthrew him, kill'd him and Eight Thousand, Two Hundred and Seventy Four of his Men. King *Edward's* Body being found amongst the Slain, the Lord *Brimingham* cut off his Head, and carried it in a Present to his Master King *Edward of England*; for which he was rewarded with the Earldom of *Louth* and the Barony of *Atherdee*. Thus Died this Prince, who for his Personal Valour has hardly his Parallel in History. And had he been as much Master of his Passions, as his Brother was, it would have been a difficult Task to Decide, which of the two was the greatest Prince. But to return to the Affairs of *Scotland*. The same Year the City of *Berwick* was delivered to the *Scots*, as the *English* Historians say, by the Treachery of *Peter Spalding* the Governour. King *Edward*, being much troubled for the Loss of so important a Place, came the next Year with a great Army, and laid Siege to it; and with such Diligence and Force assaulted it, that he was in a fair way of regaining it, had not the Earl of *Lincolne* and those of his Faction withdrawn themselves; because the King had said, He would dispose the keeping thereof to the Lord *Hugh Spenser* Younger, who was now become the King's Chamberlain and only Minion; But the Town was so strongly and valiantly defended by *Walter Stewart* the Governour, that before the time that he assign'd for the taking of it, the Earl of *Murray*, *Sir James Douglas*, and *Sir Walter Warren* assembled their Forces together, with an Intention to raise the Siege by Force; but perceiving themselves not Strong enough for that Enterprize, they enter'd with their Army into *England* under Night, and spoiled all the Country before them, as far as *Borough-bridge*. Upon which *William Melton* Arch-Bishop of *York*, and the Abbot of *Selby*, hearing of these lamentable Devastations the *Scots* made every where, assembled together an Army of such as were left at Home, and thought able to Fight, amounting to the Number of Ten Thousand; but mostly consisting of Priests, Friars, Monks and Husband Men. With these the Arch-Bishop met the *Scots*, upon the Twelfth Day of *October*, at *Milton*, upon the River *Swale*; and, having to their own Disadvantage pass'd the River, the *Scots* having set Fire to some Stacks of Hay, they were so blinded with the Smoke, that they did not perceive them till they came unawares upon them: And they being altogether ignorant of the Discipline of War, the *Scots* gave them an intire overthrow, and kill'd Fifteen Hundred of them, besides several that were Drown'd, the Arch-Bishop and the Abbot hardly escaping by Flight. About *November* after, when the *Englishmens* Barns were full, and their Yards well stor-

ed for the following Years Provision, the Scots, under the Conduct of the Earl of Murray and the Lord Douglass, enter'd into England again, and Burnt the Country of Gilsland, kept on their Journey to Burgh, under Stannmore, and so through Westmoorland and Cumberland; and, after much Spoil and Devastations in all the Countries and Parts aforesaid, with many Prisoners and great Riches they returned to Scotland. So soon as King Edward was Advertis'd of this, he rais'd the Siege of Berwick, thinking to meet them with his Powerful Army: But he was disappointed; for they were returned to their Country before that time. The Pope, being informed of these Cruel and Bloody Wars betwixt the Scots and English, sent two Cardinals to mediate a Peace betwixt the two Kingdoms (f); the one was Cardinal Cancellin, Vice-Chancellor to his Holiness, and the other was Cardinal Luc de Tisco. These two Cardinals, at this very time, having come the length of Durham, by their Mediation, a Truce was concluded betwixt King Robert and King Edward for two Years. Three years before this, a great many of the Nobility and Barons of Scotland met at the Monastery of Aberbrothock, or Arbrot, where they wrote the following Letter to the Pope, to which they appended all their Seals, (g).

*S*ANCTISSIMO PATRI in Christo ac Domino Domino Joanni, Divina Providentia, Sacro Sanctæ Romanæ & Universalis Ecclesiæ Summo Pontifici, Filii sui humiles & devoti, Duncanus Comes de Fife, Thomas Randolphus Comes Moraviæ, Dominus Mannæ & Vallis Annandiæ, Patricius de Dumbar Comes Marchiæ, Malisus Comes de Strathern, Malcolmus Comes de Levenox, Willielmus Comes de Ross, Magnus Comes Cathaniæ & Orcadiæ, & Willielmus Comes Sutherlandiæ, Walterus Senescallus Scotiæ, Willielmus de Soules Buttelarius Scotiæ, Jacobus Dominus de Douglas, Rogerus de Moubry, David Dominus de Brichin, David de Graham, Ingelramus de Umfrevile, Joannes de Monteith Custos Comitatus de Monteith, Alexander Frazer, Gilbertus de Haia Constabularius Scotiæ, Robertus de Keith Mariscallus Scotiæ, Henricus de Sancto-Claro, Joannes de Graham, David de Lindlay, Willielmus Olyphant, Patricius de Graham, Joannes de Fenton, Willielmus de Abernethie, David de Weymes, Willielmus de Monte-Fixo, Fergusus de Ardrosan, Eustachius de Maxwell, Willielmus de Ramsay, Willielmus de Monte Alto, Alanus de Moravia, Dovenaldus Campbel, Joannes Camburn, Reginaldus le Chen, Alexander de Seton, Andreas de Letcelyne & Alexander de Stratton cæterique Barones & Libere-tenentes, ac tota Communitas Regni Scotiæ omnimodam Reverentiam filialem, cum devotis pedum osculis Beatorum Scimus, Sanctissime Pater & Domine, & ex Antiquorum Gestis & Libris colligimus, quod inter cæteras Nationes egregias, Nostra scilicet. Scotorum Natio, multis precognis fuerit insignita: Quæ de majori Scythia per mare Tirenium & Columnas Herculis transiens, & in Hispania inter ferocissimos, per multa temporum curricula, residens, a nullis quantumcunque Barbaricis poterat alicubi subjugari, indeque veniens, post mille & ducentos annos a Transitu Populi Israelitici, sibi sedes in Occidente quas nunc obtinet, expulsi Brittonibus, & Pictis omnino deletis, licet per Norwegientes, Danos, & Anglos sæpius impugnata fuerit, multis sibi victoriis, & laboribus quamplurimis adquisivit; ipsasque ab omni Ser-

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(f) Vid. Hist. o' Angl. d' Ecos. & Irle. par M. Du. Chesne pag. 618. (g) See Sir. George Mackenzie's Book of Precedency, and the Bishopp of Carlisle's Scot. Hist. Lib. pag. 149.

virtute liberas, ut Priscorum testantur Historiæ, semper tenuit : In quorum Regno, centum & tredecem Reges de ipsorum Regali Prosapia, nullo Alienigena interveniente, Regnaverunt. Quorum Nobilitates & merita, licet ex aliis non clarent, satis tamen patenter effulgent. Ex eo quod Rex Regum Dominus Jesus Christus post Passionem & Resurrectionem suam, ipsos in ultimis Terræ sinibus constitutos, quasi primos, ad suam fidem Sanctissimam convocavit : Nec eos, per quemlibet in dicta fide, confirmari voluit, sed per suum primum Apostolum, quamvis ordine secundum vel tertium, Sanctum Andream meritissimum beati Petri Germanum, quem semper ipsis præesse voluit ut Patronum. Hæc autem Sanctissimi Patres & Prædecessores vestri sollicita mente pensantes, ipsum Regnum & Populum, ut Beati Petri Germani Peculium multis favoribus & Privilegiis quamplurimis muniverunt : Itaque gens nostra, sub ipsorum protectione, liber hæcenus deguit & quæta; donec ille Princeps Magnus, Rex Anglorum Edwardus, Pater istius qui nunc est, Regnum nostrum Acephalum, Populumque nullius mali aut doli conscium, nec Bellis aut Insultibus tunc assuetum, sub amici & Confederati specie, innumerabiliter infestavit : Cujus Injurias, Cædes & Violentias, Prædationes, Incendia, Prælatorum Incarcerationes, Monasteriorum Combustiones, Religiosorum Spoliationes & Occisiones, alia quoque Enormia, quæ in dicto Populo exercuit, nulli parcons Aetati aut Sexui, Religioni aut Ordini, nullus scriberet, nec ad plenum intelligeret, nisi quem experientia informaret. A quibus malis innumerus, Ipso juvante, qui post vulnera medetur & sanat, liberati sumus per Serenissimum Principem, Regem & Dominum nostrum, Dominum Robertum, qui, pro Populo & Hæreditate suis, de manibus Inimicorum Liberandis, quasi alter Maccabeus aut Josue, Labores & Tædia, Inedias & Pericula, læto sustinuit animo : Quem etiam Divina Dispositio, & juxta Leges & Consuetudines nostras, quas usque ad mortem sustinere volumus, juris successio, & debitus nostrorum consensus & assensus, nostrum fecerunt Principem atque Regem. Cui, tanquam illi per quem salus in Populo facta est, pro nostra Libertate tuenda, tam jure quam Meritis tenemur, & volumus in omnibus adhærere. Quem si ab inceptis desisset, Regi Anglorum aut Anglicis nos, aut Regnum nostrum volens subdicere, tanquam inimicum nostrum, & sui nostrique juris subversorem statim expellere niteremur ; & alium Regem nostrum, qui ad defensionem nostram sufficeret, faciemus : Quia quamdiu Centum vivi remanserint, nunquam Anglorum Domino aliquatenus volumus subjugari; non enim propter gloriam, divitias aut honores pugnamus, sed propter Libertatem solummodo, quam nemo Bonus nisi simul cum vita amittet. Hinc est Reverende Pater ac Domine quod Sanctitatem Vestram, cum omni Præcum instantia, Genu flexis, Cordibus exoramus ; quatenus sincero corde, menteque pia recensentes, quod apud eum cujus vices in Terris geritis, non sic pondus, & pondus, nec distinctio Judei & Græci, Scoti aut Anglici, Tribulationes & Angustias nobis & Ecclesiæ Dei illatas ab Anglicis paternis oculis intuentes ; Regem Anglorum, cui sufficere debet quod possidet, cum olim Anglia septem aut pluribus solebat sufficere Regibus, monere & exhortare dignemini, aut nos Scotos in exili degentes Scotia ultra quam habitatio non est, nihilque nisi nostrum cupientes in pace dimittet. Cui pro nostra procuranda quiete quicquid possumus, ad statum nostrum respectu habito, hoc facere volumus cum effectu. Vestra enim interest, Sancte Pater, hoc facere, qui Paganorum feritatem, Christianorum culpis exigentibus, in Christianos sævientem aspicitis, & Christianorum terminos ardari indies : Quare ne quid vestræ Sanctitatis memoriæ derogat, & si, quod absit, Ecclesia in aliqua sui parte vestris temporibus patiatur Ecclypsin aut Scandalum, vos videritis. Exhortet igitur Christianos Principes, qui, non causam ut causam

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ponentes, se fungunt in subsidium Terræ Sanctæ propter Guerras quas habent cum proximis ire non posse : Cujus impedimenti causa est verior, quod, in minoribus proximis debellandis, utilitas propior & resistentia debilior æstimantur. Sic quam læto Corde dictus Dominus Rex Noster, & Nos, si Rex Anglorum nos in Pace dimittet, illuc iremus ; Qui nihil ignorat satis novit : Quod Christi Vicario totique Christianitati ostendimus & testamur. Quibus si Sanctitas Vestra, Anglorum relatibus nimis credula, fidem sinceram non adhibeat, aut ipsis in nostram confusionem favere non desinat ; Corporum Excidia, Animarum Exitia, & cetera quæ sequentur incommoda, quæ ipsi in nobis, & nos in ipsis fecerimus, vobis ab Altissimo credimus imputanda. Ex Quo sumus & erimus in his quæ tenemur, tanquam obedientiæ filii vobis tanquam ipsius Vicario in omnibus complacere, ipsique tanquam Summo Regi & Judici, causam nostram tuendam committimus : Cogitatum nostrum jactantes in ipso, sperantesque finem, quod in nobis Virtutem faciet & ad nihilum rediget hostes nostros. Serenitatem & Sanctitatem vestram conservet Altissimus Ecclesiæ Sux Sanctæ per tempora diuturna. Datum apud Monasterium de Aberbrothock in Scotia Sexto die Aprilis, Anno Gratiæ Millesimo Trecentesimo Vicesimo; Anno vero Regni Regis nostri supradicti Quinto Decimo.

In *English* thus:

TO our most Holy Father in Christ, and our Lord, *John*, by the Divine Providence, Chief Bishop of the most Holy Roman and Universal Church ; Your Humble and Devoted Sons, *Duncan* Earl of *Fife*, *Thomas Randluph* Earl of *Murray*, Lord of *Mannia* and *Ammandale*, *Patrick de Dumbar* Earl of *March*, *Malissus* Earl of *Strathern*, *Malcolm* Earl of *Lennox*, *William* Earl of *Ross*, *Magnus* Earl of *Caithness* and *Orkney*, *William* Earl of *Sutherland*, *Walter* Steward of *Scotland*, *James* Lord of *Douglafs*, *Roger de Moubray*, *David* Lord of *Bricbin*, *David de Graham*, *Ingelramus de Umsfrevile*, *John de Monteith* Warder of the County of *Monteith*, *Alexander Frazer*, *Gilbert de Hay* Constable of *Scotland*, *Robert de Keith* Marischal of *Scotland*, *Henry de Sancto-Claro*, *John de Grabam*, *David de Lindsay*, *William Oliphant*, *Patrick de Grabam*, *John de Fenton*, *William de Abernethie*, *David de Weyms*, *William de Monte-Fixo*, *Fergus de Ardrosan*, *Eustachius de Maxwell*, *William de Ramsay*, *William de Monte-Alto*, *Allan de Murray*, *Donald Campbel*, *John Camburn*, *Reginald le Chene*, *Andrew de Lescelyne* and *Alexander de Straton*, and the rest of the Barons and Freeholders, and whole Community or Commons of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, send all manner of Filial Reverence, with devout Kisses of your Blessed and Happy Feet.

Most Holy Father and Lord, We know and gather from Ancient Acts and Records, That in every Famous Nation, this of *Scotland* hath been celebrate with many Praises. This Nation, having come from *Scythia* the Greater, thorow the *Tuscan* Sea and by *Hercules's* Pillars, and having for many Ages taken its Residence in *Spain*, in the midst of a most fierce People, could never be brought into Subjection by any People, how Barbarous soever : And, having remov'd from these Parts, above 1200 Years after the coming of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, did, by many Victories and much Toil, obtain these Parts in the West, which they still possess, having expell'd the *Britains*, and entirely rooted out the *Picts*; notwithstanding of the frequent Assaults and Invasions they met with, from *Norwegians*, *Danes* and *English* ; and these Parts and Possessions they

have alwise retain'd Free from all manner of Servitude and Subjection, as Ancient Histories do witness.

This Kingdom hath been Govern'd by an uninterrupted Succession of 113 Kings, all of our own Native and Royal Stock, without the Intervèning of any Stranger. The true Nobility and Merits of those Princes and People are very remarkable, from this one Consideration, (tho' there were no other Evidence for it) That the King of Kings, the Lord *Jesus Christ*, after his Passion and Resurrection, honour'd them as it were the First (though living in the outmost Parts of the Earth) with a Call to his most Holy Faith; neither would our Saviour have them confirm'd in the Christian Faith, by any other Instrument than his own First Apostle (tho' in order the Second or Third) *St. Andrew*, the most Worthy Brother of the Blessed *Peter*, whom he would alwise have to be over us as our Patron or Protector. Upon the Weighty Consideration of these things, Our most Holy Fathers, your Predecessors, did, with many great and singular Favours and Privileges, Fence and Secure this Kingdom and People, as being the Peculiar Charge and Care of the Brother of *St. Peter*; so that our Nation hath hitherto lived in Freedom and Quietness under their Protection, till the Magnificent King *Edward*, Father to the present King of *England*, did, under the Colour of Friendship and Alliance or Confederacy, with the innumerable Oppressions infect us, who minded no Fraud or Deceit, at a time when we were without a King or Head, and when the People were unacquainted with Wars and Invasions. It is impossible for any, whose own Experience hath not inform'd him, to describe or fully to understand the Injuries, Blood and Violence, the Depredations and Fire, the Imprisonments of Prelates, the Burning, Slaughter and Robbery committed upon Holy Persons and Religious Houses, and a vast multitude of other Barbarities, which that King executed on this People, without sparing of any Sex or Age, Religion or Order of Men whatsoever. But at length it pleas'd God, who only can heal after Wounds, to restore us to Liberty, from these innumerable Calamities, by our most Sereene Prince, King and Lord, *Robert*, who, for the delivering of his People and his own Rightful Inheritance from the Enemy's hand, did, like another *Joshua* or *Maccabæus*, most chearfully undergo all manner of Toil, Fatigue, Hardship and Hazard. The Divine Providence, the Right of Succession, by the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom (which we will Defend till Death) and the due and lawful Consent and Assent of all the People, made him our King and Prince. To him we are oblig'd, and resolve to adhere in all things, both upon the account of his Right and his own Merit, as being the Person who hath restor'd the People's Safety, in Defence of their Liberties. But, after all, if this Prince shall leave these Principles he hath so Nobly Pursu'd, and consent, that We, or our Kingdom be subjected to the King or People of *England*, we will immediately endeavour to Expell him as our Enemy, and as the Subverter both of his own and our Rights, and will make another King, who will Defend our Liberties; for, so long as there shall but One Hundred of us remain alive, we will never give consent to subject our selves to the Dominion of the *English*: For it is not Glory, it is not Riches, neither is it Honour, but it is Liberty alone that we Contend and Fight for, which no Honest Man will lose but with

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his Life. For these Reasons, most Reverend Father and Lord, we do with most earnest Prayers, from our bended Knees and Hearts, beg and intreat your Holiness, that you may be pleas'd, with a sincere and Cordial Piety, to consider, that with Him, whose Vicar on Earth you are, there is no Respect nor Distinction of *Jew* nor *Greek*, *Scot* nor *English*, and that, with a Tender and Fatherly Eye, you may look upon the Calamities and Straits brought upon us and the Church of God, by the *English*; and that you may Admonish and Exhort the King of *England* (who may well rest satisfy'd with his own Possessions, since the Kingdom of Old us'd to be sufficient for Seven or more Kings) to suffer us to live at Peace in that Narrow Spot of *Scotland*, beyond which we have no Habitation, since we desire nothing but our own; and we on our Part, as far as we are able, with Respect to our Condition, shall effectually agree to him in every thing that may procure our Quiet.

It is your Concernment, Most Holy Father, to interpose in this, when you see how far the Violence, and Barbarity of the Pagans is let loose to Rage against Christendom, for Punishing the Sins of the Christians, and how much they daily encroach upon the Christian Territories; and it is your Interest to Notice, that there be no ground given for reflecting upon your Memory, if you should suffer any Part of the Church to come under a Scandal or Eclipse (which we pray God may prevent) during your times. Let it therefore please your Holiness, to exhort the Christian Princes, not to make the Wars, betwixt them and their Neighbours, a Pretext for not going to the *Holy-Land*, since that is not the true cause of the Impediment. The true Ground of it is, That they have a much nearer Prospect of Advantage, and far less opposition in the subduing of their weaker Neighbours: And God (who is ignorant of nothing) knows with how much Chearfulness both our King and we would go thither, if the King of *England* would leave us in Peace, and we do hereby testify and declare it to the Vicar of *Christ*, and to all Christendom. But, if your Holiness shall be too Credulous of the *English* Misrepresentations, and not give firm Credit to what we have said, nor desist to favour the *English* to our Destruction, we must believe that the Most High will lay to your Charge all the Blood, Loss of Souls and other Calamities, that shall follow on either Hand betwixt us and them. Your Holiness, in granting our just Desire, will oblige us in every Case, where our Duty shall require it, to endeavour your Satisfaction as become obedient Sons of the Vicar of *Christ*. We commit the Defence of our Cause to Him, who is the Sovereign King and Judge; we cast the burden of our Cares upon Him, and hope for such an Issue, as may give Strength and Courage to us, and bring our Enemies to Nothing. The Most High GOD long preserve your Serenity and Holiness to His Holy Church. Given at the Monastery of *Aberbrothock* in *Scotland*, the Sixth Day of *April*, in the year of Grace, M CCC XX. and of our said King's Reign the XV. Year.

By this Letter it plainly appears, That this Pope was a greater Favourer of the *English* than the *Scots*; However, it had such Influence with him, that he sent the two Cardinals above-named, who, as I have said, concluded a Truce for two Years betwixt the two Kings. But before the two years were fully out, the King of *England*, having quell'd a Rebellion rais'd against him by his Nobility, rais'd a mighty Army about

Whitsuntide, in the Year 1322. with which he design'd to invade *Scotland*. But King *Robert* being inform'd of it, resolv'd to prevent him; and therefore in the beginning of *July*, he enter'd with an Army into *England* near to *Carlisle*, where he burnt a Mannour House, that sometime belong'd unto himself, at *Rofs*; then he spoil'd *Allerdale* and the Monastery of *Holme*. From thence he went to the Abby of *Furnesse*, destroying in his Way, the Country of *Copland*; the Abbot of this Monastery having met him, invited him, and gave him a handsome Entertainment; by which Means he not only saved the Monastery, but all the Lands that belonged to it. From *Furnesse* he march'd to the Town of *Lancaster*, which he laid all in Ashes, save two Religious Houses; and here the Lord *James Douglass* and the Earl of *Murray* came up to him with another Army; and, having join'd both their Armies into one Body, they march'd to the Town of *Preston* in *Anderness*, which they laid all in Ashes, the House of the Friars Minors only excepted. Thus having come Fourscore Miles within the Kingdom of *England*, they return'd homeward with many Prisoners, Cattel and other Rich Booties, and came to *Carlisle* on the 19 Day of *July*, where they rested about the space of five Days; and upon St. *James* Eve they enter'd into *Scotland*, after they had been in *England* three Weeks and three Days. King *Robert* was hardly arrived in *Scotland*, but King *Edward* with his great Army, which the *English* Historians say, consisted of a Hundred Thousand Men, enter'd *Scotland*. King *Robert* being informed, that they were no ways provided in Victuals, caus'd lay the whole Country open and waste before them: So, finding no Army to oppose him, nor no Relief or Succour to his own Army, many of whom wer dying daily for want of Food, after he had come the length of *Edinburgh*, he was forced to return, to his great Dishonour, without having effectuated any thing, but only the spoiling and burning of the Abbies of *Melrose* and *Driburgh*, and some other Religious Houses, which they did in their return out of meer Spite, because they could do nothing else. Presently after King *Edward's* return into *England*, *Thomas Randulph* Earl of *Murray*, and the Lord *James Douglass*, with a great Army enter'd *England*, destroyed the whole County of *Northumberland*, burnt the Town of *Northallerton* and several other Towns, and laid all waste before them, even to the very Gates of the City of *York*. King *Edward*, being informed of this, raised an Army of all manner of Men, that appear'd to be likely or able for War, both of *English* and Forreigners. With this mighty Host he met the *Scots*, near to the Abby of *Biland*, where, upon the 13 of *October*, in the year 1323. they fought a Bloody Battel; in which the *English* were discomfited and put to the Flight with great Slaughter, the King of *England* having escaped very narrowly, and was hotly pursued to *York*, having left behind him the most of his Plate and Jewels, which the *Scots* carry'd away with them, and from thence pass'd into *York-woulds*, spoiling and wasting all that part of the Country, as far as *Beverly*; which Town for a Sum of Money they were content to spare: So, with their Spoils and Prisoners, they returned into their own Country, upon *All-Souls* Day, after they had remain'd in *England* the space of a Month and Four Days. Amongst their Prisoners, the most Eminent was *John* Duke of *Britaine* and Earl of *Richmond*, who, after he had pay'd a great Sum of Money for his Ran-

some

some, had his Liberty and went into *France*; from whence he never after return'd into *England*. The *English* Historians say, That their Misfortune in this Battel was owing to *Andrew Hertly* Earl of *Carlisle*, who, being imploy'd and intrusted by King *Edward*, for the Levying of some Forces for his Assistance in this Service, was corrupted by a great Sum of Money, promis'd to him by the Earl of *Murray* and Sir *James Douglass*, which made him withdraw himself, and those Forces which he had gather'd together, to *Lancaster*; and for which he was afterwards hang'd, drawn and quarter'd. But this Story is sufficiently refuted by relating it, it neither agreeing with the Circumstances of the *Scots* Nation at that time, nor with the Character of the Earl of *Murray* and the Lord *Douglass*, who were Persons that never bought a Victory, but with the Lives of their Enemies, and the imminent Danger of their own Persons. King *Edward's* bad Success in this, and in all his former Wars with the *Scots*, made him think upon making a Truce with them upon reasonable Terms, if it could possibly be obtain'd; whereupon, both Kings being willing thereunto, it was agreed, that Commissioners on both sides should meet at *Newcastle*, upon *Ascension*-day next ensuing, there to treat of some Agreement of Peace. For the King of *England* came *Aymier de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Hugh* Lord *Spencer* the Younger, the Earl of *Winchester* and Four others. For the King of *Scotland* came the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, *Thomas* *Randulph* Earl of *Murray* and Four others. These Commissioners, after much debate, in the end agreed upon a Truce to endure for the Space of Thirteen Years, which was proclaim'd in both Kingdoms in the Year 1324. And these were the last Actions (we read of) that fell out between the Two Nations, during the Reign of King *Edward* II. For this unfortunate Prince, too much doting on his Favourites, the Two *Spencers*, was first depriv'd of his Crown by his Subjects, then dragg'd from one Goal to another, and lastly, by the Contrivance of his own Queen, *Thomas de Barkley* and *John de Mortimer*, was most Barbarously and Inhumanely Murder'd in *Barkley* Castle, they having caus'd put a hollow Horn in his Fundament, thorow which they passed a red hot Iron into his In-trails, thinking, by the Horn, to preserve his Flesh so from the least scar of burning, that they might not be in the least suspected for the Villany they had done; but God Almighty suffer'd them not to go unpunish'd.

After the Deposing of this unfortunate Prince, his Son Prince *Edward*, about the Age of Fourteen Years, began his Reign the 26th Day of *January*, in the Year 1326. and was Crown'd within Five Days after, at *Westminster*, by *Walter* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. During this time, the *English*, notwithstanding of the former Truce, took several of the *Scots* Ships returning from *Flanders*: Upon which King *Robert Bruce*, now grown old and infirm, sent the Earl of *Murray* and Lord *James Douglass*, with an Army, into *England*, to waste and spoil all the Parts of the Country, wheresoever they should come; which they accordingly did. The young King of *England*, being inform'd of this, and willing to revenge the many Affronts that the *Scots* had given to his Father, by Advice of his Council proclaim'd War against the *Scots*, in the Year 1327. and order'd all Noblemen and others to be ready and well appointed, every Man according to his Estate and Degree; and that

they should, at *Ascension-Day* next, be ready to attend him at the City of *Tork*. He also sent to the Lord *John Beaumont*, Brother to the Earl of *Hanault*, whom the Queen had brought over with her when she return'd out of *France*; and entreated his Company and Assistance in his intended Journey against the *Scots*; and that he would be at *Tork* with him at the time aforesaid, with all the Strength and Power that he could bring with him. In this, the Lord *Beaumont* satisfy'd the King according to his Desire, gathering together, out of *Hanault*, *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Cambresis*, *Artoise* and other Places, many brave Noblemen and Knights. With which Troop, amounting to the Number of 500 Men at Arms, all well appointed and well Horsed, he came to the City of *Tork*, Three Days before *Whitsuntide*, where he found the young King and the Queen his Mother, the Nobility and a Powerful Army attending him. Upon *Trinity Sunday* following, there fell out a great Quarrel between some of the Archers of the *English* Army and these Strangers, which was look'd upon as a very bad Omen, and so it happened; for the Grudge betwixt them and the *English* was such, that the King was for some time obliged to put a stop to his further Progress: So that, having heard that the *Scots* were already enter'd *England*, with his great and well appointed Army, he removed from *Tork*, and the first Night lodg'd six Miles from thence, where they stay'd the next Day and Night, and then went to the City of *Durham*. In the mean time, as we have said, the *Scots* with their Army, which consisted of Four Thousand Men at Arms, Knights and Squires well mounted on good Horses, and a Thousand others upon little Hackney Nages, never kept at House or hard Meat. Besides, their Forces on Foot, under the leading of the Earl of *Murray* and the Lord *James Douglas*, privately got over the River of *Tine*, without the knowledge of *Thomas Lord Brodereton*, the King's Uncle and Earl Marischal of *England*, who lay at *Newcastle* with a good Army, or of the Lord *Mowbray* and some other Lords, who, with the like Power, lay at *Carlisle* to hinder their Passage over the River. When the King of *England* was inform'd of this, he immediately march'd towards them with his Army, having no better Guide to direct him to them, than the Smoke which the *Scots* made by the burning of the Towns and Villages where ever they came. At length King *Edward* overtook them, with his Army, encamped at *Stanhope Park*, where he strongly beleagu'd them on every side, and so kept them in, for the space of Fifteen Days, that their Provisions began to fail them. Upon which, the *Scots*, finding themselves thus straitned, resolv'd to make their Escape privately; and therefore, having prepar'd a Number of Fleaks, Hurdels and Faggots, by their Help, the Night following, they and their Horses pass'd out of the Park safely, over a deep and miry moorish Ground, which, by the Negligence of the *English*, was undefended; and, with all the speed and secrecy they could, they went to the next Mountains. King *Edward*, being inform'd of this, march'd his Army in search of them for several Days; but all in vain. He caus'd issue forth a Proclamation, promising a Reward of 100 *lib. per Annum*, and the Honour of Knighthood, to be given to any that would bring certain knowledge where the *Scots* were Encamp'd. At length he was inform'd, by one who had taken Pains to search them out, that they were lodg'd in a certain Mountain about

six Miles from his Camp; and that they attended his coming with an intent to give him Battel. So soon as King *Edward* heard thereof, he was very joyful of the News, and he and all his Army, having first Confess'd themselves, and perform'd some other Acts of Devotion, taken some Rest and Repast, and fed their Horses, prepar'd themselves, and so by uncertain Ways and ill Passages, following the Knight as their Guide, who was Rewarded according to Promise for his Discovery, they march'd towards the Place where the *Scots* lay; and about Noon arrived so near them, that they might see one another. The *English* had the greater Army; for our Historians say, that they were a Hundred Thousand, and the *Scots* only Twenty Five Thousand: But the *Scots* had the Advantage of the Place, having lodg'd themselves in the Descent of a steep Mountain, at the Foot whereof ran a great River, between the *English* and them, so full of great Rocks and Stones, that the *English* durst not venture to pass over to them, without endangering the Loss of their whole Army. The King of *England* therefore, by the Advice of his Council of War, sent over an Herald to the *Scots* with this Offer, That, if they would pass the River to Fight with him in the plain Field, he would then draw back his Army from the River, and give them sufficient Room to order their Battels, either the same Day, or the next, as they would choose themselves; or else, upon the like Offer, he would come to them. But the *Scots* were not such Fools; for they stood to their Ground, and sent the King of *England* word, That since his Army was so much Superior to theirs, it would be the height of Folly in them to forsake their Ground of Advantage, which they had chosen for their own Defence: And further, that, being in the Realm of *England*, they were to make use of all the Advantages they could; and, if he was not pleas'd with this Answer, they were very indifferent, for they would stay there as long as they pleas'd. Upon this, King *Edward* commanded his Army to stay there the Night following, where they were forc'd to content themselves with an ill Lodging, lying upon the Ground and hard Stones in their Armour; neither had they Provision for their Horses, nor so much as Stakes to tie them to, nor a Bush to make themselves Fire. And thus the Two Armies continu'd the space of Three Days, within the Sight of one another. Upon the Fourth Day, the *Scots* Army March'd to another Mountain, by the same River side, that was more strong and fit for their Defence, by reason of a great Wood on the side thereof, whereby they might come and go when they list. Upon this, the *English* Army presently Dislodged, and in good Order March'd towards another Mountain over against them. Thus they lodg'd one against the other the space of Eighteen Days. During which time, some of the *English* and some of the *Scots* broke out and Skirmish'd one with another, and many on both Parts were Slain, Wounded and taken Prisoners. Amongst other things that fell out betwixt the Two Armies, during this time, the bold Attempt of the Lord *James Douglass* ought never to be forgotten, who, one Night, with Two Hundred choise Men, all Perfect good Horse-men Mounted upon very swift Horses, past the River, but so far from the *English* Army, that he was not discern'd; and, passing quietly by their Watch, broke in suddenly into their Camp about Mid-night, and Slew a Number of them, some in their Beds, and

others but newly awaken'd by their noise; and came at length so near to the King, that he cut Two or Three of the Cords of his Tent, and slew the King's Chaplain, who behav'd himself very bravely in his Master's Defence: And so, with the loss of very few of his Men, return'd in safety to the *Scots* Army, which made the *English* afterwards lie every Night in their Arms, for fear of some future Attempts of the like Nature. At length, after the *Scots* had wasted and spoil'd all that they thought might be any way useful to the *English*, they March'd off by a secret way in the Night time, and return'd to their own Country. But it appears, that they were not so suddenly resolv'd to have gone off, by the Provisions that the *English* found in their Camp; for they found there Five Hundred Beasts ready kill'd, Three Hundred Caldrons made of Beasts Skins, full of Water and Flesh over the Fire, a Thousand Spits of Flesh ready to be Roasted, and Ten Thousand Highland Shoes of raw Leather with the Hair on. So that the *English* Historians say, that the reason of the *Scots* sudden Departure was, because they were advertis'd that Night, by Sir *Roger Mortimer*, that the King of *England* design'd to Attack them the next Morning: But, whatever was the reason of their Departure, so it was, that they went safely home to their own Country, to the great Disgrace of King *Edward's* Numerous Army. The *Scots*, the next Year, made another IncurSION into the Borders of *England*, and laid Siege to *Norham* Castle, belonging to the Bishop of *Durham*, and shortly after gain'd it. Then they laid Siege to the Castle of *Alnwick*, which was so bravely Defended by the *English*, that they were oblig'd to raise the Siege with the loss of several Persons of Quality, such as *William de Monte-alto* Knight, *John Clapanen*, *Malifius de Dunbar*, &c. After this, the *Scots* return'd to their own Country; and, towards the latter End of the Year, there was a Peace concluded between the Two Nations, at a Parliament holden at *Northampton*, upon the following Conditions, as *Walsingham* relates them.

I. That King *Edward* should quite all the pretended Rights and Pretensions, that he and his Predecessors had Attributed and Usurped to themselves over *Scotland*, and that the Kingdom of *Scotland* should be Declar'd to be as Free, as it was at the Death of King *Alexander III.* and that, for the Future, they should not be oblig'd to render any Homage to the *English*, or any other Foreign Prince.

II. That King *Robert*, on the other Part, should be oblig'd to give up all the Feudal Lands that either he or any of his Predecessors held in *England*; and that, for the future, the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland* should be the Limits of *Scotland*.

III. That, if the *English* had any Papers, Titles, Obligations, Instruments, Charters or other Monuments of Servitude, they should be oblig'd to render them up to the *Scots*, and to Declare them Null and altogether Void for the Future.

IV. That the *Scots* should pay Thirty Thousand Merks of Silver to the *English*, for the Repairing of the Devastations they had made in *England*, and for the loss that several of the *English* Subjects had sustain'd, by taking from them the Lands and Lordships, that King *Edward's* Grandfather and Father had bestow'd upon them in *Scotland*.

V. And, Lastly, to make this Peace the more Firm and Lasting, and, for renewing the Ancient Alliance that had been between the Two
Crowns,

Crowns, That *David*, Son and lawful Heir to King *Robert*, should Marry the Princess *Joan*, Sister to King *Edward*. All the *English* Historians say, that this Peace was very Dishonourable for them, and that it was carried on against the Minds of the Subjects, by the secret working and Intrigues of King *Edward*'s Mother, Sir *Roger Mortimer*, lately made Earl of the Marches in *Wales*, and Sir *James Douglass*.

By this Treaty, there was re-deliver'd to the *Scots* many Ancient Jewels and Monuments; and amongst the rest the Black Cross of *Scotland*, which King *Edward* I. brought from *Scoon*. But that which vex'd the *English* more, was the delivering up all the Deeds, Instruments and Records of the *Scots* former Homages, and Fealties done to his Predecessors, call'd *Ragman Rowle*, which was Seal'd unto, and Subscrib'd by *John Baliol* and all his Nobility, to *Edward* I. the King's Grandfather; wherein was contain'd the Homages and Fealties, and all other Services, that *Baliol* and all the Prelates, Earls and Barons of *Scotland* ought to have done to the King of *England* for the time being; and also all the Rights that sundry Barons and Knights of *England* had gotten in the Realm of *Scotland*. According to this Agreement, upon the Twentieth and Second Day of *July* next following, the Marriage was Solemniz'd between *David* Prince of *Scotland*, and the Princess *Joan* King *Edward*'s Sister, at the Town of *Bernick*, with great Pomp and Solemnity. Within a Year after this Marriage, King *Robert Bruce*, being worn out with Age, and sensible of his approaching Death, caus'd the chief Nobility of his Kingdom to be Assembl'd in the Chamber where he lay, and there, in the Presence of them all, committed to them the Government of his Son Prince *David*, being a Child not fully Eight Years of Age; and amongst many things which he told them, touching the Government of the Realm after his Death, he gave them these special Injunctions. First, he Charg'd them, that they should never appoint any Set Battel with the *English*, nor Hazard the Realm upon the Chance of one Battel; but rather endeavour to resist and keep them off from Invading their Country, by frequent Skirmishing and Cutting them off in Places of Advantage; so that if they came to be Discomfited, they might still have some Forces reserv'd to make new Resistance. Secondly, He desir'd, that they might never be at long Peace with the *English*, lest, by long Rest and Quietness, they should grow Dull and Slothful, and so, thro' want of Use and Exercise of Arms, they should not be able to endure any great Pains or Labour; for, says he, the *English* will never continue longer in Peace with you, than they want convenient opportunity; and therefore, you ought never to make a Peace with them above Three or Four Years at the most. Thirdly, He desir'd, that they might lay this down as a Maxim, that when there appear'd the least shew of any intended War from *England*, then they should be most Circumspect, for fear they should Invade their Country, and fall upon them at unawares, and find them unprepar'd for able and timely Resistance. Fourthly, He desir'd, that they never might make a Lord of the *Isles*, for fear of breeding an Intestine War. And Lastly, because he had resolv'd to go with an Army to the *Holy-Land*, and to Fight in Defence of the Christian Religion against the *Turks*, he desir'd Sir *James Douglass* to take out his Heart after his Death, and to carry it to the *Holy-Land*, where he should Bury it in the Sepulchre of our Lord and Saviour, as a Testimony of

his Resolution of Fighting, to the last Drop of his Heart-blood, in Defence of the Gospel, had he not been hinder'd by the unjust Incroachments of the *English*. And, after the giving of these and the like Instructions, he Died of a Leprosy at *Cardross*, upon the Seventh Day of *June*, in the Twenty Third Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 1329. Thus Died *Robert Bruce*, King of *Scotland*, who was a Prince of as great Valour as ever Sway'd a Scepter, as all must acknowledge, who will take an impartial View of his Actions; for he was a Prince, who never undertook any Action without first imploring the Divine Aid and Assistance, with a singular warmness of Devotion. Then, as for his Personal Valour, and Love that he bore to his Country, the History of his Actions and Sufferings are hardly Credible; for my Author says, he was overthrown Thirteen times in Battel by the *English*, and overcame them Seven and Fifty times (b).

*For in his time, as Men told me,
Thirteen times quanquish't was he,
And bad Victorie times seven and Fifty.*

And *Walsingham* (i), one of the best of the *English* Historians, acknowledges, That, by his frequent and repeated Victories, he became so terrible to the *English*, that Twenty *English* Men durst not Ren-counter Three *Scots*. And the same Author in another place, says, That a Hundred *English* would fly at the sight of two or three *Scots*, so that, as one of our learn'd Lawyers has observ'd (k), as they wrote upon the Tomb of *Edward* the First at *Westminster*.

Edwardus primus Scotorum malleus hic est.

So they ought to have write on *Edward* the Second's Tomb,

Filius Edwardus Scotorum funditur armis.

Our Author has given us several particular Stories of this Hero's Life, that are not to be found in any other Historian; and we have reason to believe him better than any other who writes the History of these times, since he had his Informations from those who had been Eye Witnesses to them, as we find from the Description he gives of the Valiant and Noble *James Lord Douglas*, part of which is this,

*His Body well made and Lenie,
As they that saw him said to me.*

And in his Account of an Action, betwixt King *Robert* and Sir *Aymer de Valence*, he tells us, That he had it from Sir *Allan Cathkart* who assisted King *Robert* in that Action; for, says he,

*A Knight that then was in his rout,
Worthy and Wight Stalward and Stout,
Courtefs and fair, and of good Fame,
Sir Allan Cathkart is his Name,
Told me this Tale I to you tell.*

And

And for this Reason, I shall give the Reader an account of the Contents of each Chapter of his Book. The First is an Introduction, wherein he gives the Reader an Account of the State of the Nation at that time, and an Assurance of his own Veracity and Faithfulness. In the Second, he gives an account of Sir *James Douglass*. In the Third, you have the Particulars of King *Robert's* Escape from *London*, and the Death of the *Cuning*. In the 4th, you have an account of Sir *James Douglass's* joining the King. In the 5th, You have an account of a Conference that happen'd between King *Robert* and Sir *Aymer de Valence* at *Pertb*. In the 6th, How King *Robert* came and encamp'd his Army in the Park of *Metbuen*. In the 7th, How Sir *Robert* was Beat or Discomfited by the *English* there. In the 8th, How *John* of *Lorn* gave Battel to King *Robert* and overcame him. In the 9th, How King *Robert* slew three Men that lay in wait for his Life. In the 10th, What Hardships King *Robert* endur'd amongst the Mountains. In the 11th, How King *Robert*, with great Hazard and Danger, past over *Lochblowmont*. In the 12th, How the King went to the Sea, and how the Earl of *Lennox* was pursu'd and almost taken by the *English*. In the 13th, How the Queen and several other Ladies were taken and Imprison'd by the *English*. In the 14th, How the *English* laid Siege to the Castle of *Kildriny*. In the 15th, How Sir *James Douglass* went into the Island of *Arran*. In the 16th, How the King sent his Servant to learn how the People were affected to him there. In the 17th, You have an account of the King's landing in *Carrick*, and of his Actions there. In the 18th, How the Castle of *Douglass* was taken from the *English* by Sir *James Douglass*. In the 19th, He gives an account of the Stratagem that was us'd in the taking of the Castle. In the 20th, How a Country Farmer with his two Sons had undertaken to Kill King *Robert*, and how he overcame and Kill'd them. In the 21st, How he kill'd at a narrow Passage, (where he was all alone) and where none could come to him but one by one, Fifteen *English* Men; upon which the rest of them, being in all Two Hundred, retir'd. In the 22d, He gives a Parallel History from the *Grecians*, of *Tideus* killing Forty Nine Men with his own Hand. In the 23d, How Sir *James Douglass* obtain'd a Victory in *Douglassdale* over one *Tbrismail*. In the 24th, How Sir *Aymer de Valence* and *John* of *Lorn* Pursu'd King *Robert*. In the 25th, How the King kill'd Five Men, whom *John* of *Lorn* sent in Pursute of him. In the 26th, How the King made his Escape from the Slouth-Hound. In the 27th, How the King narrowly escap'd from being Murder'd by 3 Thieves, whom he kill'd. In the 28th, How the King, by a Stratagem, defeat a Part of the *English* Army. In the 29th, How the King, hunting in a Wood with Two Hounds, kill'd Three Men who were lying in wait for him. In the 30th, How the King defeat Sir *Aymer de Valence* at *Gentrol*. In the 31st, How Sir *James Douglass* obtain'd a Victory over Sir *Philip Moubray* at *Ederfoord*. In the 32d, How King *Robert* defeat Sir *Aymer de Valence* at *Loudon-Hill*. In the 33d, How Sir *James Douglass* kill'd Sir *John Weibroun*, and gain'd the Castle of *Douglass*. In the 34th, How the King went over a high Hill, commonly call'd the *Cairn of Mount*, where he fell sick. In the 35th, How the King overcame in Battel the Earl of *Buchan* at *Inverury*. In the 36th, How the King laid Siege to and took the Town of *Sir Johnslon*. In the 37th, How the King, in Battel

at Cree, overcame Sir *Ingrame Umsfrevile* and Sir *Aymer de Valence*. In the 38th, How the King's Brother, Sir *Edward*, overcame in Battel, with Fifty Men, Sir *Aymer de Valence*, who had Fifteen Hundred. In the 39th, How Sir *James Douglass* took Prisoners *Thomas Randulph*, *Alexander Stewart* Lord of *Bonkil* and *Adam Gordon*. In the 40th, How the King overcame in Battel *John* of *Lorn* at *Lockmaben*. In the 41st, How *William Binnie*, by a Stratagem, took the Castle of *Linkitbgow*. In the 42d, How *Thomas Randulph* was created Earl of *Murray*. In the 43d, How the Earl of *Murray* laid Siege to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. In the 44th, How Sir *James Douglass* scal'd, with Ladders of Hemp, the Castle of *Roxburgh*. In the 45th, How *William Francis* conducted the Earl of *Murray*, by a private Way, to the Foot of the Castle-Wall of *Edinburgh*, which they scal'd and took in the Night-time. In this Chapter our Author tells us, That there was found a Piece of shewed Work, in *St. Margaret's Chappel* in the Castle, whereon she had Prophetically caus'd the Castle to be represented, with a Man scaling it at the Top of a Ladder, over which was written in *French* these Words, *Garde vous de Francois*, meaning this *William Francis*, which our Author thus relates.

Saint Margaret the good Holy Queen
Wist in her time through reveling
Of Him that knows and wats all thing ;
Therefore in stead of Prophecy
She left a Taikening full jolly
That is there in ber Chappel
She gart well portray a Castel
A Ladder up to the Wall standing
And a Man thereupon climbing
And wrot on him as old Men says
In French, Garde vous de Francois
And for this Word she gart write sa
Men weind the Frenchmen should it ta
But Francis called was he
That so came up in Privitie
She wrote it as in Prophecy
And it fell afterward soothly
Right as she said for tane it was.
And Francis led them up that Place.

In the 46th, How Sir *Edward*, the King's Brother, took the Castles of *Ruglin* and *Dundee*, and laid Siege to *Striveling*. From the 47th to the 66th, he gives a very long and particular Account of the Battel of *Bannockburn*. In the 67th, How King *Robert* entred with his Army into *England*, and laid waste all *Northumberland*. In the 68th, How the King's Brother went over to *Ireland* with an Army of Seven Thousand Men. In the 69th, How the King's Brother defeat an Army of the *Irisb*, consisting of Twenty Thousand, at *Craig-Fergus*. In the 70th, How the King's Brother gain'd the Pass of *Endnellane*. In the 71st, How he gave the *Irisb* another signal Defeat at *Dundalk*, and took that City. In the 72d, How, at the Forrest of *Kilrofs*, he defeat an Army of *Irisb*, consisting of Fifty Thousand Men, with an Army of Ten Thousand. In the

the 73d, How an *Irish* King, who had sworn Fealty to him, invited him to his Country, and had almost drown'd him and his whole Army, by letting out a Loch upon them in the Night-time, and how they were reliev'd by a *Scots* Privatier *Thomas Dun*, whom he calls a *Scummer of the Sea*, they being driven to the Banks of the great River *Ban*, when he was coming accidentally by with Four Ships that he had taken, with which he transported them over the River. In the 74th, How Sir *Thomas Randulph*, with Three Hundred Horfe, gain'd a Victory over the *Irish*, and seisd upon their Provisions, which they were carrying from *Cogners*. In the 75th, How Sir *Thomas Randulph* defeat a strong Party of the *Irish*, with an Ambush of an Hundred Men. In the 76th, How the King's Brother overcame the *Irish* in another Bloody Battel at *Cogners*, and took that City; and then laid Siege to *Craig-Fergus*, where he had another Fight with them, but at length defeat them, and took the Town and Castle, but with the loss of the Valiant *Niel Fleeming*, whose Death King *Edward* much lamented; for by this time he was Proclaim'd King of *Ireland*. In the 77th, He returns to the History of King *Robert's* Actions, how he gain'd all the Isles and took *John of Lorn*, whom he imprison'd, first at *Dumbarton*, and then in *Loch-Leven*, where he died. In the 78th, How Sir *James Douglass* kill'd Sir *Edmond de Callok*, Governour of *Berwick*, and defeat his Army, who were triple to his. In the 79th, How Sir *James Douglass* made an Inroad to *England*, and fought with Sir *Robert Newel*, whom he defeat and kill'd. In the 80th, How King *Robert* went over to *Ireland* to see his Brother King *Edward*, having left, for Wardens of *Scotland* in his Absence, *Walter Stewart* and Sir *James Douglass*. In the 81st, How King *Robert*, designing to pass through all *Ireland* with his Brother, was met by *Richard Clare*, with an Army of Fourty Thousand Men; whereas the Army of the Two Kings consisted only of Five Thousand Men; yet they discomfited the *Irish*: After which, says our Author,

*Northward they took their Way
Through all Ireland then passed they
Through all Cannoch to Deviline
Through all Meath and Tyrel syn
Through Munster and through Linster
And syn bailly through all Ulster
To Craig-Fergus without Battel
For there was none durst him assail.*

In the 82d, He returns to the Affairs of *Scotland*, and gives an Account of an Incurfion that Lord *James Douglass* made into *England*, where he defeat a Party of the *English*, under the Command of *Thomas Earl of Richmond*, whom he kill'd. In the 83d, How the *English* made a Descent in *Fife* near to *Inverkeitbing*; upon which the Earl of *Fife* and the Sheriff of the Country got together as many as they could to oppose them; but, the *English* being much more Numerous, the *Scots* fled for it, which coming to the Knowledge of *William Sinclair*, Bishop of *Dunkeld*, a Brother of the Laird of *Roslin*, and Uncle to *William Lord Bisset*, he got together as many of his Servants and Vassals as he could, and, meeting the Sheriff, he upbraided him for his Cowardice. Then calling for a Launce, he cry'd aloud to them, *Tou that love the Honour of Scotland follow me*: Upon which they all return'd with him, and fell

upon the *English* with such incredible Valour, that they drove them back again to their Ships, killing and drowning above 500 of them. For which Action King *Robert* alwise used to call him *his own Bishop*. In the 84th, How King *Robert* return'd from *Ireland*. In the 85th, How the City of *Berwick* was taken by the means of one *Sym Spalding*, a *Burgess*, who was Married to a Cousin of the *Marischal*. In the 86th, How the King came with an Army to *Berwick*, just about the time of their taking of the Castle. In the 87th, How *Walter Stewart* was made Governour of *Berwick*. In the 88th, How the King of *England* rais'd an Army in order to retake *Berwick*. In the 89th, How the King of *England* laid Siege to the Town of *Berwick*. In the 90th, How King *Robert* sent an Army into *England*, to destroy all the adjacent Countries, during the Siege of the Town, under the Command of the Lord *Douglas* and the Earl of *Murray*. In the 91st, He gives a full and particular Account of the Siege of *Berwick*, of the Raising of that Siege, of King *Robert's* sending of Succour to his Brother in *Ireland*, and of that Brave Prince's Death, occasion'd by his own Rashness, having Engaged, with an Army of Two Thousand *Scots*, an Army of Thirty Thousand : In which Action was kill'd, with King *Edward Bruce*, amongst other Brave Gentlemen, *Gilbert Harper*, who Wore the King's Armour that Day, upon which they took him to be the King and Struck off his Head, and sent it to the King of *England*. Then he gives an Account of the Affairs in *Scotland*, how the King of *England* enter'd *Scotland* with an Army of Eighty Thousand Men, but was oblig'd to return without effectuating any thing, by reason of his want of Provisions. In the 92d, He gives an Account, how King *Robert* went with an Army after them into *England*. In the 93d, How King *Robert* overcame the *English* at *Byland*. In the 94th, How *William Lord Somers* and several other thought to have Dethron'd King *Robert*, and to have Usurped the Crown. In the 95th, Of the Death of *Walter Stewart* and his Burial at *Pasly*. In the 96th, How the Truce made betwixt *England* and *Scotland* was Broke by the *English*, and how King *Robert* sent the Lord *Douglas* with the Earl of *Murray* into *England*, and a full Account of their Actions there. In the 97th, He gives an Account of the Continuation of the War against the *English*, and how at length a Peace was concluded. In the 98th, He gives an Account of King *Robert's* Death and Burial at *Dumfermling*. In the 99th, How the Lord *Douglas* went to the *Holy-Land* with the King's Heart, and the Particulars of his Journey. In the 100th, How the Lord *Douglas* was kill'd Fighting against the *Saracens*, and how Sir *William Keith* return'd to *Scotland* with the King's Heart. Thus Died the Lord *James Douglas*, Fighting against the Infidels, who, in the whole Course of his Life, gave such extraordinary Proofs of his Valour and Conduct, that he equal'd if not excell'd the greatest Hero that ever was amongst the *Romans* or *Athenians*, of whom our Author gives us this Character :

*All Men him loved for his Bounty
For he was full fair Affair
Wife, Courteous and Debonier
Large and loving alace was he
And over all thing he loved Lawtie*

*Lawtie to love is no Follie
 Through Lawtie lives Men right Wiselie
 With one Vertue of Lawtie
 A Man may yet sufficient be
 Without Lawtie may none have Prife
 Whether that he be Wight or Wise
 For where it failyies no Vertue
 May be of Price nor Value
 To make a Man so good that he
 May simply Goodman called be
 He was in all his Deeds leel
 For he Daigned not to deal
 With Traitourie or with Falset
 His Heart on his Honor was set
 And him contended on sik maner
 That all him loved that were him near
 But he was not so fair that we
 Should speak greatly of his Beautie
 In Visage he was some deal Gray
 And had Black Hair as I heard say
 But then of Lims he was well made
 With Bones great and Shoulders brade.
 His Bodie well made and Lenie
 (As they that saw him said to me)
 When he was Blyth he was lovely
 And Meek and Sweet in Company
 But who in Battel might him see
 Another Countenance had he
 And in his Speech lisped some deal
 And that set him full wonder well
 To good Hector of Troy might be
 In many things likened be
 Hector had Black Hair as he had
 And sturk Lims and right well made
 And lisped also as did he
 And was fulfilled of all Bouny
 And was Courteous, Wise and Wight
 But of Manhood and meekle Might
 To Hector dare I none Compare
 Of all that ever in Warld were
 For in his time so wrought he
 That he should greatly loved be*

In the last Chapter he gives an Account of the Death of Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray, who was Poison'd by a Monk, and concludes his Book thus,

*Here ends the Book of the Noblest King
 That ever in Scotland yet did Reign
 Called King Robert the Bruce
 That was most worthy of all Rufe
 And of the Noble good Lord Douglass
 And many moe that with him was*

E e e e 2

The

The Gentlemen and Noblemen mention'd, by our Author, who Assisted King *Robert* in his Wars, for recovering their Country's Liberty; besides these mention'd in the Letter to the Pope, are, *Edward Bruce* the King's Brother, afterwards King of Ireland, *Hugh de la Hay*, Sir *David de Barclay*, *Summerville*, *Inchmartine*, Sir *Christopher Seton*, *Robert Boid*, The Baron of *Macknaughton*, *John* Earl of *Athol*, *Neil Bruce* the King's Brother, Sir *Neil Campbel*, *Angus* Lord of the *Isles*, *Robert* Bishop of *Glasgow*, *Marcus* of *Main*, Sir *Raynald Crawford*, Sir *Brice Blair*, *Cuthbert* one of the King's Menial Servants, *Thomas Dickson* one of Lord *Douglas's* Menial Servants, Sir *Alexander Frazer*, *Simon Frazer* his Brother, Sir *David* the Earl of *Athol's* Son, *Philip Frazer* of *Platane*, *Malifus* of *Sirathern*, Son to *Malifus* Earl of *Sirathern*, Sir *Allan Cathkart*, *Alexander Stewart* Lord of *Bonkel*, Sir *Adam Gordon*, Sir *Alexander Douglas*, Sir *William Wiseman*, Sir *Andrew Gray*, *William Binny*, *Sym* of *Lead-house*, *William Francis*, *William Wepont*, Sir *Walter Ross*, Sir *Lawrence Abernethy*, Sir *Philip Moubray*, Sir *John Sowles*, Sir *John Stewart*, *Ramsay* of *Oughterbouse*, *Thomas Dun*, Sir *Allan Stewart*, *Neil Fleeming*, *Gilbert Harper*, Sir *Colen Campbel*, *William Sinclair* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, *Sym Spalding*, Sir *William Keith* of *Gallistoun*, *John Thomson*, Sir *Gilbert Maltyer*, Sir *John Logie*, Sir *Richard Brown*, *Donald* Earl of *Mar*, *Archbald Douglas*, *William* Lord *Sowles*, Sir *Robert Ogilvy*, Sir *William Erskine*, The Earl of *Angus*, Sir *William Sinclair*, Sir *Robert Logan*, Sir *Walter Logan* and Sir *William Keith*.^t

Thus I have given, from the best and most Esteem'd Historians of both Nations, the History of the Wars that were betwixt them, during the times of Sir *William Wallace* and King *Robert Bruce*: In which time, there was more Devastation, Spoil and Destruction, and more Effusion of Christian Blood on both sides, than ever was between any two People of the World.

His Death
and Character

As for our Author, as I have said, he liv'd in the Reign of King *David*, and his Nephew King *Robert*, in whose time he Compil'd his Book, in the Year 1375, as he tells us himself in these Words, speaking of King *Robert Bruce's* Off-spring,

*The King's Daughter that was Fair
And was als his apparand Heir
With Walter Stewart can. he Wed
And they well soon got of their Bed
A Man-child through God's Grace
That after his good old Father was
Call'd Robert and syn was King
And had the Land in Governing
After his worthy Son Davie
That Reigned Nine years and Thirty
And in the time of the compyling
Of this Book this Robert was King
And of his Kingrick passed was
Five years and was the year of Grace
A thousand three hundred and seventy
And five and of his Eild fixty
And that was after the good King*

Robert was brought to his ending
Six and twenty Winters but mair

So that, in all Probability, he Died towards the latter end of King Robert the Second's Reign, who bestow'd upon him an Annual Pension for Composing this History, which he afterwards procured to be settled upon an Hospital at Aberdeen. He was one of the best Poets of his Age, and his History has had very many Editions, and is very much esteem'd, in regard of several Particulars that are to be found in it, which are omitted by our other Historians, seeing he liv'd so near the times that he wrote of. He seems to have been well seen in the Jewish, Grecian and Roman Histories; for, in his History, he frequently brings parallel Acts of Chivalry out of the Jewish, Greek, and Roman Historians.

The Catalogue of his Works.

The Acts and Life of the most Victorious Conqueror Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, wherein also are contain'd the Martial Deeds of the Valiant Princes Edward Bruce, Sir James Douglass, Earl Thomas Randolph, Walter Stewart, and sundry others.

The Edition which I have followed is that of Glasgow, Printed in a small Octavo, in the year 1672.

T H E LIFE of THOMAS VAROYE, Provost of Bothwel.

Thomas Varoye or Barry, as Dempster calls him (a), was Born in the Reign of King David II. In his younger Years he apply'd himself to Poetry, and afterwards to Theology; and, having finish'd the Course of his Studies, he enter'd into Holy Orders, and was prefer'd to be a Chanon of the Church of Glasgow, and afterwards made Provost of Bothwel. For the understanding of which, the Reader must know, that, beside the Convents of Regulars, there were Colleges erected in Scotland for Secular Priests, and amply endu'd with Revenues, and the chief Person of the College of Secular Chanons was call'd the Provost, and the chief Church in great Towns was a Collegiate Church. Of these Colleges there were Twenty Six erected in Scotland, which I shall here set down (b) according to their Seniorities.

The College of Bothwel in Clidisdale, founded by Archibald the first Earl of Douglass, where our Author was Provost; The Colledge of Lin-

F f f

clowdon

(a) Vid. Dempster Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. lib. 2 Pag. 107. (b) Vid. Demp. Appar. ad Hist. Scot. Lib. 1. the Appendix. to Spott. Hist. Pag. 17.

clowdon in Nithsdale, founded by the same Earl of Douglass; The College of Botsbans in Lothian, founded by William Hay Baron of Tester; The College of Miniboll in Carrick, founded by Sir Gilbert Kennedy; The College of Dumbar in Lothian, founded by George Earl of March; The College of Carrwath in Clidisdale, founded by Thomas Lord Summerville; The College of Metbuen in Strathern, founded by Walter Stewart Earl of Athol; The College of Dalkeith in Lothian, founded by James Douglass the second Earl of Morton; The College of Fowlis in Angus, founded by Andrew Gray of Fowlis; The College of Kilmund in Comal, founded by Sir Duncan Campbel; The College of Dirlton in Lothian, founded by Sir Walter Halyburton of Dirlton; The College of Roslin in Lothian, founded by William Sinclair Earl of Orkney; The College of Dunclase in the Merse, founded by Alexander Lord Hume; The King's College of Strivling, founded by King James the Third; Trinity College in Edinburgh, founded by Mary Widow of King James II. The College of Restalrig in Lothian, founded by King James IV. The College of Seaton in Lothian, founded by the Lord Seaton; The College of Corstorphine in Lothian, founded by the Baron of Corstorphine; The College of Creighton in Lothian, founded by the Earl of Bothwell; The College of Semple in Ransfrew-Shire, founded by the Lord Semple; The College of Kilmauers in Cunningham, founded by the Earl of Glencairn; The College of Hamilton in Clidisdale, founded by the Lord Hamilton; The College of Dumbarton in Lenox, founded by one of the Countesses of Lenox; The College of Tillibarden in Strathern, founded by the Baron of Tillibarden; The College of Tayne in Ross, founded by King James IV. And the College of Abernethy in Strathern, founded by one of the Earls of Douglass.

He writes
the History
of the Bat-
tel of Otter-
burn.

Whilst our Author was Provost of Bothwell, the Famous Battel of Otterburn was Fought, betwixt Henry Hotspur, Eldest Son to the Earl of Northumberland, and James the Second Earl of Douglass; upon which he Compos'd a Poem in Latine, wherein we have all the Particulars of this Action; and this Poem is still extant in the Book of the Cartbusians of Perth, in the Lawyers Library at Edinburgh.

An Account
of this Hi-
story.

But, before I give the Reader an Account of this Battel from our Author, it will be necessary to give an Account of the first Rise of this War, which in brief was thus: David II. King of Scotland being Dead without Issue, Robert Stewart, Son to Walter Great Steward of Scotland, and Marjory Bruce, half Sister to King David, Succeeded in the Kingdom, and was Crown'd at Scoon with great Solemnity, upon the 25th Day of March, in the 47th Year of his Age, and in the Year of our Lord 1370. The Borderers being weary with the long Peace and Quietness, which they had enjoy'd in the latter end of King David's Reign, and being Men desirous of Wars and Troubles, upon a Quartel Picked on Purpose, they Slew certain of the Household Servants of George Earl of March, at the Fair of Roxburgh: Upon this the Earl of March sent a Herald to the Earl of Northumberland, Warden of the Marches, requiring that such as had committed the Slaughter might be deliver'd to him, to be Punish'd as they deserv'd: But, receiving nothing but Dilatory Answers, and such as were full of Scoffs and Derision, he waited patiently till a fit opportunity presented to be Reveng'd of them; which offer'd it self the next Year at the Fair of Roxburgh, where the Earl

Earl of *Murray* and the Earl of *March* came with a great Number of Men, took the Town of *Roxburgh*, which then belong'd to the *English*, Slew all the *English*-Men they found in it, carried away their Goods and set the Town on Fire. The *English*, Provok'd with this, shortly after enter'd with an Army into *Scotland*, Burning and Destroying all the Lands of Sir *John Gordon* lying in their way to the Houses and Possessions of the Earl of *March*, of whom they principally desir'd to be Reveng'd. Sir *John Gordon* upon this came into *England* with a good Army, and, after he had laid Waste a great Part of the Northern Counties, in his return Homeward he was met by an Army of the *English*, at a Place call'd *Carram*, under the Command of Sir *John Lilburn*; whereupon a Battel ensu'd, the Success whereof was very variable, the Victory for a long time appearing doubtful and uncertain; for Sir *John Gordon* was sore Wounded, and the *Scots* fled Five times that Day, and as often had the like Advantage against their Enemies, who were at last utterly Discomfited, and Sir *John Lilburn*, their Captain, with his Brother and divers others were taken Prisoners and brought to *Scotland*. To Revenge this, *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland* came, with an Army of Seven Thousand Men, to *Duns*: But the Night following, the Shepherds and the Country People having provided certain dry Leather Baggs, into which they put many small Peeble-Stones, ran up and down round the *English* Camp, and made such a Noise therewith, that the *English*-Men's Horses broke their Bridles and Halters, wherewith they were tied; and so ran thorow the Country, that many of them fell into the Hands of the *Scots*; so that the *English*, perceiving themselves by this means to be set on Foot, return'd Home without any further Attempt. *Thomas Musgrave*, the Governour of *Berwick*, coming at the same time with some Forces to assist the Earl of *Northumberland*, was met upon the way by Sir *John Gordon*, by whom he was taken Prisoner, and led into *Scotland*. And as the *Scots* had the better on the East-Marches, so also had they on the West, where Sir *John Johnston* of That-Ilk had sundry Skirmishes with the *English*, and, for the most Part, went away with the Victory, especially toward the latter End of King *Edward III.* his Reign, who departed this Life upon the 21st of June 1377, in his Mannour at *Sheen* (now call'd *Richmond*) in the Sixtieth and Fourth Year of his Age, having Reign'd Fifty Years, Four Months and odd Days. *Edward III.* of that Name, King of *England*, being dead, *Richard* of *Bourdeaux* his Grandchild, Son to *Edward* the *Black Prince*, succeeded in the Kingdom of *England*. The inveterate Enmity between the Two Nations ended not with the Life of King *Edward*, but still continued and broke out, by frequent Depredations and Inroads upon one another's Borders, and other Acts of Hostility; for in the very first Year of King *Richard's* Reign, Sir *John Gordon* and Six or Seven other *Scott* Knights, and a few others surpris'd and took the Town of *Berwick*, upon *St. Andrew's* Day in the Year 1380. and slew Sir *Robert Boynton* the Constable. But they held it not long; for within Nine Days, *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, with a certain Number of *English*-Men, entring by a Postern Gate of the Castle, quickly and easily recover'd it again out of their Hands, and put all those that they had surpris'd there to the Sword. About Two Years after, the Earl of *Douglafs* came with an Army of Twenty Thousand

Men, and entrèd with Fire and Sword into *Cumberland*, *Westmerland*, the Forrest of *Inglewood* and came to *Perith* Fair, where they rifled all their Booths and Houses, spoil'd and seis'd upon all their Goods, killing a great many, and then return'd with a very Rich' Booty into *Scotland*. But the *Scots* had no Reason to rejoice for their Success in this Expedition; for, with such Cloth and other Commodities as they took away with them, they carry'd the Pestilence into *Scotland*; so that a Third Part of all the People, where the Infection came, died of it. The *English*, to revenge the Damages done by the Earl of *Douglafs* at the aforesaid Fair, rais'd a great Army, with which they pass'd over the Water of *Solway*, and Invaded the *Scots* Borders with Fire and Sword, and took a great Booty of Cattel and other Goods: But in the mean time, the *Scots*, hearing of this, gather'd together to the Number of Five Hundred Men, and laying themselves in Ambush at a Streight, where the *English* were to pass, they came rushing out upon them with such an hideous Clamour and Noise, that they put them all to the Flight, and in their Retreat there was Four Hundred of the *English* slain, and a great Number of the rest were drown'd in *Solway* Water; by which the whole Booty was recover'd that the *English* had taken.

Charles VI. King of *France*, hearing of the Prosperous Success of the *Scots* against the *English*, sent his Ambassadors to *Robert* King of *Scotland*, to Congratulate his happy Success, and to exhort him to follow his good Fortune, and never to cease till he was fully reveng'd of the *English*, since now that their Hearts began to fail them, by reason of the great Losses they had diverse ways sustain'd of late at the *Scots* Hands. The Ambassadors had also Commission to renew the Ancient League between *Scotland* and *France*, which was solemnly done at *Edinburgh*; where, amongst other Articles and Conditions, these were particularly agreed to.

I. (c) That their Master King *Charles*, should cause the Pope annul all the Leagues made betwixt *Scotland* and *England*, and Absolve all the Barons, Prelates and Commons from their Oaths that they had taken to the *English*. II. That he should cause the said Pope to Exhort the *Scots* to entertain the old Alliances betwixt the Kingdoms of *France* and *Scotland*, in prejudice of which the foresaid Leagues had been made. III. That he should give to *Robert* King of *Scotland* an Hundred Thousand Nobles of Gold, or the like Sum, for carrying on a War against the *English*; and that the said Sum should be deliver'd to King *Robert*, before the Commencement of the War. IV. That he should send to the said King *Robert* Arms for Five Hundred Horse-Men and Five Hundred Foot, and should furnish, for Two Years, Five Hundred Men at Arms, and Five Hundred Serjeants. V. That immediately, upon the Breaking out of the War, he should send into *Scotland* a Thousand good Men well Arm'd and well Disciplin'd, who should be Maintain'd upon his Wages, and a greater Number, if need be, for Two Years. VI. That the Payment of the said Soldiers Wages should be at certain Terms, in the City of *Bruges*, in the Churches of the *Augustines*, and this should be nowise Prejudicial to the general Aids and Subsidies, that the *French* were oblig'd to Furnish to the *Scots*, by their Preceding Treaties, all which they now Renew'd.

And

And so the Ambassadors return'd into *France*, but with them King *Robert* sent also *Walter Wardlaw* Cardinal and Bishop of *Glasgow*, with many other Noblemen, to confirm the same League, which was accordingly done at *Paris*, to the great Satisfaction of both the said Princes. In the same Year, being the Eleventh of King *Robert's* Reign, *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, a Man of the greatest Power and Authority in the Administration of the Affairs of the Kingdom of *England*, and *Edmund* of *Langley* Earl of *Cambridge*, with sundry other of the *English* Nobility, wisely considering, how ill Things had succeeded in *Scotland*, towards the latter End of the Reign of King *Edward III.* the Kings Grandfather, and no whit better since, and fearing, that it might grow Worse and Worse, by reason of the League newly made and concluded between the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, agreed amongst themselves to go as Ambassadors into *Scotland*, to Negotiate with King *Robert* and his Nobility for a Peace betwixt the Two Realms: Which at length was agreed to by both Parties for Three Years. This Truce was duly kept and observ'd on both Sides (for any thing we find in History to the contrary) during the time agreed upon; but was no sooner expir'd, than *Alexander Ramsay*, a Gentleman of an undaunted Resolution, having got together about Forty Men well Mounted, March'd under the Silence of the Night, till they came the length of *Berwick*, having sent a Spy before them to give them an Account of the State of the Garrison: Upon his return he told them, that he found all Quiet and at Rest; upon which, by Break of Day they Scal'd the Walls with Ladders that they had brought alongst with them for that effect. *Alexander Ramsay* was the first who Mounted the Walls with Sword in hand, and all the rest, having got safely over after him, went streight to the Castle, and having broke open the Gate, the Captain, who the Week before had fallen at some Difference with the Garrison, believing it to be them who were coming to Assassinate him, leapt over a Window which look'd toward the Fosse, and Broke or Dislocate his Neck, of which he immediately Died; and all the rest, who were found in the Castle, were put to the Sword. The Noise of this having Allarm'd the Garrison of the City, Commanded by one *John Bisset*, whilst the *Scots* were deliberating what further they should do, they were so closely Besieg'd that they could not get out of it, and the Captain having Advertis'd the Earl of *Northumberland*, he came up with an Army of Ten Thousand Men, and retook the Castle, killing all of them, save *Alexander Ramsay* whom they took Prisoner. After this, the same Year, *Archibald Douglass* Lord of *Galloway* incens'd at the *English*, who lay in Garrison in the Castle of *Lochmaben*, did daily Rob and Pillage the Villages and Country Towns of *Galloway* and *Annandale*, rais'd a great Power and laid Siege to the Castle. At length the Governour Sir *William Fetherston*, finding that neither his Men nor Viſtuals were sufficient for any longer Defence, sent Letters to the Lords Wardens of the *English* Marches for Aid and Succour: And they, in Answer to him, desir'd that he might Defend it for Eight Days, and that, if they did not relieve him before that time, he might do as he pleas'd. Whereupon he required of the *Scots* Lords a Truce for the space of those Eight Days, upon Condition, That, if within that time there came no Aid to remove their Siege, he would then yield up the Castle to them, so that the Lives and Goods of all such as were

within the Castle might be saved. This was granted; and no Relief coming to them, upon the time appointed they surrendred the Castle to the *Scots*, who caus'd it immediately to be Raz'd to the Ground. The King of *England*, hearing of this, order'd the Baron of *Graystock*, with a certain Number of Men, to furnish the Castle of *Roxburgh*, fearing that the *Scots* might take it likewise: But he was met within a Mile of *Roxburgh* by the Earl of *March*, who took him and all his Men Prisoners, and carry'd them to his own Castle of *Dimbar*. King *Richard*, being inform'd of this, prepar'd Two Armies to invade *Scotland*, and appointed the one to pass by Sea and the other by Land, under the Conduct and Leading of the Duke of *Lancaster* his Uncle, who, having given Directions to them that were to pass by Sea, enter'd himself with the other by Land, and in his Journey waded the Marches of *Scotland* and the Country of *Lothian*, and came to *Edinburgh*, which he took without doing them any further harm, upon the Account of the Civillities he had received from them some time before, when he stay'd at the Abby of *Holy-rood-house*, and so return'd into *England*. His Navy, being then arriv'd in the *Firth*, first burnt the Abby of *St. Columb*, and after that a Number of their Soldiers and Captains landed in *Fife*, and spoil'd diverse Towns and Villages there, till at length *Thomas Erskine* and his Brother *Nicolas*, *Alexander Lindsay*, and *William Cunningham* of *Kilmaurce*, having got together a Body of Men, set upon them, and slew the most Part of them, so that few of them escap'd to their Ships. And in the same Year, *William* Earl of *Douglafs* recover'd the Forts in *Teviotdale* out of the Hands of the *English*, which they had in their Possession ever since the Battel of *Nevil's Cross* near unto *Durham*, and shortly after died at his Castle of *Douglafs*, leaving behind him the Fame of one of the most Valiant Men of his Age, and was succeeded by his Son *James Douglafs*, who was in nothing Inferior to his Father, and shortly after appointed by King *Robert* to have the Command of an Army against the *English*, with the which he march'd into *England*, took the Town of *Berwick*, and burnt and laid waste all the Country, as far as *Newcastle*; but, being call'd Home, he return'd to *Perth*, where he found the King with the Lord *John of Vienne* Earl of *Valentinois* Admiral of *France*, who at that time was arriv'd in *Scotland* with Threescore Ships well furnish'd for the Wars with Victuals and Ammunition, and in them Two Thousand and Five Hundred Men, diverse of them being Lords, Knights and Gentlemen of Note. The Soldiers were paid their Wages for one whole Year before hand, and had Provision of Victuals brought with them to serve them as long; they also brought with them Fifty Thousand Franks, to be given amongst the Noblemen of *Scotland*, according as King *Robert* should think fit. After this, there happen'd nothing almost every Day but mutual Devastations betwixt the *Scots* and *English*, which King *Robert* being inform'd of, assembled the Nobility of his Realm at *Aberdeen*, where he then was; and by their Advice it was concluded, That the whole Power and Strength of the Realm should be rais'd to revenge the Injuries done by the *English*; whereupon Two Armies were with all speed imaginable rais'd: The one whereof, consisting of Fifteen Thousand Men, was commanded by *Robert* Earl of *Fife*, having with him for his Assistance the Earl of *Morven*, *Archbold Douglafs* Lord of *Galloway* and *Alexander*

der *Lindsay* of *Walcop*; the other Army, containing the like Number of Men, was commanded by *James* Earl of *Douglafs* and *George* Earl of *March*, assisted by *James Lindsay* Earl of *Cramfurd*, *John Dunbar* Earl of *Murray* the Lord *Hay* Constable of *Scotland* and diverse others of the Nobility. These Two Armies parted at *Jedburgh*; and the Earl of *Fife*, with his Army, entred into *Cumberland* by the West Marches; and the Earls of *Douglafs* and *March*, on the other side, entred with their Army into *Northumberland*. These Two laid waste the whole Countries where ever they came. At length they met within Ten Miles of *Newcastle*; and the Earl of *Douglafs*, having chosen Ten Thousand of the most Valiant Men that he could find amongst them, went streight to *Newcastle*, designing to take it with Sword in Hand: But before his coming thither there was gather'd together in the Town, for the Defence thereof, many Valiant Gentlemen and others from the Northern Parts beyond *Tork*, and with them the Earl of *Northumberland*, who, by reason of his Old Age and Infirmary, was not able to Stir much abroad himself. But he had with him two of his Sons, *Henry* and *Ralph*, very Foreward and Brave young Gentlemen, the Elder whereof had to his Name the Addition of *Hotspur*, from his hasty and stirring Spirit, having no Mind to live at Rest, if there were any Business to be done Abroad. The Earl of *Douglafs*, as I have said, coming to *Newcastle*, Encamped his Men on the North-side of the Town. The next Day *Henry Hotspur* sent a Challenge to the Earl of *Douglafs*, desiring him to Fight him Hand to Hand with sharp ground Spears in view of both their Armies, which was no sooner propos'd, than accepted by the Earl, who, in their first Rencounter, had the good Fortune to Unhorse him, and to force him into the very Gates of the Town, where he pluck'd his Staff from him by meer Force. After this, the Earl caus'd fill the Fosse with Hay and Faggots, and brought Ladders to the Walls, and caus'd an Assault to be given; but the *English* behav'd themselves so bravely, that they beat back the *Scots* with considerable Loss. After which Assault, the *English* Power was mightily encreas'd at *Newcastle*; for a great Number of the Country adjoining, came and enter'd into the Town the next Night; upon which the Earl of *Douglafs* rais'd the Siege, and march'd with his Men homeward, designing to prosecute the War no further: But *Henry Percy*, from the fierceness of his Temper, supposing, by this Supply, that his Number of Men was Sufficient to Fight the Earl of *Douglafs*, set his Men in order of Battel, intending to issue forth upon the *Scots*, and to give them Battel. But, when he had understood that they had rais'd the Siege, and gone Homeward, he pursued them with all Speed, thinking it a Dishonour put upon him, if they should return without a Battel. The Earl of *Douglafs*, being advertis'd of this, exhorted his People with few (but Pithy and moving) Words to remember their wonted Manhood, and that, by gaining the Victory, (besides the never dying Fame and Glory thereof) they would Purchase Safety to themselves, and their whole Country. The Lord *Percy*, on the other hand, exhorted the *English* with great Chearfulness to Fight Manfully, in Revenge of the many Injuries the *Scots* had done them of late. After which the Trumpets sounded, and both Armies joined together, and there follow'd for a while a terrible Engagement: But, because the Night approach'd be-

fore they began to join Battel, for want of Light they parted, resolving, so soon as the Moon appear'd to give sufficient Light, again to renew the Battel. As soon therefore as the Moon began to appear, they join'd again with more Fierceness and Eagerness than they had done before. In which Rencounter, the *English* Fought so Valiantly, that they forc'd the *Scots* to give Ground, and had won their Standards, and gain'd the Victory in all likelihood, had not *Patrick Hepburn*, with his Son, and their Attendants, come in to their Succour and Relief, by which means the Fight was renew'd again, with as great Violence as ever. The Earl of *Douglafs* likewise, by the Example of his Singular Valour, gave such Encouragement to the *Scots* who were retiring, that they, Assuming their lost Spirits again, broke in upon the *English* Army with such Fury, that at length they put them entirely to the flight, and pursued them with great Slaughter till the brake of Day. In this Battel *Henry Percy* and his Brother *Ralph* were taken Prisoners by *Keith* Earl Marischal of Scotland: There were Slain of the *English* about Five Hundred Noblemen, and Persons of Note; and there were taken Prisoners, besides the two *Piercies*, *Robert Ogle*, *Thomas Halberk*, *John Lilburn*, *William Wauchlutie*, *Robert Heron*, the Baron of *Hilton*, *John Colvil* and *Patrick Lovil* Knights, with several other of lesser Quality, who were all taken to Scotland, whose Ransoms brought good Sums of Money to those who took them. On the *Scots* side likewise were Kill'd several Persons of Quality, amongst whom was their Famous General *James* Earl of *Douglafs*, whom the Earls of *March*, *Murray* and *Crawford* found Expiring in his Tent, being thrice run through the Body, and Mortally Wounded in the Head; for which the whole *Scots* Army was more Griev'd, than if they had lost the Battel, so much was the Death of this Worthy and Brave Nobleman Lamented; (who Died without Issue, upon which his Cousin and next Heir, *Archbald* *Douglafs* Lord of *Galloway*, succeeded in the Earldom) and they carryed alongst with them his Corps, till they came to the Abby of *Melrose*, where they Inter'd him beside his Father. This is the Famous Battel of *Otterburn*, of which our Author writes the History in Verse, which was fought upon *St. Oswald's* Day, in the Year 1388. upon the 5th of *August*: A Battel fought with such unparallel'd Courage and Bravery on both sides, that, as our Author and *Froissard*, who then liv'd, represent it, it is hardly to be match'd in History.

His Death
and Character

This is all that we know of our Author, save that it is very probable he died towards the beginning of King *Robert III.* his Reign. *Dempster* (d) says, that he was *Vir Elegantis ingenii & disertus*; but *Jo. Major* gives a very mean Character of him (e), for he says, that he had purposely omitted his Verses, because they were not worth the inserting into his History; and, for that same very Reason, I shall not trouble the Reader with them, they being indeed nothing else but a Parcel of Monkish Rhymes, like unto those that were made upon the Battel of *Banockburn*, and begin thus,

Musa refert fatum fore Scriptum carmine vatam.

And here I cannot but take notice how *Dempster* has made two Authors of this one; the first under the Name of *Thomas Barry*, in the Place

(d) *Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 2. Pag. 107.* (e) *Joh. Maj. Hist. Scot. Lib. 6. Cap. 4. Vid. et. Voss. d: Hist. Lat. Lib. 3. Par. 4. Cap. 4.*

Place above Cited, and then under the Name of *Thomas Varoye*. (f), where he gives this further Account of him, That he was of an Illustrious Family, and Doctor in Theology, and wrote, besides the History of the Battel of Otterburn, several Odes, Rhymes, and other things: But whatever Truth be in this, we have no more of his Writings extant but his Verses, as we have said, upon the Battel of Otterburn, which are to be found in the IV. Book of the *Carthusians* of Perth, in the Lawyers Library at *Edinburgh*.

(f) Lib. 19. Pag. 658.

The Catalogue of his Works.

De Prælio Otterburnensi. Ext MSS. in Lib. Carth. de Perth in Bib. J. C. C. Edinb.

T H E

LIFE of King JAMES the I.

THIS Prince was Born in the Year 1396. His Mother Queen *Annabel Drummond* was a Daughter of Sir *John Drummond* of *Stobhall*, and his Father *Robert* the III. was the Hundred Monarch of Scotland (a). He had an Elder Brother Nam'd *David*, who, being a Prince of a Riotous Temper, was committed by his Father to the Care and Inspection of his Uncle the Duke of *Albany*, who was made Governour of the Realm; because the King was willing to free himself of that Trouble, being disabl'd by the Stroke of a Horse. But the Governour, being an Ambitious Man and aspiring at the Crown, caus'd imprison his Nephew the Prince in the Castle of *Falkland*, and order'd him to be Starv'd; yet his Life was preserv'd for some time, by the Charity of two Poor Women, one of which afforded him Meal, and the other Milk from her Breasts: But, the Governour having discover'd them, they were both put to Death, and the Poor Prince at length reduc'd to Feed upon the Members of his own Body, and to Die amidst the Agonies of Famine and Torture.

This being whisper'd to the King, who was then in the Isle of *Bute*, he immediately sent for the Governour, and Challeng'd him for the Murder of his Son; but he affirm'd that he was nowise accessory to his Murder; and, that he might amuse the King his Brother, he caus'd put several Innocent Persons to Death upon that account.

But the King, who was more and more convinc'd of his Brother's Delights, resolv'd to secure his Son *James* from his Attempts, and for

H h h h

that

(a) Vid. *Lesly de Gest. Scot.* Lib. 7. *Meß. Boeth. Hist. Scot.* Lib. 16. *Balend. Transl. of Boeth.* Book 16. *Hathor. History of the 5 James's.*

He goes to
France, but
is taken
Prisoner in
his way by
the *English* :

that end sends him to *Walier Wardlaw* Bishop of *St. Andrew's* : But that Wise Prelate, knowing that he was not in Safety with him, secretly advis'd the King to send him to *Charles* the VI. of *France*, a Prince upon whom he might firmly Rely, and that he might have recommendatory Letters to the King of *England*, as if he design'd only for that Court, in Case he should fall into the *English* Hands. Upon which, the King immediately caus'd Ship his Son at the *Bass*, and sent alongst with him *Henry Sinclair* the Second Earl of *Orkney*, with some others of the *Scots* Nobility and Gentry. But, either by strefs of Weather; or Sea-Sickness, the Prince was forc'd to Land upon the *English* Coast; and, notwithstanding that there was then a Truce betwixt the two Nations, and that he had recommendatory Letters to the King of *England*, he and his whole Company were taken upon the 30th Day of *March* in the Year 1404, being the Ninth Year of his Age, and detain'd as Prisoners.

For which
his Father
dies of
Grief.

Upon the News of the Prince's Captivity, the old King his Father retir'd himself to his Chamber, where, by excessive Sorrow and a voluntary Abstinence, he put an end to his Life in Three Days time, and was buried in the Abbacy of *Pasly*.

Upon the Death of the King, the Estates of Parliament met and agreed, That the Duke of *Albany* should still continue Governour of the Realm. In which Station he continued for Fifteen Years, and died upon the Third Day of *September* in the Year 1419. and his Son Duke *Murdoch* was constitute Governour in his Place. But, he being a weak Prince and of an easy Nature, all things went into Disorder and Confusion, and his own Children became so Riotous and Insolent, that they became not only a Grievance to their own Father, but to the whole Nation.

The States
send Amba-
sadors to
England,
to treat for
his Ran-
some;

To remede all which Abuses, the Governour caus'd call a Meeting of the Estates, wherein it was agreed, That some of their Number should be sent to *England*, to treat with the *English* for the Redemption of their King; and accordingly there were Nominated, for that End, *Archbald* Earl of *Douglafs* Son to *Archbald* Duke of *Turin*, *William Hay* Constable of the Realm, Sir *Alexander Irvine* of *Drum*, *Henry Lighton* Bishop of *Aberdeen* and *Alexander Cornwall* Arch-Dean of *Lothian*.

These, coming to *London*, were very favourably receiv'd by the *English*, and had several Conferences with the young King. At length, having desir'd to have Audience in Council, they were admitted, where Bishop *Lighton* deliver'd the following Speech.

MY LORDS,

“THE Respect and Reverence, which the *Scots* Nation carrieth
“ towards all Kings; is every where known, but most that Love
“ and Loyalty which they have to the Sacred Persons of their own Na-
“ tive Princes; for as Monarchy is the most Ancient Form of Govern-
“ ment, so have they ever esteem'd it the best, it being more easy to
“ find one instructed and train'd up in Heroical Vertues, than to find
“ many, and how well soever Governours and Vice-Gerents, rule the
“ Common-wealth: Yet is that Government but as the Light of the
“ Moon or Stars in absence of the Sun, and but Representations of Sha-
dows

"dows for Real Bodies. This has moved the Three Estates of that Kingdom to direct us here unto you.

"Our King these many Years hath been kept from us, upon just or unjust Grounds we will not argue; That Providence, which hath appointed every thing to its own End, hath done this for the best both to you and us, and we are now to treat with you for his Delivery, beseeching you to remember that his Father, of Sacred Memory, recommended him, out of that general Duty that one Prince oweth to another, to your King's Protection, in hope of Sanctuary and in request of Aid and Comfort against his Secret, and consequently his most dangerous Enemies: And we must confess, that hitherto he hath been better and more secure amongst you, than if he had been in his own Native Country; for your Favours have been many ways extended towards him, having brought him up in all Liberal Sciences and Arts; so that his Abode with you seemeth rather to have been a Remaining in an Academy than in any Captivity, and that he had been lost if he had not been lost. Besides, tho' we have the Happiness to claim his Birth and Stem, ye have the Claim of his Succession and Education, he being now Match'd with the Royal Blood of *England* (for he had Married the Earl of *Sommerset's* Daughter) so that his Liberty, which we ask, is a Benefit to your selves and those Princes which shall claim the Descent of his Off-spring; for if it should fall forth (as what may not, by the variable Changes of Kingdoms, come to pass) that this Prince should be Dethron'd, 'tis your Swords that should restore him to the Possession of his Royal Diadem; and we expect, that as you have many ways rendred him yours, you will not refuse to engage him yet more by his Liberty, which he must acknowledge wholly and freely to receive from you, and, by Benefits and Love, to overcome a King is more than by Force of Arms. And since he was not your Prisoner by Chance of War, (since he never rais'd Arms against you) but by way of Protection detained here and entertain'd; so we expect, that you will act according to your Ancient Honour and Generosity, and send him freely back to his own: Yet if it be so, that you will have an Acknowledgment for what ye have bestow'd on his Education, the Distress of the present State of his Subjects and Crown consider'd, we will not stand upon trifles of Money, for the Redemption of a Prince above all Price.

The Lords of the Council were diversely inclin'd in their Opinions of the Answer that was to be return'd to this Speech; for Some were of the Opinion, that he should be sent Home freely without any Ransome; Others that he should be still detain'd Prisoner; but a Third Party prevail'd, who were for sending him Home for a Ransome, and accordingly it was Condescended, that they should have their King for Four Hundred Thousand Merks *Sterling*, the one half to be pay'd in Hand, and sufficient Hostages to remain in *England* for the other half. But, by the Power of Cardinal *Beauford* the Queen's Uncle, the Third was Discharg'd, for which he was long after Accus'd before the King by the Duke of *Glocester*.

The Governour and Estates of *Scotland* being acquainted of the Sum requir'd for the Ransome of their King, tho' the hasty requiring of it was a heavy Tax upon them; yet such was their love for their Prince,

that it was quickly rais'd; and sent with the Hostages, who were *David* Son to the Earl of *Arbol*, *Alexander* Earl of *Crawford*, the Lord *Gordon*, *John de Lindsay*, *Patrick* Son and Heir to Sir *John Lyon*, *David de Ogilvie*, Sir *William de Ruthven*, *Miles Graham*, *David Moubay* and *William Oliphant*. These were honourably Receiv'd and Entertain'd, but most of them all Died before they were Redcem'd.

The King's Father in Law the Earl of *Sommerfet*, with the Cardinal his Brother and several other Noblemen and Gentlemen, Accompanied the King to the Border, and there taking their leave return'd back. The King with the rest of his Train was receiv'd by many Noblemen and Gentlemen, who came from all Corners of the Nation to welcome him to his Native Country; and Accompanied him to *Edinburgh*, where he Arriv'd on the Passion-Week in Lent.

The Solemnities of *Easter* being finish'd, the King came with the Queen to *Perth*, and from thence, in the beginning of the Month of *May*, to *Scoon*; in the Year 1424. where he was Crown'd with his Queen, by *Henry* Bishop of *St. Andrews* and the Governour, in the 27th of his Age. Upon his Return to *Edinburgh*, a Parliament was call'd; the main Design of which was the Enacting a Subsidy for the Relief of the Hostages in *England*; in order to which, a general Tax was Condescended upon thro' the whole Realm, as Twelve Pennies of the Pound of all Lands, as well Spiritual as Temporal, and Four Pennies of every Cow, Ox and Horse for the space of Two Years. This Tax was grievously taken by the Commonality, whereupon the King, after the First Collection, Pitying their Poverty, remitted what was unpay'd until the Marriage of his Daughter, and never after exacted any Subsidy of his Subjects.

The Parliament Dissolving, the King went from *Edinburgh* to *Perth*, where having Assembled all the Present Officers, and such who had born Authority in the State, during the time of Duke *Robert* and Duke *Murdoch*, especially those whose Charge concern'd the Rents of the Crown, he understood by their Accompts, that the most part of all the Lands, Rents and Revenues belonging to the Crown, were Wasted, Alienated and put away, or by the Governours bestow'd on their Friends and Followers, the Customs of Towns and Burghs only excepted. By this he was not a little incens'd against them, tho' he seem'd to slight it; and this prompted him to give Ear to all who came near him, and to harken to all the Complaints of the Churchmen, Country Gentlemen and Merchants, against all them who had either wrong'd them or the State, and order'd that the Causes of all Accusers should be heard and examin'd. And this was the reason, that many, to obtain the King's favour, Accus'd other; and amongst the rest *Walter Stewart* the Son of Duke *Murdoch* was Arrested, and sent Prisoner to the *Bass*, as likewise *Malcolm Fleming* of *Combernauld*, and *Thomas Boid* of *Kilmarnock* were committed to Ward in *Dalkeith*; and several other of the Nobility were in no less danger of being call'd to an Account, for their Illegal Proceedings and Oppressions: Upon which they began to Form secret Meetings and Factions, in order to subvert the Government. But the King, being inform'd of this, caus'd immediately Indict a Parliament to Meet at *Perth*, where, when the Three Estates were Assembled, he deliver'd his Mind to them, from the Throne, in the following Speech.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I Have learn’d from my Tender Years, that Royalty consisteth not
 “ so much in a Chair of State, as in such Actions which do well
 “ become a Prince. What Means have been taken since my coming home
 “ and Government amongst you, I take first God, and then your selves
 “ for Witnesses, if all of them be not agreeable to you; and, if any
 “ rigorous Dealing be us’d against some, let him who is Touch’d lay a-
 “ side his Particular, and look to the settling of Justice in the State and
 “ Publick Good of the whole Kingdom, and he shall find his Sufferings
 “ tollerable, perhaps necessary and, according to the time, deserv’d.
 “ I have endeavour’d to take away all Discords, abolish Factions, suppress
 “ Oppressors, and as no Foreign Power hath attempt ought against
 “ you hitherto, so you ought not to attempt any thing against one an-
 “ other, nor any thing against the Common Wealth and Sovereignty.
 “ I have been slow in Punishing Injuries done to my self; but I can
 “ hardly Pardon such as are done to the Common Wealth, for this, I
 “ have call’d this Parliament. Let Rapine and Outrage no more be
 “ heard of, but every Man betake himself to a Civil and Regular way
 “ of Living, especially you my Nobles, who ought to think Vertue
 “ and Civility true Nobility, and That to be accounted Noblest which
 “ is best, and that a Man’s own Worth begets true Glory. By these,
 “ and the Obedience to their Princes, your Ancestors acquir’d what you
 “ now enjoy, and there is no stronger Means to keep the Goods acquir’d
 “ from a Prince, than the same by which they were first Purchas’d,
 “ which is still Obeying. Tho’ by Leagues, Factions and the confounding
 “ of all true Policy and Order of Government, you may imagine that you
 “ may escape all our Judicatures; yet let none, how great soever, conceive
 “ that his Crimes will pass unpunish’d by the Hand of the Almighty
 “ God. Ye must not hereafter account Authority, Honesty and
 “ Vertue idle Names, nor reckon That Right which you may gain or
 “ keep by Stroke of Sword. For me, I will behave my self in my Pro-
 “ ceeding, as I must Answer to God; and as for you my Subjects, I
 “ would have you Act so as you shall Answer to God first, and next
 “ to your Prince whom God hath set over you.

“ No Man’s Greatness shall Appale me in doing Right, nor the Mean-
 “ nesses of any make him so Contemptible, that I shall not give Ear to his
 “ Grievance; for I will strive to do Justice on Oppressors, and support
 “ the Innocent to my utmost.

In this Parliament a Mutual Oath pass’d betwixt the King and his
 Subjects; the King Swore, That if any made War against *Scotland*, to
 Resist them to the utmost of his Power, as likewise to oppose, with
 his whole Might, all those who endeavour’d to overthrow the Ancient
 Laws of the Kingdom; and the Estates Swore, That if any, by open
 Rebellion, should Revolt or Conspire against the King, or be found to be
 the Authors of Factions and Caballing against him, to Assist him to
 the utmost of their Power, in whatever manner he should Command them.

The King likewise, in this Parliament, Swore to Defend the Liberties
 of the Church; and an Act was pass’d, that all Church Lands, unjustly
 detain’d from them, during the time of his Captivity, should be restor’d
 unto them.

The King, having thus endear'd his Subjects to him, caus'd immediately Apprehend such of them as were most Turbulent ; amongst whom were *Murdoch* Duke of *Albany*, with his Sons *Walter* and *Alexander*, who were committed to the Castle of *Carlewrok* ; *Duncan* Earl of *Lennox* and *Robert Graham*, who were sent to *Falkland* ; *Archibald* Earl of *Douglafs*, with *William* Earl of *Angus* the King's Sister Son, *George* Earl of *March*, *Walter Ogilvie*, *Adam Hepburn* of *Hayles*, *Thomas Hay* of *Tesler*, with some others who were sent to the Castle of *St. Andrews*. And the same Day that the Duke was committed, the King seis'd on his Castles of *Falkland* in *Fife*, and *Down* in *Monteith*, out of which he remov'd the Dutchess to *Tantallon* in *Lothian*. *James* the Duke's youngest Son, upon the News of his Father's Imprisonment, Accompany'd with a Number of Out-laws, came to the Town of *Dumbarton*, set it in Fire and surpris'd there *John Stewart* of *Dondonald*, Surnam'd the *Red*, the King's Uncle, whom he kill'd with Thirty others ; and then Fled into *Ireland*, with his Brother's Wife and her Two Sons *Andrew* and *Alexander*, and a Bastard Son Named *Artbur*, where they remained till the Reign of King *James III*.

This Act of Barbarity incens'd the King extremely against the Duke, so that the next Year, before the Parliament at *Striveling*, the Duke and his Two Sons were arraign'd and condemn'd, *Walter* Earl of *Atbol* being Judge, to whom many Noblemen and Barons were join'd ; and the same Day his Two Sons *Walter* and *Alexander* were Beheaded on the Hill foregainst the Castle, and the Day after, the Duke and the Earl of *Lennox* were Beheaded.

He renews
the Ancient
League with
France, and
Marries his
Daughter to
the *Dauphin*.

When the Lords and Gentlemen who were in Prison, heard of the Duke's Death and of his Sons, they were extremely afraid : But the King was more Merciful than they expected ; for within Twelve Months they were all set at Liberty, upon their Promise of a more Dutiful Behaviour thereafter. The Wars continuing betwixt the *English* and the *French*, *Charles VII*, the *French* King, knowing the Friendship of *Scotland* to be of no small Importance to any that should Fight against the *English*, sent over *John Stewart* of *Darnly*, Marischal of a Garison of Horsemen, with the Earl of *Douglafs* Marischal of *France*, and *Renauld de Charters* Arch-Bishop of *Rheymes* and Chancellor of *France*, to renew the Ancient League between the *French* and *Scots*. But the main Business, about which the Arch-Bishop came, was the Proposal of a Marriage between *Lewis* the *Dauphine* and the King's Daughter *Margaret*, both which were agreed to, and thereupon Soldiers were Levied and sent to *France*.

He goes to
the North,
where he
Punishes
several
Thieves and
Robbers.

By this time the King had brought all the Low Countries to an exact Obedience of the Laws, and resolv'd to do the same in the Highlands. And therefore, in the Year 1426, he caus'd repair the Castle of *Inverness*, and coming there himself, he found by certain Information, that in these Bounds there were several, some of whom had One Thousand, others Two Thousand Robbers at their Call, by whose Assistance they committed most horrid Abuses and Murders.

The King seem'd to give no Credit to these Informations, entertaining kindly all such who came to see him, especially the Heads of Clans and Families, so that in a short time, the most of those who were Guilty came to the Court ; and the King finding his Opportunity, caus'd one Day apprehend Forty of them in the Castle ; and some Days after,

Ale-

Alexander Mackrore, John Mackerture and James Campbel, three of the most Famous of them, were Executed. The rest, upon a further Trial, were committed to Prisons, some of which were afterwards put to Death, and others were dismiss'd Home, upon their Promise of living Regularly according to the Laws of GOD and the Land. *Alexander Earl of Ross*, being taken in this Trap, was brought by the King to *Perth*, where many Barbarous Cruelties were proven against him; yet the King, out of his Clemency, dismiss'd him. But, upon his return to his own Country, thinking his Imprisonment a Dishonour put upon one of his Quality, and saying, That a Promise made in Prison was not Obligatory in Law, with a Number of Highlanders he came to the City of *Inverness*, where he was very kindly receiv'd by the Inhabitants; but in the Night time he fell upon them, and spoil'd them of all their Goods, and set the whole Town on Fire; and, because the Castle was the Place in which he was surpris'd, he besieg'd it with a Thousand Men.

At the Noise of this Cruelty, all the Gentlemen of the Neighbouring Shires conven'd, to whom the King join'd his Forces; and, upon their approaching, the Clan *Chattons* and *Cammerons*, in which his Principal Strength consisted, fled, so that he was forc'd with the handful that remain'd, to go to *Lochaber*, and from thence he went to the *Isles*, designing to go to *Ireland*: But, the King having set a Price upon his Head, things answer'd not his Expectation; for, by the Information of his Spies, he found he was Way-laid, and that Numbers of People in all places labour'd to Surprize him; so that after he had continu'd for a long time Desolate, and a Vagabound, his Friends not being able to obtain any Mercy for him at Court, at length resolv'd to throw himself once more on the King's Mercy; and accordingly on *Easter Day* he came privately to *Edinburgh*, and cloth'd in a Mourning Garment went to the Church of *Holy-Rood-House*, where the King was at Divine Service, and throwing himself at his Feet Beg'd his Life; and, at the Request of the Queen, his Life and private Estate was granted him. But, that he should be Incapacitate to do any more Harm, *William Douglass Earl of Douglass* was appointed to take him into Custody in the Castle of *Tantallon*; and his Mother *Euphem*, Daughter to *Walter Lesly*, some time Earl of *Ross*, a Woman of an implacable Nature, who had prompted her Son to commit all his Cruelties, was committed to the Isle of *St. Colm*.

Donald Balloch, Cousin-Germain to this *Alexander Lord of the Isles*, a Man of a haughty Mind, resenting the King's Proceedings against his Cousin, rais'd a great Number of Highlanders, and invaded *Lochaber*, where he committed all sorts of Cruelties. Whereupon *Alexander Stewart Earl of Marr* and *Allan Earl of Caithness* were sent to oppose him: But they, being over confident in their Strength, were overcome by him at *Inverlochy*, and the Earl of *Caithness* kill'd. *Balloch* return'd with a great Booty to the Isles.

Upon the Report of this, the King, with a great Army, came to *Dunstaffage*, intending from thence to pass into the *Isles*: But the Clans, and those who were concern'd in the Rebellion, came in all haste to *Dunstaffage*, and threw themselves on the King's Mercy, laying the whole Blame upon *Donald Balloch*; upon which the King took their Oath of Fidelity and Promise to pursue *Balloch* and his Followers; and dismiss'd them,

Alexander Earl of Ross rises in Rebellion, whom he overcomes.

After which he quells another Rebellion in the North.

them, only taking the most Factious alongst with him; and in a few Days a great Number of the Rebels were surpris'd, Three Hundred of which died upon Gibbets. But the Chief Rebel *Bulloch* was not found, he having made his Escape to *Ireland*, where he lurked in the Bounds of *Odo* an *Irish* Prince, to whom the King sent to have him deliver'd: Upon which *Odo* caus'd chop off his Head, and sent it to the King who was then in *Striveling*:

Amongst those who were imprison'd, the King caus'd release *Angus Duffe* of *Strath-Navern* and *Angus Murray*, Two Notorious Robbers; with a Design that they should ruin one another, there being an irreconcilable Hatred between them, which accordingly happen'd; for no sooner was *Duffe* return'd to his own Country, but, with a Company of Thieves, he spoil'd all the Confiners of *Murray* and *Caitbness*. Upon which *Angus Murray*, that he might satisfy his own Revenge and ingratiate himself with the King, pursues *Duffe* with a Company of Men equal to his in Number; and, meeting him at *Strath-Navern*, they fought with such Resolution, that of both sides there remain'd scarce Twelve Persons alive, so that the Country, by this means, was happily freed of them both.

Notwithstanding of the King's Justice in punishing of all Robberies, one *Mackdonald*, who was Born in *Ross*, and had acquired great Riches by his frequent Robberies, continued still in his Villanous Course of Life, and amongst the rest having ruin'd a Poor Widow, she swore, in her Grief, that she would inform the King of the Villanies committed by him and his Companions: Upon which he caus'd apprehend her, and caus'd nail Horse-shoes to the Soles of her Feet and the Palms of her Hands. The King, being inform'd of this Act of Barbarity, caus'd him to be apprehended with Twelve of his Associates; who, being all of them brought to *Pertb*, were shod in the same manner, and carried for Three Days as a Public Spectacle through the Town, and upon the Fourth Day *Mackdonald* was beheaded and the rest hang'd upon Gibbets.

The Queen
is brought
to Bed of
Two Sons.

Whilst the King was thus administrating Justice every where in his Kingdom, the Queen was deliver'd of Two Sons, at *Holy-rood-house*, *Alexander* and *James*, in the Year 1430, upon the 16th Day of *October*. *Alexander* deas'd in his Infancy, and *James* succeeded to his Father in the Kingdom. Upon the Birth of those Two Princes, many Prisoners were set at Liberty, amongst whom were *Archbald* Earl of *Douglafs*, Sir *Gilbert Kennedy*, the King's Sister Son, and *Alexander* Earl of *Ross*; and, that they might not doubt of the King's Sincerity, the Earl of *Douglafs* was made Parent to his Children at the Font, and at this Solemnity Fifty Knights were Created; the First of which was *William Douglafs* Son to the Earl, who after succeeded his Father in the Earldom of *Douglafs*.

He regulates
the Mets
and Mea-
sures.

The King, having now reduc'd the whole Kingdom into Order, appointed Judges every where for Determining of all Debates; and, whereas, before his coming to the Crown, under the Two Governours, there were different Mets and Measures; not only in every Shire and Town, but in every House and Mannour, he caus'd make Standard Mets and Measures of Iron, to be observ'd thorow the whole Kingdom by Act of Parliament. And, for beautifying the Kingdom, he caus'd bring from all the Neighbouring Nations, all sorts of Tradesmen, whom he rewarded with large Sums of Money.

His

His Care about Learning was no less than that about Trade ; for he brought many Famous Men in all Sciences from the Noblest Universities of Christendom ; amongst whom are reckon'd Eighteen Doctors of Theology, and Eight Doctors of the Canon Law, and oftentimes came himself in Person to the University of St. *Andrews*, and the other Schools of Learning to be Witness to their Debates. He advanc'd none to any Dignity in the Church, but Persons of Learning and Merit, making a Law, That none should enjoy the Place of a Canon in any Cathedral Church, unless he were first a Batchelor of Divinity, or of the Canon Law. In all the Cathedrals in the Kingdom, he plac'd Quiristers and Organs ; and, that he might bring a Necessity of Learning amongst the Gentry, he made a Law, That none of the Nobility or Gentry should be capable to succeed to their Fathers Estates, unless they knew either something of the Civil Law, or of the Law of their own Country.

His Care
about
Learning.

Now the Kingdom abounding in Plenty and Peace, Luxury in Apparel and Excess in Diet began to prevail every where, tho' none could charge the King for countenancing any of these Excesses, who in the Entertainment of his own Person scarce exceeded the Bounds of a Private Gentleman ; but all the Blame was laid upon the *English*. To remede which, the King caus'd call a Parliament at *Perth*, where *Henry Wardlaw* Bishop of St. *Andrews*, in a set Speech, did aggravate the Abuses and Superfluities of the Court and Country : Whereupon it was Enacted, That none should wear any Pearls but Women, who were permitted to wear a small Carkanet of them about their Necks ; all Furs and Ermines with the Abuse of Gold and Silver Lace, all Banqueting and Riotous Feasting with several other Abuses were Prohibited.

He suppresses all Luxury in Diet and Apparel.

This Year 1430. the 1st of *June*, about 3 a Clock in the Afternoon, there was a great Eclipse of the Sun, the Day turning Black for the space of an half Hour, (say our Historians) as if it had been the Dead of Night ; and therefore it was call'd the *Black Hour* by the People.

And now the King resolv'd to look after the Recovering the Patrimony of the Crown, which had been wasted and given away by the Two Governours ; and tho' nothing was more just, or more for the Good of the Common-Wealth, yet it procur'd him a great many Enemies.

He retrieves the Rents of the Crown.

In Prosecution of this Design, the King peruses a great many Evidences and Charters, belonging to the Crown, and recall'd all such Lands as had been either alienated from it, or wrongfully usurped, as likewise all Lands idly given away, as Forefaultures, Escheats and Wards. And some other Lands were annex'd to the Crown, upon the account of former Rebellions ; amongst which were the Lands of the Earl of *March*, whose Father had been in Rebellion against the King's Father *Robert III.* Against the King's Claim the Earl prov'd by undeniable Evidences, That his Father had been pardon'd for that Fault by the Regents of the Kingdom. To which the King reply'd, That it was not in the Regents Power to pardon a Crime against the State, and that it was expressly provided, by the Laws in Crimes of Lese-Majesty, That Children shall undergo Punishments for their Father's Transgressions.

Upon this the Parliament declar'd his Commission void, and committed him Prisoner to the Castle of *Edinburgh*: But the King, not long after, set him at Liberty; and, that he might not use seditious Practices with the *English*, he gave him, as it were in Exchange for his Lands in the *Mers*, the Earldom of *Buchan* in the North, with a Yearly Pension to be paid out of the Earldom of *March*; for the Earldom of *Buchan* had fallen to the King by the Death of *John*, who was Son to *Robert II.* the King's Grandfather, and who was slain at *Vernouil* in *France* with the Marischal of *Douglafs*; and many other Lands fell in to the King by Inheritance, as the Earldom of *Marr*, by the Death of *Alexander Stewart* Earl of *Marr*, Natural Son to *Alexander Stewart*, Son to *Robert II.* the King's Grandfather, as likewise the Earldom of *Strathern*, by the Death of *David Stewart* Earl of *Strathern* the King's Uncle, who having but one only Daughter (that was Married to *Patrick Grabame*; a younger Brother of the Lord *Grabame*) the Estate being Tailzied to the Masculine Line, it fell to the King; so that he succeeded to Three Sons of his Grandfather.

He renews
the Old
League with
the King
of Denmark.

About this time came Ambassadors from *Ericus* King of *Denmark*, requiring from him a yearly Tribute due to him as King of *Normay*, for the Western Isles, by an Agreement made betwixt *Alexander* the III. King of *Scotland* and his Predecessor *Magnus*, Son to *Acbo* then King of *Normay*. These Ambassadors were honourably receiv'd, and Sir *William Crichton*, then Chancellor, was order'd to go to *Denmark* with them, where he renew'd the old League between the two Kingdoms, and satisfy'd that King in all his Pretensions.

He sends
his Daughter
the
Dauphiness
to France;

About the same time came Ambassadors from *Charles VII.* King of *France*, to demand *Margaret* the King's Eldest Daughter (already Betroth'd to the *Dauphine*, who was now in the Thirteenth Year of his Age) to be deliver'd to them, and convey'd to *France*, and to renew the Old League between *Scotland* and *France*. The *English*, 'foreseeing the many Inconveniencies that would arise from this, had before hand sent to *Scotland* the Lord *Scrope*, with a Proposal of a Breach with *France*, and a Marriage of the King's Daughter with their King *Henry VI.* Promising; that, upon their Agreement, a lasting League should be Establish'd betwixt the *English* and *Scots*; and that the Town and Castle of *Berwick* should be deliver'd to the *Scots*, with all the Lands lying between *Tweed* and the *Red-Crofs*, which, when *William* the Conquerour granted *Cumberland* to the *Scots*, March'd *England* and *Scotland*, and is now a Fragment of a Crofs in *Richmond* Shire, near the *Spittle* on *Stanmoor*; about which nothing is now but wild Desert.

These Ambassadors having had their Audience before the King and his Council, it was resolv'd, that the *French*, their old Alliës, should be satisfy'd in their Demands; whereupon the *English* Ambassador went from fair Language to Threatnings: But this was so far from Discouraging the King, that it rather confirm'd him in his Opinion, that it was better to Trust to the *French* than the *English*; and therefore he immediately caus'd prepare his Ships, and Man'd them with able Mariners and Soldiers, and put them to Sea with his Daughter, accompany'd by a Hundred and Forty Gentlewomen, of which Number were Five of her own Sisters.

The

The *English* Fleet lay in wait for her, yet she escap'd them : But, in their Course towards the Netherlands, they fell in amongst a Fleet of *Spaniards*, consisting of Fourscore of Vessels, and there was sharp Fight betwixt them for some time ; but at length the *Spaniards* understanding their Error, desisted, and they steer'd their Course straight towards *Rochel*, where she safely Landed, and from thence to *Tours*, where with extraordinary Pomp and Magnificence she was Married to the *Dauphine*, upon the 24th Day of *June*, in the Year 1436.

Where she
safely Lands
and is Mar-
ried.

To defray the Expenses of this Marriage, the King caus'd lay a Subsidy upon his Subjects, of which one half was rais'd ; and, the People Repining at the exacting the other, the King caus'd render a part of the first back, and discharg'd the remainder.

The *English*, having mis'd of their Aim at Sea, invaded *Scotland* by Land with a Powerful Army, under the Command of *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland* ; against whom the King sent an Army under the Command of *William Douglas* Earl of *Angus*. The two Armies meeting at *Popperden*, after a long and Bloody Battel, the *English* were at length overcome, the *Scots* having lost Two Hundred, and the *English* Fifteen Hundred, of which Forty were Knights ; and Four Hundred were taken Prisoners.

Upon which
the *English*
invade *Scot-*
land, and are
overcome
by the *Scots*.

The King, being Encourag'd by this Victory, and incens'd with the Way-laying of his Daughter and the invading of his Kingdom, resolv'd to invade *England* with a powerful Army, and accordingly march'd at their Head the length of *Roxburgh*, and laid Siege to the Castle, which was Commanded and valiantly Defended by Sir *Ralph Gray* : But, when he was just upon the Point of Surrendering, the Queen came to the Camp, and acquainted her Husband of a Conspiracy form'd against him ; upon which he immediately Disbanded his Army, and return'd to *Scotland*. And, for the greater Safety and Opportunity of inquiring after the Conspirators, he retir'd himself to the Monastery of the *Cartbusians* at *Perth*, which he had founded and endow'd himself.

After which
the *Scots* in-
vaded *Eng-*
land, and
laid Siege to
the Castle
of *Roxburgh*,
but upon
noise of a
Conspiracy
against the
King, he
raises the
Siege.

The Conspirators were *Robert Grabame* Unkle and Tutor to *Miles Grabame*, from whom the King had taken the Earldom of *Starthern*, which belong'd to the Crown, and in Compensation thereof had given him, in *September* 1428. the Earldom of *Monteith*, *Robert Stewart* Nephew to *Walter* Earl of *Athol*, one of the King's Sworn Domestic's ; but the Principal Man was the Earl of *Athol* himself the King's Unkle, whose Quarrel was no less than a Pretence to the Crown, (if we may believe our Historians) because he and his Brother *David* were Procreated by King *Robert II.* by his First Wife *Euphem Ross*, Daughter to the Earl of *Ross*, whereas the King's Father was procreated, by the King with *Elizabeth Moor*, *Ruallan's* Daughter, in a Second Marriage. But this universal Mistake of our Historians is sufficiently expos'd of late by Mr. *Innes*, Rector of the *Scots* College at *Paris*, and the Earl of *Cromerty* (b), who have shown, from undeniable and Authentic Records, that the King's Grandfather was First Married to *Ruallan's* Daughter.

But the true Reason of his Treasonable Practices seems to have proceeded from his Ambition, and the Encouragement that he had from one of his own Highlanders, in whom he put great Trust, and who as-

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sur'd

(b) See *Cromerty's Vind. of Rob. III.* from the Imputation of Bastardy in 4to. at *Edin.* 1695. and the *Auth. Cl. a Paris* in 4to. 1695

fur'd him, that before his Death he should be Crown'd in a Solemn Assembly.

Their Enterprize of Assassinating the King was the more easily Accomplish'd, by their having Engag'd *Robert Stewart* the Earl of *Atbol's* Nephew, who was not only one of the Bed-Chamber-Men, but likewise greatly belov'd by his Master.

Now the Conspirators having finally agreed upon all the Measures that they were to take, *Grahame* and *Stewart* came in the Night-time to the Monastery; and, having the Gates open'd to them by some of their Accomplices, they enter'd the Gallery before the King's Chamber Door, where the Bar, which fastned the Door, was to be taken away by some of the Bed-Chamber.

They had no sooner enter'd the Gallery, but the Devil gave them an occasion of Executing their Design; for *Walter Straton*, one of the King's Cup-Bearers, coming out of the Chamber, and finding Arm'd Men Rushing Rudely to make their Entry, gave the Allarm of Treason to his Master; upon which they immediately fell upon him and Murder'd him, at which time the Bar was Stollen away by those who were appointed for that End. Amidst this Confusion, a Maid of Honour of the Name of *Douglafs* run to the Door, and, missing the Bar, Thrust her Arm in its Place, which they easily broke; and Rushing into the Chamber slew all those, who Attended the King, that made any Resistance in his Defence; and amongst the rest *Patrick Dunbar* Brother to *George* Earl of *March*; and, at last, making their Approach to the King, the Queen interpos'd her Body betwixt them and him, upon which she receiv'd Two deep Wounds, and then seising upon him, they left him Dead upon the Place, with Twenty Eight Wounds towards the Heart, upon the 21st of *February*, in the Year 1436. being the 44th of his Age, and the 13th of his Reign.

His Death
and Character.

This Prince was, for the Proportion and Shape of his Body, of a middle Stature, and of a Strong and a Vigorous Constitution, being able to endure all sorts of Hardships, and with all so Agile and Nimble in his Exercises, that none of his Companions could equal him; and of so Pregnant a Wit, that he was a Master in all the Liberal Arts and Sciences, but especially in Poetry, Mathematics and Politics; for he wrote Verses both in *Latine* and *English*, (of which many are yet extant) without any Constraint. In the Mathematics he chiefly apply'd himself to Architecture and Music; by his knowledge in the First the Kingdom was Adorn'd with many fair Buildings; and was so well skill'd in the last, that he not only play'd upon all sorts of Instruments, but oblig'd the World with a Treatise upon that Subject, which has perish'd by the Injury of Time. As for his Knowledge in Politics, he gave the World a convincing Demonstration of it, by his having reduc'd this Nation (which at his Accession to the Throne was in a manner Barbarous) to a Flourishing and Regular State. And, as to his Religious and Moral Qualifications, he was a great Observer of the Divine Worship, easy of Access, Gentle in Speech and Behaviour, Moderate in all his Enjoyments, and had such an absolute Command over his Passions, that they hardly or ever got the Mastery over him. His Personal Valour and Courage too was no less Remarkable; for the *English* Historians tell us, that, whilst he was Captive in *England*, their King took

took him alongſt with him to the *French Wars*, that he laid Siege to the Town of *Direx*, and with ſuch Violence and Valour Affaulted it, for the ſpace of Six Weeks, that with main Strength he compell'd it to Surrender. When the *Engliſh King*, at that time, did earneſtly Solicite him to write to his Subjects in *Scotland* to Renounce their Alliance with *France* and adhere to *England*; he told him, ſince he was his Captive, a Command of that Nature would be looked upon by them as Ridiculous; but if he were at Liberty, he would Conſult with his Subjects what would be moſt for their Honour and Intereſt to do in ſuch a Caſe: An Answer worthy of ſuch a Prince.

He cauſ'd the Laws to be put in due Execution againſt all Offenders, of what Rank or Degree ſoever they were, having no Reſpect to any Perſon but to the Merit of the Cauſe; ſo that, in the Firſt Two Years of his Reign, Three Thouſand Perſons are ſaid to have Suffer'd by the Hand of the Hang-man; this Severity was not the Effect of his Natural Diſpoſition, but from the Neceſſity of the Times, the whole Kingdom being at that time in a manner Barbarous; for, notwithſtanding of this Rigorous Execution of the Laws, 'tis incredible (ſay our Hiſtorians) to believe, what Weeping and Sorrow was through the whole Country for him. The Nobility of their own Accord came to *Edinburgh* from all Parts of the Kingdom, and immediately directed Troops of Arm'd Men, thro' all the Quarters of the Kingdom, to Apprehend the Murderers, and ſuch Diligence was us'd, that in the ſpace of Forty Days they were all Apprehended. The Common ſort were all Hang'd upon Gibbets; but the chief Actors were Exemplary Punish'd; for the Earl of *Atbol* was kept in Torture for Three Days; on the Firſt he was Striped Naked to his Shirt, and by a Crane, fixed in a Cart often hois'd aloft, Diſjointed, and hanging ſhown to the People, and then Dragg'd along the Great Street of the Town; on the Second Day he was Mounted on a Pillar in the Market Place, where he was Crown'd with a Crown of Red-hot Iron, about which was this Inſcription, *King of all Traitors*, (which was the Accompliſhment of his Prophecy;) on the Third Day he was laid along on a Scaffold, his Belly Ript up, his Heart and Bowels taken out and thrown into the Fire before his Eyes, then his Head was cut off and fixed upon the moſt Eminent Part of the Town; and his Body ſent in Quarters to the moſt Populous Cities of the Nation. His Nephew *Robert Stewart* was Hang'd and Quarter'd; but *Robert Grabame* was more ſeverely us'd, as having Embrew'd his Hands in his Sovereign's Blood; for a Gallows being rais'd in a Cart, he had his Right Hand Nail'd to it, and, as he was Drag'd along the Street, Executioners with burning Pincers Tore the Fleſh from his Bones, till he was almoſt Expiring; then he was taken and Ript up alive, and his Entrails thrown into the Fire, and his Head and Quarters ſet beſide *Atbol's*. This execrable Villan, being ask'd during his Torture, how he durſt put Hand in his Native Prince? Answer'd, That, having Heaven and Hell in his Choice, he durſt leap out of the Joys of Heaven into the Torments of Hell. Thus was the Death of this excellent Prince Aveng'd, who, for the Endowments of his Mind in all Parts of Learning, and Perſonal Accompliſhments, was the greateſt Ornament of his Age.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *Several Poems still Extant, Two of which are mention'd by John Major. The First beginning thus, Yas sen, &c. and the Second thus, At Beltayn, &c. and several other that are lost. Vid. John Major. Hist. Scot. Lib. 6. Cap. 14.*
 - II. *A Panegyrick upon his Queen, (Joan Daughter to the Dutcheß of Clarence) before she was Married to him. Vid. John Major Lib 6. Cap. 14.*
 - III. *A Book of Music, mention'd by Boethius and our other Historians; but not only this Book but all his other Books are lost.*
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THE

T H E
L I F E of T H O M A S,
*a Cistercian Monk and Abbot of
Dundranan in Galloway.*

THIS Famous Abbot was Born towards the latter end of the Reign of King *Robert III.* And, having finish'd the Course of his Studies (a), he entred into Holy Orders, and became a Monk of the Order of the *Cistercians*. This Order was at first Instituted by *Robert* Abbot of *Molesme*, who, retiring himself with One and Twenty Religious Persons of his Monastery to *Citeaux*, in the Diocess of *Cballon* in *Burgundy*, in the Year 1098, began to refine upon the Rules of *St. Benedict*, of which Order they were; and, their Design being approv'd of by *Walter* Bishop of *Cballon* and *Hugh* Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, he built a Monastery there, which was Founded by *Eudes* Duke of *Burgundy*: But he had not long the Satisfaction of Governing; for he was order'd the next Year, by Pope *Paschal II.* to return to his Monastery, and one *Alberic* was made Abbot in his Place. Yet at length this Reformation of the Rules of *St. Benedict* was approv'd of, by Pope *Stephen*, in the Year 1100. And *Stephen Harding*, who succeeded Abbot to *Alberic*, may justly be esteem'd the First Founder of this Order, *Robert* their First Abbot giving them only the Example of his Life: But it was he who first drew up their Rules, which he Publish'd under the Title of the *Charter of Charity*, in the Year 1119. which was approv'd of by Pope *Calixtus II.* It is divided into 30 Chapters, containing the particular Rules they were to observe; and is Printed at *Antwerp* in 1635. and in the *Annales* of that Order, Printed at *Lyons* in 1642. This *Stephen Harding Dempster* makes a *Scots-Man*, and therefore has set him down amongst the *Scots Writers*: But I have purposely omitted him, being of Their Opinion who make him an *English-Man*. But whatever be in this 'tis certain, that under his Regulations they became a most Flourishing Order; and at length were settled here in *Scotland*, where they had several Convents, such as I. The Abby of *Sandal* in *Kintire*, Founded by *St. Coule Milicora*, or, as *Dempster* calls him, *Surle Maderdy*; II. The Abby of *Souls-Seat*, *Sedes Animarum* in *Galloway*, Founded by *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway*; III. The Abby of *Dundranan* in *Galloway*, Founded by *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway*; IV. The Abby of *Melrofs* in *Teviotdale*, Founded by King *David I.* V. The Abby of *Newbottle* in *Lothian*, Founded by King *David I.* VI. The Abby of *Culrofs* in *Clackmannan-Shire*, Founded by *Malcolm Mackduff* Earl of *Fife*; VII. The Abby of *Glenluce* in *Galloway*, Founded by *Rolland* Lord of *Galloway*; VIII. The Abby of *Sweet-Heart*, *Dulcis Cordis*, or *New-Abby* in *Galloway*, Founded by *Dornagilla* Daughter of *Allan* Lord of *Galloway* and

His Birth and Education.

He enters into Holy Orders, and becomes a Cistercian Monk. An Account of this Order.

(a) Vid. *Æn. Sylv. de Gestis Conc. Basil. M. Du Pin Nov. Bib. des Aut. Eccles. Tom. 12. Dempster Apparatus Hist. Scot. Lib. 1. Pag. 69. Michael Geddes Council of Trent no Free Assembly, &c. Concil. Max. Edit. Nov. per Labbeum & Cossartium, &c.*

and Wife to *John Baliol* ; IX. The Abby of *Balmerino* in *Fife*, Founded by *Emergarda* King *William's* Queen ; X. The Abby of *Deer* in *Buchan*, Founded by *William Cuming* Earl of *Buchan* in 1218. XI. The Abby of *Couper* in *Angus*, Founded by King *David I.* XII. The Abby of *Kelso* in *Teviotdale*, Founded by King *David I.* XIII. The Priory of *Machleir* in *Kile*, a Cell belonging to the Abby of *Melross* ; And lastly, The Monastery of *Elcho* in *Strathern*, Founded by *David Lindsay* Ancestor to the Earls of *Crawfurd*.

He is made
Abbot of
Dundranan.

But to return to our Author. After he had been for some time in this Order, he was made Abbot of *Dundranan*. About this time such Corruptions and Errors had crept into the Church, that Pope *Martine V.* for Reforming them, found it necessary to call a General Council at *Bale*, in the Year 1431. The Indiction of this Council being intimat-

He is order'd by
the Scots
Clergy to
go to the
General
Council at
Bale.

ed to all the Christian Churches in the World, the Scots Clergy, in a Convocation, order'd so many of their Number to go and attend the said Council at *Bale* ; amongst whom (b) were *James Kennedy* Bishop of *Dunkeld* and Nephew to King *James I.* by his Sister the Countess of *Angus*, and our Author the Abbot of *Dundranan* ; and since he was not only present at all the Transactions of this Council, but likewise, for his extraordinary Parts, became at length the Person of the greatest Note and Consideration in that Council, I shall give the Reader an Account of it in as few Words as possibly I can.

The History of this
Council,
and of his
Behaviour
there.

Our Author having arriv'd at *Bale* with the Clergy of the other Christian Churches, they found Pope *Martine V.* Dead. This Pope had Nam'd *Julian* Cardinal de St. *Angelo* President to the Council, with a Power to Propose, Deliberate and Ordain what he thought fit, for the Preservation and Augmentation of Religion, the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, the State of the Church, for the Reformation of the Clergy, for Reuniting the *Greeks*, and all others separated from the Church ; For the Preservation of the Ecclesiastick Liberty, and for the good Peace and Tranquility of all Christian States and Princes. The Bull, by which this Privilege is granted him, is Dated upon the First of *February* in the Year 1431, and the Pope Died the 20 of the same Month. Upon the Pope's Death the Cardinals made choise of *Gabriel Condolmeir*, a *Venitian*, and Sister Son to Pope *Gregory XII.* who had been advanc'd to the Bishoprick of *Sienna*, and afterwards to the Dignity of a Cardinal. He was chosen upon the 4th of *March*, and instal'd upon the 11th, under the Name of *Eugenius IV.* One of the first Things that this Pope did, after his Election, was to confirm Cardinal *Julian's* Election to the Presidentship of the Council, and order'd him by a Letter dated upon the last of *May* in the same Year, to go to *Bale* to preside in the Council, after he had concluded his Affairs with the *Bobemians*, not judging it Necessary to send another Legate to them, in regard that there were but as yet few of the Prelates come to *Bale*. This Cardinal, by vertue of the Power granted to him by Pope *Martine V.* of sending other Persons in his Place, in case he could not come himself to the Council, sent *John Polmar* the Pope's Chaplain and Auditor to the Sacred Palace, and *John de Raguse* Doctor of Theology of the Faculty of *Paris*, and Procurator-General of the Order of the *Dominicans*, for to preside in the Council in his Name. These Two arriv'd at *Bale* upon the

19th

(b) See Spotiswood's Church Hist. Book 2. Pag. 57.

19th of *July*, and open'd the Council upon the 23d of the same Month: But, because there were but a few Prelates come, there was little or nothing done till the Month of *December*. In the mean time Cardinal *Julian* coming up himself, made a Decree upon the 7th of *December*; by which he appointed the first Session of the Council to be upon the 14th of the same Month, which was accordingly held; and, after the ordinary Ceremonies, they Read the Canons of the Councils of *Constance* and *Sienna*, and the Letters of the Popes *Martine* and *Eugenius*, about the Indicting of the Council. After which, they declar'd themselves a Free General Council, lawfully Call'd and Assembled in that City. I. For Dissipating of all Errors; II. For procuring Peace; And III. For reforming of Abuses. Then the President exhorted the Prelates to give their Suffrages with Freedom and Sincerity, with the Spirit of Meekness and Peace, to observe the Modesty prescrib'd by the 11th Council of *Toledo*; and, for hindering of all Disputes that might happen about their Presidencies, it was Order'd, That what ever Place any of them held in the Council, or assum'd to themselves, it should not be held as an acquired Right, in prejudice of any Person. Then they made Decrees against all those that should Disturb the Council; hinder the Prelates by Mal-treating them, or putting any stop to their Journey, and granted Liberty to all those who were present, to receive the Revenues; and all the other Casualties of their Benefices, tho' absent, and then nam'd the Officers of the Council: Now the manner of their proceeding in Affairs in this Council was thus: The whole Members were put into four Classes, or Deputations; in each of which their was, as near as possible, an equal Number of each Order and of each Nation; The first was call'd, *The Deputation of Faith*; The Second, *Of Peace*; The Third, *Of Reformation*; And the Fourth, *The Deputation for Common Affairs*. Each Deputation had their President, Promoter and Officers. They met separately Three times each Week, to Deliberate upon the Matters that were propos'd to them. Our Author was a Member of the Deputation for *Faith*. Each of these had Three Deputes, who met by themselves to Examine and Prepare Affairs for the Deputations, and accordingly reported them to the Deputations to whom they belonged; which, when they had maturely Deliberated, upon the prevailing Sentiment of the Deputation, was reported to the other Three; and if it was approv'd by all the Deputations, or by three of them, then it was Reported in the General Meeting of the Council, where the President concluded it, in the Name of the Council, according to the Plurality of the Suffrages of the Deputations: Then this Conclusion was Publish'd solemnly in the Session, which was held in the Principal Church of the City of *Bale*. The President alwise assisted in his Pontificals, and was plac'd in the Episcopal Chair nigh to the Altar, with his Face towards the Fathers of the Council, who were in their Pontificals, in Chairs, amongst the two sides of the Quire; the Ambassadors of Princes were plac'd in the middle, with their Faces towards the President; and behind them were the General of the several Religious Orders, the Doctors and other Ecclesiastics. The ordinary Prayers being ended, one of two Prelates went up to the Pulpit, and Read the Decrees that had been made, and ask'd, If they approv'd of

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them?

them? The President of the Council, and those of each Deputation answer'd, They did. And so the Session ended.

The second Session was not held till the 15th of *February*, in the Year 1432. In this Session, the Council, for establishing their own Authority, and from hindering any Enterprize of the Pope's, either for Dissolving or Translating them to another Place, renew'd two Decrees of the Council of *Constance*. By the First it was declar'd, That the Synod assembled in the Name of the Holy Ghost, which composes a General Council, and represents the Church Militant, has its Power immediately from *Jesus Christ*; And that all Persons of what Estate or Dignity so ever, even the Pope himself, was oblig'd to obey them in what regards Matters of Faith, the Extirpation of Schism, and the General Reformation of the Church; both in its Head and Members. By the Second, the Council declares, That all those, of what Dignity or Condition soever, even the Pope himself, refusing to obey the Ordinances and Decrees of that General Council, or of any other, should be Punish'd and put to Penance. In consequence of these Decrees, and of that which orders the Calling of General Councils, the Council of *Bale* declares, That it neither can, nor will be Dissolv'd, Transferr'd, or Prorogu'd by any whatsoever, the Pope not excepted, without the Deliberation and Consent of the whole Council; And further declares, Null and Void all that can be done by the Pope, or any other, against the sitting of the Council. In the mean time, the Pope Pass'd a Decree for dissolving of them. The News of this came no sooner to the Council, than they order'd the Bishop of *Lausanne* and the Dean of *Utrecht* to go and intreat the Pope and the Cardinals to Revoke that Decree. These two Deputies acquit themselves of their Commission, and the Emperor join'd his Intreaties with theirs: But the Pope was not a Man of such a Temper as to yield to any of them; so they were forc'd to return to the Council without effectuating their Design. Whereupon,

The Council in the 3d Session, held upon the 29th of *April*, after the Approbation of the Decrees of the precedent Session, concerning the Authority of General Councils, declares, That they Supplicated, Requir'd and Advertis'd the Pope, to Revoke his pretended Dissolution of the Council, to publish his Revocation through the World, and not only not to hinder, but to Contribute to the Council's sitting; and that he should appear, in Person there himself, in three Months time, if his Health permitted him, or at least to send Persons with a full Power to Act in his Name; and, in case that he neglected to do it, the Council Protests, that they will provide for the Necessities of the Church as the Holy Ghost shall direct them, and that in their Proceedings they should Act legally. They Advertise and Exhort likewise the Cardinals to come to the Council, in the space of three Months, excepting those who had some Canonical Hinderance, and more especially the Cardinal *de la Croix*, who was mediating a Peace between the Kings of *France* and *England*; and as for the Cardinals *de Plaisance*, *de Foix* and *de St. Eustache*, who liv'd near the Council, they order'd them to appear within the space of two Months. And lastly, They order'd all Prelates to notify this Decree to all, and, if it were possible, to the Pope: And further declare, That when ever it is Read and Affix'd upon the
Porch

Porch of the Church of *Bale*, it shall be held and esteem'd as notify'd to the Pope.

In the 4th Session, held upon the 20th of *June*, after having read and approv'd of a Letter of the Council to the *Bohemians*, they made diverse Decrees for the Continuation of the Council. The First of which was, That, if the Holy See happen'd to be vacant during the sitting of the Council, the Cardinals could not Elect the Pope but at *Bale*. The Second was, That no Person could be dispens'd with, for not coming to the Council, upon Pretence of Oath, Promise or Engagement taken to the Pope or any other, and declares Null all Processes that should be made against them upon that Head. By the Third, they order a Seal of Lead to be made for Sealing the Acts of the Council. By the Fourth they declare, That the Pope has no Power to create Cardinals, during the sitting of the Session. In the same Session the Government of the City of *Avignon* and the County of *Venassin* was given to the Cardinal de *St. Eustache*. The Fifth Session, held upon the 5th of *August*, was employ'd in naming Officers and Judges for the Council. In the Sixth Session, the Promoters of the Council drew up Conclusions against Pope *Eugenius*, and desir'd that he might be declar'd Contumacious: Upon which he was cited Three Times at the Porch of the Church; and at length there appear'd for him the Arch-Bishops of *Taranto* and *Colocz*, the Bishop of *Magalona* and an Auditor, who call'd themselves the Pope's Nuncios; but, not being able to produce sufficient Documents for what they asserted, the Promoters desir'd, That they might not be heard; yet, upon their Remonstrances, they took the Affair to further Consideration. The Cardinals were cited after the same manner, and likewise delayed. In the Seventh Session, held upon the 6th of *November*, they Prorogued the time that the Cardinals should enter the Conclave, during the Vacancy of the Holy See, by ordering, That, if the See should be vacant, they should not proceed to the Election till Sixty Days after. In the Eighth Session, held upon the 18th of *December*, the Council gave a new Decree against Pope *Eugenius*, by which they order'd the Pope, within the space of Sixty Days, to revoke all his Prefixions and Delays about the Dissolution of the Council, otherwise they would proceed against him without a new Citation. Then they declar'd Null, all the Provisions and Collations of Benefices that should be granted by him during that time, and they injoin'd all the Prelates that were with him to quit him, and to come to the Council after the Expiration of that Term. Then they made another Decree, by which they declar'd, That there could be but one General Council, and discharg'd all Prelates to go to *Bologne*, or any other Place, to assist at any other Council, under Pain of Excommunication and Deprivation of their Benefices; and likewise, That all those should loose their Benefices, who any way did sollicite the Pope to deprive those of their Benefices who were assisting at the Council. And lastly, they did prohibit Pope *Eugenius* any way to alienate the Castles and Lands of the Church of *Rome*, as he had projected; and that if he did, they declar'd it Null and Void. The Emperour *Sigismund* assisted at the 9th Session, which was held upon the 22d of *January* in the Year 1433, wherein they Broke and Annull'd all the Processes that the Pope had made against the Emperor, *William Duke of Bavaria* and all other Prin-

ces and Persons, upon the Account of their Protecting the Council. The Term of 60 Days, given to the Pope by the Council, being expir'd, the Promoters of whom our Author was one, demanded, in the 10th Session, which was held upon the 19th of *February*, That the Pope should be condemn'd as Contumacious: Upon which the Council cited him Three Times to appear before them; and tho' he did not answer, yet they took it to their further Consideration what they should do with him. In the Eleventh Session, which was held upon the 27th Day of *April*, the Council renew'd the Decree of the Council of *Constance*, concerning the Celebration of General Councils, ordaining, That it should be free for all Prelates to assist at them, and that it was not in the Pope's Power to hinder the Cardinals, and those of his own Court, to come to them; That the Council, when met, could not be rais'd or transferr'd to another Place, without their own Consent, and by the Advice of Two Parts of Three of the Prelates; and Lastly, That a Month before the ending of the Council, they should be obliged to appoint the Time for the next General Council to be called, and these Cardinals, who were to Elect the Pope, should be oblig'd, before they went into the Conclave, to swear to observe this Decree, and that the said Decree should be Publish'd. In the 12th Session, held upon the 14th Day of *July*, the Council made a Third Decree against the Pope, by which they Summon'd him for the Third time to revoke his Bull dissolving the Council of *Bale*, and to Declare, that it was lawfully called, begun and continu'd, and that he Approv'd of it, and this he should do, by a Bull which he should cause Publish within Sixty Days, otherwise they Declare him Contumacious, Incurable, Scandalous to the whole Church, and Suspend him from all Administrations in the Pontificate, either in Spiritual or Temporal Affairs; and, if notwithstanding he should Administrate, they would Declare these Administrations Null and Void, and Discharge any to obey him; and then injoin all the absent Prelates to come up to the Council. In the same Session, the Council made another Decree, by which they abolish the Reserves of Benefices, and for the Future ordain, that they should be dispos'd of by Election, the manner of which, together with the Duties of the Electors, are set down by the Council. In the 13th Session, held upon the 11th of *September*, the Term of Sixty Days being near expir'd, that was given by the Council to the Pope, there appear'd for him the Bishops of *Spalatro* and *Cervia*; upon which the Cardinal *de St. Angelo*, the President of the Council asked them, in the Name of the Council, If they had brought from the Pope an Act approving of the Council? But all that they had was a Bull of Credit, without any Approbation. Then the Duke of *Bavaria* and *John de Offembourg* produc'd Letters of Credence from the Emperor, and told the Council, That the Emperor had very earnestly desir'd the Pope not only to Approve of the Council, but to appear Personally before them; and that he had no sooner heard of their Decree against him, but he re-doubled his Diligence in Perswading him to submit to them, and that his Answer was, That the Emperor could not be ignorant of what he had done and suffer'd for the Peace of the Church: Wherefore the Ambassadors intreated the Council, that they would consider the Pope's Answer likewise; and therefore they desir'd, in the Emperor's Name, that they would give him Thirty Days of a De-

Delay, and that he should cause all the Princes and Prelates of Germany come to the Council; and, if during that time the Pope made any Procedures against the Prelates of the Council, he would concur with them, in Annulling the said Procedures; whereupon the Council granted this Delay to the Emperor; and they made another Decree, against all that should be done, by the Pope, in Prejudice of the Prelates of the Council.

During these Transactions of the Council at *Bale*, there happen'd diverse Revolutions in the Pope's Affairs in *Italy*; for the Pope, being inform'd, that his Predecessor had left great Treasures behind him, and that *Poccius* his Vice-Chamberlain knew where they were, gave Orders to *Stephen Colonna* to Arrest and Examine him, which he did with the utmost Rigour; for he not only Arrested him, but Plunder'd and Bereft him of all his Goods. The Pope, having highly Resented this Mismanagement of *Colonna's*, he resolv'd to be Reveng'd of the Pope, and for that End he retir'd to *Palestrine* to the Prince of *Colonna*, and inform'd him, that the Pope was an Enemy to all his Family, and to all those that had befriended Pope *Martine V.* Upon this, that Prince raises an Army, and Marches straight towards *Rome*, enters the City, and, after an obstinate Fight, the Prince was oblig'd to retire out of the City; yet, notwithstanding of this, the War continu'd, till at length the Pope was glad to obtain a Peace. But, not long after, *Philip Duke of Millan*, having made Peace with the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, Commenc'd a War with the Pope, and sent an Army against him, under the Command of *Francis Sforce* and *Nicolas Forcebras*, who without Opposition laid Waste the whole Country before them. Whereupon the *Romans*, being stir'd up by the Friends of the Prince of *Colonna*, Revolted against him, Expell'd the Magistrates, and choos'd Seven others in their Place, and the Poor Pope hardly escap'd with his Life in the Habite of a Monk, and then Fled to *Florence*. But Five Months after, the *Romans* of themselves return'd to their Obedience to the Pope, and all things were Re-establish'd as formerly. After which *Sigismund* came to *Italy*, and, having made his entry into *Rome*, he receiv'd the Imperial Crown from the Hands of the Pope, and then went to the Council of *Bale*, where he assisted in his Imperial Robes, at the 14th Session, held upon the Seventh of *November*, in the Year 1433. In this Session they granted another Delay to the Pope of Ninety Days, and caus'd the Form of the Bulls to be drawn that he should Publish, for Revoking of those he had made against the Council, for Approving of what they had done and continuing their Diet. In the 15th Session, which was held upon the 26th of *November*, they made a Decree for calling of Provincial Councils. In the 16th Session, held upon the 5th of *February*, in the Year 1434, the Bishops of *Tarenta* and *Cervia* Presented to the Council a Bull from the Pope, dated upon the 15th of *December*, bearing, that altho' he had Dissolv'd the Council of *Bale*, which was lawfully call'd; yet, for eviting of all Dissentions, that had arisen thereupon and might arise, he Declares and Ordains, That the General Council of *Bale* is to be held as a lawful Council from its First Sitting to its Rising; that the former Dissolution of it was Null and Void; that he Approv'd of the said Council and all that they had done, and for that effect he revoked Two Bulls that he had Pass'd for Dissolving of them; and as for the Third he utterly dis-

owns it, as being given without his Knowledge and Order; yet 'tis inserted with the other Two in this Revocation, that he Disannull'd likewise all that might any ways Militat against the Authority of the Council, and the Proccesses made and Commenc'd against any of the Members of the Council, and promises faithfully to abstain and desist from any thing, that may be Prejudicial to their Authority. The Council accepted of this Bull of Revocation, and declar'd, That the Pope had given them all the Satisfaction they desir'd. Then they Incorporated the Two Legates, after they had Sworn to adhere to the Decree of the Council of *Constance*, concerning the Authority of a General Council. In the 17th Session, held upon the 26th of *April*, the Two Legates were receiv'd as Presidents to the Council, upon Condition that they should have no Coactive Jurisdiction, and that the Order that had hitherto been observ'd, and the Regulations that had been made in the Council should be observ'd, that only one Congregation should be kept every Week upon the *Fridays*, unless the contrary were agreed to by the Three Deputations; and that all their Acts should be expedied in the Name and under the Seal of the Council. In the 18th Session, held upon the 25th of *June*, the Decree of the Council of *Constance*, concerning the Authority of General Councils above the Pope, was again Publish'd and Confirm'd: After which the Emperor left them, having assisted at the 14th, 16th and 17th Sessions.

The Council after this sent Ambassadors to the East, with Letters to the Emperor and to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, inviting and desiring them and all the *Grecian* Prelates to come to the Council, where the Union betwixt them might, in all Probability, be better concerted than by all the Methods the Pope had hitherto taken, in regard that the Pope's Affairs were not in a very good Condition, and that the Council was supported by the Emperor and most of the other Princes of *Europe*. The *Grecian* Emperor, perswaded by these Reasons, sent Ambassadors to them, *Demetrius Paleologus* his Great General, *Isidore* an Abbot and one *John* who was Consul for the second time. These Ambassadors were receiv'd in the 19th Session, held upon the 7th of *September*. They presented their Letters from the Emperor and from *Joseph* Patriarch of *Constantinople*. The Emperor in his Letter engages himself to adhere to every thing, that his Ambassadors and they should agree to. The Patriarch, in his Letter, tells them, That he is overjoy'd to find them inclin'd to make a Peace and Union between the Two Churches, and that for effectuating of this it would be necessary to call a free Oecumenic or General Council, whose Decision should be absolutely submitted to, by all. After the Reading of these Letters, the *Grecian* Ambassadors propos'd to the Council, That this Oecumenic Council should be held at *Constantinople*, and that, if it be agreed to, it be held in any Part out of the *Grecian* Empire, the Emperor their Master was willing to defray all the Charges of the *Latine* Bishops who should come to *Constantinople*, if held there, or any where in his Dominions: But, if it was agreed to be held anywhere without his Dominions, then he expected; that the *Latine* Churches would defray the Expences of the *Grecian* Bishops. Then the Council told them, That they wish'd that it were held at *Bale*, where they now were met; but the *Grecian* Ambassadors told them, That, by the Power that was committed to them, they could

could only agree to some few Places, and that *Bale* was none of them, for the Places were *Calabria*, *Ancona* or any other Port or Place about it, *Milan* or any other City in *Italy*, and out of *Italy*, *Buda* in *Hungary*, *Vienna* in *Germany*, or any City in *Savoy*. Yet they said, That the Council might send Deputies to the Emperor and the Patriarch, with the Proposal of the City of *Bale*. In the mean time they agreed with them to these Heads. *First*, That the Emperor of the *Grecians*, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the Three other Patriarchs, the Arch-Bishops and Bishops of the *Grecian* Church should come to the Council with sufficient Power from their Churches. *Secondly*, That the Council should send Ambassadors with Eight Thousand Ducats to defray the Expences of the *Latine* Bishops, to *Constantinople*, if held there. *Thirdly*, That the Western Churches should reek out Four Gallies for Transporting of the *Grecian* Bishops to the West, if the Council were call'd there, and that they should furnish Fifteen Thousand Ducats, for defraying the Emperor's Charges from *Constantinople* to the Place where the Council sat, and that they should maintain for his Guard, Seven Hundred Men, during his Stay in the West. *Fourthly*, That the Council should send, in the space of Ten Months, Two great Gallies and Two light ones, to transport the *Grecian* Ambassadors, with Fifteen Thousand Ducats for the Expences of the Emperor, Patriarch and the rest of the *Grecian* Prelates, and that Ten Thousand Ducats should be in readiness for succouring the City of *Constantinople*, if there need be, during the Absence of the Emperor; and that they should likewise furnish Two Gallies and Three Hundred Arm'd Men for defending the City, if need be, besides Money for Arming Two Gallies. *Fifthly*, That they should notify to the Emperor, before his Departure from *Constantinople*, the Place of his Landing, and which of the Places above-nam'd they had made choice of for the Council: But withal, that they would do all that lay in their Power, to perswade them to make choice of the City of *Bale* for the Place. *Sixthly*, That during that Time, the Council should remain at *Bale*, and should not rise, but for pressing and necessary Reasons; and if, by Misfortune, such a Case should happen, then the Council should transport themselves to some other Place, where they should be continu'd according to the Canon of the Council of *Constance*: And if the Emperor was not pleas'd with the City of *Bale*, or the Place where the Council might happen to be, the Council should be Transported, within a Month after the Emperor's Arrival, to one of the Places above-nam'd. Then the Council ask'd the *Grecian* Ambassadors, what they understood by the Term *Oecumenic* Council? They Answer'd, That it was a Council, where the Pope, Patriarchs, and other Prelates, either assisted Personally, or by Deputation; That the *Grecian* Emperor and the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, should be personally present at the Council; That each Person should have the Liberty of telling his Sentiments freely; but that That should not be any Stop or Hinderance to Honest, Peaceable and Necessary Conferences; and in one Word, That they referr'd the manner of Procedure to the Universal Council, and that the *Grecian* Emperor and Church demanded no more Honours to be put upon them, than they had at the time when the Schism commenc'd, without Prejudice to the Rights, Honours, Privileges, and

Dignities of the Pope or Roman Emperor; and if any Controversie should arise upon this, they were willing to Submit to the Decision of the Universal Council. The Council of Bale, having agreed to all this, wrote to the Pope, desiring him to approve and ratify what they had done by a Bull in Form, because the *Grecians* requir'd his Consent. In the same Session, they Pass'd a Decree concerning the *Jews*, by which they exhorted all Ordinars to send well Qualify'd Persons for to Preach in the Places where the *Jews* and Infidels were: And for more enabling them to be capable of such Missions, they order'd, that according to a Decree of the Council of *Vienna*, there should be in each University Two Professors of the *Hebrew, Arabic, Caldaic, and Grecian* Languages. They renew'd the Prohibitions concerning the *Jews*, that's to say, That there should be no Commerce held betwixt them and the Christians; That the Christians should not Sell or Impignorate any of the Ornaments of the Church to them; That the *Jews* should wear a distinguishing Habite and live in Places by themselves; And Lastly, They gave Orders about the Methods that should be taken for Instructing and Subsisting of those, that were Converted to Christianity.

The Pope, having receiv'd his Letters from the Council, concerning their Transactions with the *Grecians*, seem'd to approve of them very cordially, tho' at the Bottom he resolv'd to Ruin all that they had done. The Council, on the other hand, sent Three Deputies to the East with the *Grecian* Ambassadors, two of which were to remain there to Distribute what Money was necessary for Transporting the *Grecian* Bishops to the West; and the other was to return to the Council, to give them an Account of the Resolutions of the *Grecian* Church. When they arriv'd at *Constantinople*, they found the Patriarch nowise dispos'd to go to the West. In the mean time the *Grecian* Deputies, that had been sent to the Pope, arriv'd with *Christopholus de Corona*, who had public Instructions to concur with all that the Council had done, but underhand to dissuade the Emperor and Patriarch from it. And for that end *Christopholus de Corona* told them, That the Council of Bale was neither agreed amongst themselves, nor with the Pope; yet, notwithstanding of this, the Emperor resolv'd to Hear and Treat with the Legates or Deputies of the Council, and perswaded the Patriarch to do the like, and Commissaries were appointed to Negotiate that Affair. But, when they met with the Deputies of the Council, and had Read all their Decrees, and amongst the rest, That against the *Bohemians*, wherein they make mention of Extirpating the Ancient Heresies of the *Grecian* Church; they were so incens'd, that they would hear of no further Terms of Accommodation, till that Decree was corrected and amended; and that the Pope should be oblig'd to Assist in Person at the Council; That they should have a safe Conduct; And Lastly, That they should by Write oblige themselves to return them, upon the Expences of the Council, whatever the Event of the Negotiation might be. Upon this, one of the Deputies of the Council return'd to acquaint them of the Demands of the *Grecian* Prelates.

In the mean time, the Fathers of the Council acted vigorously, for Reforming of the Church; for, in the 20th Session, which was held upon the 22d of *January*, in the Year 1435, they made a Decree against the

the Clergy who kept Concubines ; and another, by which they declare, That none are oblig'd to shun the Company of such as are Excommunicated, unless they be publicly denounc'd. By a Third Decree, they Prohibited the Interdicting of any Place or Community, for the Fault of any particular Person, unless they be kept two Days after the Judge of the Place is advertis'd to expel him from the said Place or Society ; and by a fourth Decree, a second Appeal from an Interlocutor was expressly Discharg'd. In the 21st Session, held upon the 9th of June the same Year, They order'd, that nothing should be given or exacted at the Court of *Rome*, or any where else, for Confirmation of Elections, Admissions of Postulations, Presentations, Provisions, Collations, Elections, Institutions, &c. of all sorts of Benefices, or Ecclesiastic Offices, no more than for receiving of Orders, Benedictions, or the *Pallium*, under what Pretext soever, as the Expediting of Letters, the Appending the Seal, &c. under Pain of being Treated as Guilty of Simony : And if the Pope did at any time Counterveen this Decree, then, in that Case, the Matter should be referr'd to a General Council. By the Second Decree of this Session, 'tis order'd, That if any have a plausible Title to a Benefice, and been three Years in a peaceable Possession of it, they are not to be disturb'd. In this Session likewise, several Regulations were made concerning the manner of Celebrating the Divine Service, both in Public and in Private. In the 22d Session, held upon the 15th of *October*, they condemn'd a Book written by one *Augustine* Arch-Bishop of *Nazareth*, as containing these Heretical Propositions, viz. *That Jesus Christ sins every Day in His Members ; That none but the Elect, are Members of Jesus Christ, and of His Church ; That to become a Member of Jesus Christ, an Union of Charity is not sufficient, unless we be of the Elect, and Predestinated to Glory ; That the Personality of Christ is the same with His Human Nature, and that the Human Nature is truly naturally and properly God ; That the two Natures in Jesus Christ are equally Amiable ; That the Soul of Jesus Christ sees God as perfectly as His Divinity ;* and some other Propositions that naturally arose from these. In the 23d Session, held upon the 25th of *March*, in the Year 1436, the Council publish'd the Regulations concerning the Election of the Pope, the Profession of Faith that he should be oblig'd to maintain, how he ought to behave himself in his Conduct, the Number of his Cardinals, whom they reduc'd to 80, their Qualities, the manner of Electing them by the Suffrages of the College of Cardinals, their Obligations and Duties ; and Lastly, the Re-establishing of Elections, and the Abolishing of Reserves and Expectative Graces. In the 24th Session, held upon the 16th of *April*, an Act was Read, approving what had been done and projected betwixt the Council and the *Grecian* Ambassadors ; there was likewise Read, the safe Conduct granted by the Council to the *Grecian* Ambassadors, the Bulls of the Emperor and Patriarch of *Constantinople* to the Council, and a Decree granting Indulgences to all those who should be Instrumental in bringing about the Union of the two Churches.

These Acts being brought to *Constantinople*, the *Grecian* Emperor prevail'd with the Patriarchs and Metropolitans of the East, to send Deputies in their Name to the Council, to concert Affairs with them, according to their former Agreement. And on the other hand, the

Council sent two Ambassadors to the Pope, to acquaint him of their Resolutions, and to intreat him to approve of what they had done by Bull, and to come and assist Personally at the Council in this Important Affair; as the *Grecians* had desir'd: But the Pope refus'd to give his Bull, and told them, That he should let the Council know of his Intentions by the Arch-Bishop of *Tarentum*, whom he would very quickly send to them. In the *Interim*, an Ambassador arriv'd at *Bale*, from the Emperor of the East, in the beginning of *February*, in the Year 1437: This Ambassador being brought before the Council, desir'd that they might name the Place where they were to meet, and to send the Gallies, Money, and other Necessaries that were agreed to. To this, the President Answer'd, in name of the Council, That they had order'd a Commandant to Conduct the Gallies to them, and that the Council had nam'd for the Place of their Meeting, either the City of *Bale*, that of *Avignon*, or the *Savoy*. To this the Ambassador said, That none of these Places were proper, and that when he propos'd the *Savoy*, he meant only the Places that the Duke of *Savoy* had in *Italy*; but mainly insisted upon the Pope's obliging himself, to be Personally Present at the Council. But, they having no Regard to his Reasons, he proceeded to Protestations; but, notwithstanding of all that he could either say or do, they resolv'd to send their Ambassadors to *Greece* by the way of *Avignon*, to see what that City had done, for they had already rais'd Six Thousand Ducats, and had promised to raise Seventy Thousand more; and, in case that they rais'd the Seventy Thousand in Thirty Days, the Council resolv'd they should make a Decree Eight Days after, either for confirming the Choise of the City of *Bale* or *Avignon*, or some Place in *Savoy*; and that they should Authorise by a Decree, the Imposition of the Tithes, for the Surety of the Sums that were Lent; and that the Ambassadors should be Impower'd to agree with the *Grecian* Emperor and Prelates upon the Port that they should Land at in *Italy*; and in case, that the *Grecians* would not come to the West, the City of *Avignon* should be Re-imburst of the Money that they had rais'd. This was concluded upon, by the Plurality of Votes, notwithstanding of all the opposition that the Pope's Legates made to it. Some Days after, the Arch-Bishop of *Tarentum* arriv'd at *Bale* from the Pope, and told the Council, that he was resolv'd, neither to grant Indulgences, nor the Imposition of Tithes, unless they condescended, That the Council should Meet in some Place in *Italy*: Upon this, Debates arose amongst them, but the News being come to them, that the City of *Avignon*, had already rais'd Thirty Thousand Ducats, and that they were ready to Furnish the rest, more than Two Thirds of the Prelates Voted, That the Council should continue at *Bale*, providing that the *Grecian* Emperor and Prelates should agree to it. So that in the 25th Session, which was held upon the 7th of *May*, the Decree was read by Order of the Council, in the Place appointed for reading all the Decrees; but in the mean time, the Legates and some other Prelates, caus'd read, in a less conspicuous Place, with a low Voice, and with a great deal of Precipitation, another Decree, appointing, the Council to be held either at *Florence* or *Udina*. At the rising of this Session, the Prelates desir'd this Decree to be Seal'd, the Box in which the Seal was contain'd, being in the Hands of the Cardinal de St.

Angelo, and the Keys of it in the Hands of Four Deputies of the Council; the Deputies were willing to Seal it, but the Cardinal *de St. Angelo* refus'd to give up the Seal: On this, a great Debate arose amongst them, the Decision of which, was referr'd to the Cardinal of *St. Peter*, one of the Pope's Legates, *Alphonfus* Bishop of *Burges*, Ambassador from the King of *Castile*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Palerma* Ambassador from the King of *Arragon*, who had been appointed to Regulate all that regarded the Sealing of Decrees, the sending of Letters, and the Acts that were in Debate. These Commissaries caus'd Seal the Decree, that was made by the Plurality of Voices, and refus'd to Seal the Particular and Pretended Decree that had pass'd, by the Pope's Legates and a few Prelates; they likewise caus'd to be Seal'd the Act of Surety, given to the City of *Avignon*, and the Letters written to the Emperor and Patriarch of *Constantinople*; and order'd all to be sent to *Avignon*. But some few Days after, Cardinal *de St. Angelo* Secretary, and another of his Domestic Servants, broke open the Lock of the Box where all these Papers were, and they Seal'd the other Decree and Letters written to the Emperor and Patriarch of *Constantinople*: The Council, being inform'd of this Treacherous Action, rais'd a Process against the Authors of it, and Arrested *John*, one of the Pope's Legates, whom they Accused of being one of their Accomplices; and it seems that the Accusation was not without Ground, for, when he was going to be Try'd, he broke his Arrestment and fled out of the City. In the mean time, the Pope, who was very Anxious to put a stop to the Continuation of the Council at *Bale*, or their Sitting in any other Place out of *Italy*, caus'd Publish a Constitution, given at *Bologne* the Twenty Ninth of *May*, confirming the Decree of those who Transferr'd the Council, either to *Florence* or *Udina*; and for preventing the Council, he caus'd with all speed Equippe Four Gallies at *Venice*, Aboard of which he sent the *Grecian* Ambassadors, whom he had gained by Bribery, with Three Bishops, whom he sent in Quality of his Legates to the East. These Ambassadors, arriving at *Constantinople* before those who were sent by the Council, told the Emperor and *Grecian* Prelates, That the Prelates of the Council of *Bale*, in Concert with the Pope, had consented, That the General Council, for Re-uniting the Eastern and Western Churches, should be kept in *Italy*. Upon this the Emperor, *John Paleologus*, the Patriarch of *Constantinople* and the other *Grecian* Prelates, made themselves ready to go for *Italy* with the Pope's Gallies; but when they were just going to embark, they were surpris'd with the News of the Arrival of Four Gallies from the Council. *Condolmier*, who was Captain of the Pope's Gallies, had Orders to fight them, and was accordingly preparing himself for it, when the Emperor discharg'd him from making any such Attempt, without incurring his Displeasure. So that the Bishops, that were sent by the Council, got safe Liberty to Land. These Bishops, when they were brought before the Emperor, told him, That they had come, according to their Agreement, from the Council, with the Gallies and all other Necessaries, for Transporting of him, the Patriarch and all the other Prelates; and then presented him with their Bulls and Instructions. To this, the Emperor (who was by this time intirely gain'd to the Pope's Party) answer'd, That the Time, that was prefix'd by the Council, being expir'd, he would

not go with their Gallies, but with the Pope's that had come in time. The Bishops, in Answer to this, said, That if they had not come in time, it was not their Fault, but the Fault of his own Ambassador, who had told them, That if they came in any time in the Month of *October*, it was sufficient : But, finding that the Emperor still persisted in his Resolutions, they intreated, that he would, before he went himself, send Ambassadors to the Council and Pope to know their Minds about it, and that they would wait upon him till the Answer return'd. At the same time there came a Courier with Letters from the Emperor *Sigismund* to *Paleologus*, to dissuade him from his Voyage to the West : But notwithstanding of all this, that Prince persisted in his Resolution, and, after having made Choice of those who were to accompany him and the Patriarch, he embark'd upon the 24th of *November* in the Year 1437.

During these Transactions in the East, the Council of *Bale* proceed very vigorously against the Pope in the West, where he was accus'd for being Refractory to the Decrees of the Council concerning Elections, Reserves and Appeals ; To be guilty of Simony ; To have ruin'd the City of *Palestrine* and many other Places of St. *Peter's* Patrimony ; To have put a Stop to the Re-uniting of the Eastern and Western Churches ; To have broke the Oath that he took at his Installation in the Papal Chair ; And to have committed several other Abuses. For all which, the Council cited him to appear before them, either in Person or by Proxy, in 60 Days time ; and that if he did not compear, they would denounce Sentence against him. They likewise cited all his Cardinals to compear before them at the same time. All this was done in the 26th Session, held upon the last Day of *July* in the Year 1437. In the 27th Session, held upon the 27th of *September*, the Council declar'd Null the Promotion that the Pope had made of *John* Patriarch of *Alexandria* to the Dignity of a Cardinal, and all other Promotions that he either would or could make against the Decrees of the Council. In the same Session they made another Decree, by which they declar'd, That the Decree transferring the Council to *Florence* or *Udina*, was False, Void and Null, and that it was Seal'd by Treachery. Lastly, by a Third Decree of this Session, they declar'd Null the Alienation that the Pope had made of the City of St. *Avignon* and of the County of *Venaissin* ; and the Council took them under their Protection. The Term of the Pope's Appearing being expir'd, upon the First Day of *October*, our Author, and the other Promoters of the Council, desir'd, in the 28th Session, held upon that Day, That he should be declar'd Contumacious ; and being cited, according to Custom, at the Porch of the Church, he was declar'd Contumacious ; and it was further order'd, That he should be proceeded against more amply. On the other side, the Pope, Two Days before, had publish'd a Bull, by which he Transferr'd the Council from *Bale* to *Ferrara*, upon the Arrival of the *Greeks*, and in case the Council still continu'd to proceed against him, leaving them only the Liberty to Treat of their Affairs with the *Bohemians*, for Thirty Days. And further, he by the same Bull, declared Void and Null all other Translations that were made or should be made of the Council to any other Place, unless it were by his Authority : And at the same time, he caus'd distribute every where Bulls, for the Meeting of the Council at *Ferrara*.
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The Council of *Bale* oppos'd to this Bull a Decree, by which they declar'd, the Translation of the Council to *Ferrara*, Void and Null, and Exhorted the Pope to revoke the said Bull, under Pain of having inflicted upon him the Censures of the 11th Session: This Decree was Publish'd in the 29th Session, held upon the 2d of *October*, in which likewise, they confirm'd the Decrees concerning the Collation of Benefices... In the 30th Session, held upon the 22d of *December*, they Pass'd a Decree, by which they declar'd, That to Communicate under both kinds, was not a Divine Precept. Upon the 2d of the same Month, the Emperor *Sigismund* died. The Pope, taking the Decree of the Council in the 29th Session, to be an Opposing of his Bull and Prohibition of their Proceeding further against him, declar'd a-new, That the Council was translated to *Ferrara*, and that it was to be open'd, upon the 8th Day of *January*, in the Year 1438. and accordingly *Nicolas Cardinal de St. Croix* open'd the Council upon that Day with some other Bishops of *Italy*. In their First Session, held upon the 10th of the Month, the Translation of the Council from *Bale* to *Ferrara* was approv'd of; all that had been done by the Council of *Bale* since the Pope's Bull, and all that they should do hereafter, was declar'd Null, save what they had done about the *Bohemians*. About the same time, Cardinal *Julian*, who had been President to the Council of *Bale* all along, notwithstanding of the Translation that the Pope had made, retir'd with Four Bishops from the Council of *Bale* to that of *Ferrara*: But all the other Prelates remain'd firm with the Ambassadors from the Princes. The Council of *Bale*, after the Cardinal *Julian*'s deserting them, made Choice of the Cardinal *de St. Cecilia* Arch-Bishop of *Arles* to be their President, who acted in that Station till the End of the Council, with all imaginable Prudence and Vigour. In the 31st Session, held upon the 25th of *January* in the Year 1438. they made a Decree concerning Causes, by which they order'd, That they should all be determin'd upon the Places where they happen'd, excepting the *Cause Majores*, or that of the Elections of Cathedrals and Monasteries, whose immediate Subjection renders them devolv'd on the Holy See; And prohibits all Appeals to the Pope *omisso medio*, or to appeal from an Interlocutor before the Definitive Sentence, unless the Prejudice done by the Interlocutory Sentence might be repair'd by the Definitive Sentence; And lastly, That during the Sitting of the Council, all the Causes of the Members of Council that were referr'd to the Pope, should be Judg'd upon the Place in the Council. By a Second Decree, they revoked all Expectative Graces granted or to be granted for the future; yet they left to the Pope a Power of Disposing of One Benefice, in the Churches where there were Ten Prebends, and of Two in the Churches where there were Fifty, and that the Benefices might be fill'd with Persons that were capable. They order'd, That there should be a Theological Chair in every Cathedral Church, and that the Collators should be oblig'd, when ever any Occasion offer'd, to name for a Chanon, a Doctor or Batchelor of Theology, who had studied Ten Years in some Priviledg'd University, to Teach Lessons twice a Week; And moreover, that in every Cathedral or Collegiate Church, the Third Part of the Prebendries should be given to Graduate Doctors, Licentiates or Batchelors in any Faculty; so that the First

vacant Benefice in any Church should be given to the Doctor, and the next to him who follows in order, and so of the rest; And that the same Order should be observ'd in all other Dignities; That the Curates of Wall'd Towns should be at least Masters of Arts; That all those, who had necessary Qualifications, should be oblig'd to give up their Names in the Time of Lent to the Collators of Benefices, that they may have a Right, otherwise that their Promotion should be Null; And Lastly, That all Regular Benefices should be given to such Regulars, as were capable Persons. After the Council had made these Decrees, they declar'd the Pope suspended from all Administration of the Pontificate either in Spirituals or Temporals, which was now devolv'd upon the Council, and that whatever he should do was Null. And lastly, That none should be oblig'd to obey him, under Pain of Excommunication. On the other hand, the Council at *Ferrara* (where the Pope was) which sat down upon the 8th of *February*, in the Session, held upon the 15th of the same Month, there was read a Decree, which was approv'd of by the Pope and all the Prelates of the Council; by which they declar'd, That the Prelates and Council at *Bale* had incurr'd the Sentence of Excommunication and Deprivation of their Benefices, by sitting after the Time had elapsed of their Translation to *Ferrara*, and that all they had done since that time, or that they should do, was Null and Void: And further, they order'd all the Prelates to retire from *Bale* in 30 Days time, and impowers the Magistrates and Inhabitants of the City to expel them, under the Penalties of Excommunication and Interdiction. And in case that they did it not, they Order'd and Prohibited all sorts of Persons whatsoever, to enter into that City, under the Penalty of undergoing the said Censures likewise, and that all the Merchants should retire out of that City with their Goods and Effects. The Council of *Bale*, being informed of this, publish'd an Answer to the Council of *Ferrara* upon the 13th of *March*, and in the 32d Session, held upon the 25th of the same Month, they publish'd a Decree, by which they declared the Meeting of the Prelates at *Ferrara* to be no Council; and that all they had done or should do, was to be held as Null and Void; and order'd all the Prelates at *Ferrara* to come to *Bale*, under the Penalty of Excommunication in Thirty Days time, and then Excommunicates all those that should any way hinder or obstruct their coming to *Bale*.

In the mean time, *John Manuel Paleologus* Emperor of the East, *Joseph* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and a great Number of the *Grecian* Prelates arrived at *Venice*. At first, they Consulted amongst themselves, whether they should go streight to *Ferrara* where the Pope was, or to the Council of *Bale*: But it being determined, that they should go streight to the Pope, they parted from *Venice* upon the 28th of *February*, and arrived at *Ferrara* upon the 7th of *March*. In this Council at *Ferrara*, the *Grecians* and *Latines* were Re-united; but when the *Grecian* Patriarchs and Prelates return'd to their own Country, it was broke, in spite of all the Endeavours of the *Grecian* Emperor to the contrary, and they return'd to their old Opinions, Excommunicating all those who adher'd to the Decree of Union past in the Council of *Ferrara*. Thus GOD sometime permits, for Reasons unknown to Men, the most lawful and just Projects not to succeed, tho' founded upon Grounds that

that might make Men expect the contrary. In the mean time, the Council of *Bale* was protected by the Emperor, the King of *France* and a great many other Princes, who did not approve of the Translating of the Council from *Bale* to *Ferrara*, nor of the Council's condemning of the Pope, but labour'd to get all things so brought about, that the Pope should approve of the Council, and the Council should Retract all their Procedures against the Pope. But, whilst these Princes were Transacting this, there arose a Question amongst the Divines at *Bale*, to wit, If the Pope might be declar'd Heretic upon the account of his Disobedience to the Church, and his Contempt of their Decrees? Some were for the Affirmative, and others for the Negative; and amongst those who sustain'd the Affirmative, some were for declaring him simply a Heretic, and others, amongst whom was our Author, were for declaring him a Relaps'd Heretic. At length, after a great deal of Disputing, they drew up the following Eight Theological Conclusions to be presented to the Council. I. That 'tis a Catholic Truth, that the Holy General Council has a Power above the Pope, and all other Persons whatsoever. II. That the General Council lawfully call'd, cannot be Dissolv'd, Transferr'd, nor Prorog'd by the Authority of the Pope, without their own Consent. III. That he who obstinately opposes these Truths, should be censur'd as a Heretic. IV. That Pope *Eugenius* IV. had oppos'd these Truths, when he by the Plenitude of his Power attempted the first time to Dissolve and Transfer the Council of *Bale*. V. That, being advertis'd by the Holy Council, he Revok'd the Errors contrary to these Truths. VI. That the Dissolution or Translation of the Council, attempted by *Eugenius* for the second time, was contrary to these Truths, and was an inexcusable Error in the Faith. VII. That *Eugenius* reiterating his Attempt of Dissolving and Transferring the Council, is fallen into the Errors that he Revok'd. And lastly, That being advertis'd by the Council to Revoke the second Dissolution or Translation of the Council, that he had attempted, and persisted in his Disobedience, after his being declar'd Contumacious, and holding another Council at *Ferrara*, he had given sufficient Proofs why he should be proceeded against. These Eight Conclusions being Read in the Council, there arose great Debates amongst them, some being for the approving of them, and others for the rejecting of them. The Arch-Bishop of *Palerma*, who had been hitherto one of the Pope's greatest Enemies, having receiv'd Orders from the King of *Arragon*, appear'd at the head of those who were for the Rejecting of them; he acknowledg'd that the Council was above the Pope, but he said, that it ought not to be impos'd as an Article of Faith; he acknowledg'd that *Eugenius* was mightily to blame, but he thought that he ought not therefore to be treated as a Heretic. On the contrary *John de Segovius* Doctor of Theology maintain'd, that it was an Article of Faith, and that Pope *Eugenius*, in opposing of it, had fallen into Heresy; *Amedeus*, Arch-Bishop of *Lyons* and Ambassador from the King of *France*, made a Speech, wherein he likewise accus'd *Eugenius* of Heresy, which was Reply'd to by the Bishop of *Burgos* Ambassador to the King of *Spain*; to which our Author and *Thomas de Corcellis* made a Duply, in two Learn'd and long Discourses, wherein they maintain'd the Orthodoxy and Truth of all these Conclusions. To

this the great Almoner to the King of *Arragon* oppos'd several Difficulties. At length, after various Altercations and Debates, the Eight Conclusions were approv'd of by the Three first Deputations, but the Fourth would only approve of the three first Propositions; and to put a stop to the passing of the rest by the plurality of Voices, they remitted it to the Council. The Day of the General Meeting of the Council being come, the Debates were renew'd again, and the *Italians* and *Spaniards* strongly Oppos'd and Protested against the receiving and approving of these Conclusions: But the Cardinal de *Arles* President of the Council was of the Opinion, that the three first Conclusions should be receiv'd as regarding the Doctrine of the Church, and that the rest which regarded the Pope's Person, should be deferr'd to some more convenient Occasion. The Arch-Bishop of *Aquilea* and *Lyons*, our Author, *John de Segovia* and *Thomas de Corcellis* pleaded so strongly for this, that at length, in spite of all the Opposition that the *Italians* and *Spaniards* could make, it was resolv'd, That the three first Propositions should be approv'd of. In the mean time, some of the Ambassadors came up from *Mayence* with a Design to Oppose this, but the Cardinal de *Arles* caus'd Read it before they enter'd into the Congregation: Upon which new Complaints and Debates arose; but the President, without being any way mov'd with their Clamours and Noise, caus'd Read it for a second time, and appointed the next Session to be held for the approving of it. This Session, which was the 33d, was held upon the 16th of *May*, in this Session the Ambassadors of the Princes desir'd, that they might defer the Deposition of the Pope for four Months, which was granted them; but having ask'd that only the first Proposition be approv'd of, they refus'd it, and upon their Refusal they retir'd. In this Session, none of the Prelates of *Spain* and *Arragon* Assisted, and but two from *Italy*, but all the Doctors of these Nations Assisted with 20 *German* and *French* Bishops. The Bishop of *Marseilles* Read the Decree, and the Bishop of *Albenga* Read a Protestation against it, but at length, the Ambassadors of the Princes, and particularly those of *Germany* and *France*, with the most of all the Bishops, approv'd of this Decree in the General Congregation of the 22d of *May*, and a great many other Bishops in the Duke of *Savoy's* Territories join'd the Council. In the Congregation, held upon the 23d of *May*, the Ambassadors of the Princes desir'd, that they might defer their Processes against the Pope, and that they should make choice of a Third Place for the Council to meet in, but both these were deny'd by the Assembly who confirm'd the five other Conclusions, and cited Pope *Eugenius* to compare before them upon the 26th of the same Moneth: This Citation being fix'd upon the Porches of the Churches at *Bale*, they accordingly met upon the 26th of *May*, which made their 34th Session. At this Session, the Council consisted of Nine and Thirty Prelates, and Three Hundred Ecclesiastics of the second Order; after the ordinary Ceremonies the Pope's Deposition was Read, by which they declare him to be Notoriously Contumacious and Disobedient to the Commands of the Universal Church; Persisting in his Rebellion; A Violator and Contemner of the Sacred Canons of the Councils; A Disturber of the Public Peace and Unity; An open Scandal to the Church; A Simoniac; A Perjur'd, Incorrigible, Obstinate Schismatic and Heretic; A Dilapidator

of the Goods and Rights of the Church; Unworthy of the *Roman* Pontificate; Or of any Title, Degree, Honour or Dignity whatsoever: And further, they Discharge him for the Future to Stile himself Pope or Bishop of *Rome*, or to Exerce any of the Episcopal Functions, and that all that he shall do, shall be Null and Void, and discharges all Christians, of what Rank soever they be, to obey him. After this, the Fathers of the Council resolv'd to Notify to all the Christian Princes of *Europe* the Deposition of *Eugenius*. Then they proceeded to consider, whether they should proceed immediately to the Election of a new Pope, in regard that the Pestilence was then raging in *Bale*; or if they should wait till Sixty Days had expir'd, as they themselves had determin'd; and it was found more proper to wait the 60 Days, after *Eugenius* Deposition. In the *interim* a Session was call'd, upon the 13th of the Month of *July*, in which it was resolv'd, that they should stay their, till such time as they had finish'd all the Affairs for which they were call'd, and that the Council could not be dissolv'd upon any Pretext whatsoever, but by the Advice of Two Thirds of those that had Votes, and the President recommended to them to consider on the Person whom they should think most fit to be chosen in *Eugenius's* place, and they give Liberty to the Prelates, who had followed *Eugenius* and the Council of *Ferrara*, to come, betwixt and that time, to join them at *Bale*. The Pestilence continuing, several Members of the Council Died, and amongst others the Patriarch of *Aquilea*, the Bishop of *Lubec*, the Apostolic *Proto-notarius*, the Grand Almoner of *Arragon*, and several others of the first and second Order. Upon which, the Cardinal de *Arles* propos'd upon the 22d of the Month of *August*, That they should have no Meetings till the End of *September*, and to defer the Election of the New Pope till the first of *November*. But after they had fully Debated upon this Affair, they resolv'd to continue their Meetings without Interruption. This Resolution being taken, the Council sent Deputies to acquaint an Assembly that was come to meet at *Francfort*, upon the first Day of *August*, of what they had done, and others to a Provincial Council, which was to meet at *Mayence*, the 15th of the same Month, others for an Assembly which was to meet at *Bourges*, at the Indictment of the King of *France*, and others towards the Emperor and the King of *Spain*. Upon the last Day of *August*, the Council Revoked all the Expectative Graces, and the Nominations made to Benefices by Pope *Eugenius*. In the 36 Session, which was held upon the 17th of *September*, they declar'd the Opinion of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, to be a Pious Opinion, conformable to the the Worship of the Church, to the Catholic Faith, Right Reason, and the Sacred Scriptures, that all Catholics ought to approve of it: And they further Discharge all Persons to Teach, or to Preach the contrary; and that the Feast of the Conception should be Celebrated upon the 8th of *December*. Whilst these things were Passing at *Bale*, the Pope, who had Transferr'd the Council of *Ferrara* to *Florence*, renew'd the Decree Past at *Ferrara*, against the Council of *Bale*; and the Council of *Bale* wrote an Apology against this Invective, as they call it, wherein they Vindicate the Orthodoxy of the Eight Theological Conclusions. The Principal Persons for drawing up of this Apology were our Author, *John de Segovia* and *Thomas de Corcellis*. In the Month of

October, some Prelates arriv'd at *Bale*, and the Emperor desir'd that the Council might Surcease from the Election of a New Pope. But notwithstanding of his Intreaties, the Cardinal *de Arles* caus'd upon the 14th of *October*, Elect Three Persons for choosing those who should give their Suffrages in the Election of the Pope. These Three Persons, were our Author, who was first chosen for the singular Zeal, Prudence and Learning that he had shown in all their Proceedings, and the other two were *John* of *Segovia* a *Spaniard* Arch-Deacon of *Villa Viciosa* and *Thomas Corcellis* a *French* Man Canon of *Rheims*. Upon this, the *Germans* began to Murmur for the Honour that the Council had put upon these three Persons, none of them being of their Nation; for the preventing of which, these three by the Power given to them, did Associate to them *Christian de Gratzregia* a *German*, and Rector of *St. Peter* in the Diocess of *Ulm*: These four were Sworn, not to make choice but of Persons who were capable for that Election, and that they should not Reveal to any Person whatsoever, who the Person Elected was, till such time as they were oblig'd to make the Publication thereof in the Conclave. After which, they made Choice of 28 Persons, who with them were to Proceed to the Election, upon this Condition, That he that was Elected should have the two Thirds of the Votes. In the 37th Session, held upon the 24th of *October*, there were diverse Regulations made, touching the Future Election of the Pope. In the 38th Session, held upon the 30th of the same Month, they made a Decree against the Invective of Pope *Eugenius*, prohibiting the Publication or Approbation thereof, and they confirm'd the Choice that the Four Deputies had made of the Electors of the Future Pope: The Cardinal of *Arles* or *St. Cecilia*, was one by Right, and was not comprehended in this Number. There were Eleven Bishops, Seven Abbots, and Fourteen Doctors taken equally from the Nations that they came from, without counting the Officers of the Conclave: Which Nomination was likewise approv'd of in this Session. These Electors, enter'd on the Day appointed into the Conclave; and, after they had taken the ordinary Oaths, Six Days after they made choice of *Amadeus* the first Duke of *Savoy*, who had retir'd himself into the Desert of *Ripoli* in the Diocess of *Geneva*, where he liv'd with several of his Nobles as a Hermite, only under the Quality of Deacon of the Military Order of *St. Mauricius*. The Fathers of the Council confirm'd his Election, in the 39th Session, held upon the 17th of *November*, and order'd, that all should acknowledge him to be the only true and lawful Pope. After which, they sent a Deputation to him of 25 Persons, of which Number our Author was one, and the Cardinal *de Arles* was at the Head of them to acquaint him of his Election, and to prevail with him to accept of it. These Deputies arriv'd at *Ripoli*, upon the 20th of *December*, and, having told him what their Commission was, at first he made some Scruple to take the Oath the Council requir'd of him, to quit the Habite and to change his Name: But at length, he was prevail'd with, and receiv'd the Pontifical Habite, took the Name of *Felix V.* and wrote Letters to the Council of *Bale*, and all the Christian Princes to acquaint them of his Accession to the Papal Chair. In the *Interim*, the Emperor Dying upon the 27th of *October*, the Electors of the Empire promis'd their Protection to the Council, but they would not approve

prove of their Decrees against Pope *Eugenius*. The Electors, having Assembl'd at *Francfort*, they Elected upon the 2d of *February*, for Emperor, *Frederic* Duke of *Austria*. The Deputies of the Council of *Bale*, who were at this Assembly, desir'd the New Elected Emperor and the other Princes to acknowledge *Felix* for Pope, but they kept still by their Neutrality. *Felix*, that he might come with the greater Pomp and Splendor to *Bale*, Created four Cardinals who were approv'd of by the Council, and the Consent they had given to his Election; was Read and Confirm'd in the 40th Session, held upon the 26th of *February* in the Year 1442. In this Session, they likewise Excommunicated all those who did not acknowledge him to be Pope, and declar'd Null and Void, all the Acts and Decrees of *Eugenius*; but the Letters, by which *Felix* continued the Legation and Presidentship of the Council to the Cardinal *de Arles*, not pleasing them, others were drawn up and approv'd of. At length, *Felix* came himself in Person to the Council upon the 24th Day of *June*. Pope *Eugenius*, hearing of the Election of *Felix*, immediately caus'd him to be declar'd Heretic and Schismatic, and Excommunicated all his Electors and Abbettors, unless they quit his Party in 50 Days, by a Decree of the 23d of *April*. But the Fathers of the Council of *Bale* ranvers'd this Decree by another, which they past in the 41st Session, which was held upon the 23d Day of *July*. The next Day they Consecrated and Crown'd Pope *Felix*; and, that he might have some thing to sustain his Dignity, since he could not as yet have access to St. *Peter's* Patrimony, it was resolv'd in the 42d Session, held upon the 6th of *August*, That they should grant him, for 5 Years, the Tenth *Denier* of the Revenues of their Benefices. But it was not any great Matter for the Council, to have made a Pope, unless all the Christian Princes own'd him; Therefore, both they and the Council of *Florence*, sent Deputies to the Assembly of the Clergy, which *Charles* the VII. King of *France* had call'd at *Bourges*, to know their Mind in this Affair. This Assembly, having heard the Deputies of both Parties, after they had taken it to their serious Consideration for six Days, upon the 2d of *September*, in the Year 1440. in presence of the King, *Charles* Duke of *Anjou* and the other Princes of the Blood, told the Deputies from both the Councils, that they approv'd of the Council of *Bale's* being a lawful Council, but could not approve of their Proceedings against Pope *Eugenius*, and exhorted them both to Peace and Unity. The Deputies of the Council of *Bale*, were sorry to find, by this Answer, that the *French* was resolv'd to Espouse Pope *Eugenius* so far; as not to acknowledge *Felix* to be the lawful Pope: However, they were somewhat Encourag'd, on the other Hand, by a Letter, which they receiv'd upon the Month of *October*, from the King of *Aragon*; wherein he acknowledg'd them to be a lawful General Council, and by another, from the Queen of *Hungary*, Widow of *Sigismund*, to Pope *Felix*, but much more by those from *Albert* Duke of *Bavaria* and *Albert* Duke of *Austria*; the Universities of *Paris*, *Germany* and *Cracovia* likewise not only acknowledg'd the Council of *Bale* and Pope *Felix*, but wrote in their Defence. He was also acknowledg'd by the Religious Orders of the *Carthusians* and *Minorites*, and by several Princes and Prelates in *Germany*, and that he might strengthen his Party, the

more, he created Eight Cardinals in the Month of *October*, and Six other in the Month of *November*.

During the time, that the Deputies of the Council of *Bale*, were Soliciting to gain the Christian Princes to approve of their Choice of Pope *Felix*, the Prelates that remain'd at *Bale*, continu'd their Assemblies from time to time, tho' not so frequently, *Felix* presid'd in the particular Congregations, held in the Year 1441, in Absence of the Cardinal de *Arles*, who had been sent into *Germany*: At which time many particular Regulations were made concerning Benefices and Beneficed Persons; after which they Debated for a longer time, about the Celebration of the Feast of the Visitation of the Virgin instituted by Pope *Boniface IX.* in the time of the Schism, at length the Decree for observing of it was drawn up and publish'd in the Name of the Council, and not in the Name of the Pope, as some Writers have affirm'd, and this was done in the 42d Session, held upon the first of *July*, in the Year 1441. In the Year 1442 Pope *Eugenius* transferr'd the Council of *Florence*, to the Church of *St. John de Latran* at *Rome* by a Bull of the 3d of *May*. The Council of *Bale* on the other hand, publish'd a long Decree in the 44th Session, held upon the 10th of *August*, for securing the Act and Persons of the Council, and Disannulling of all that should be done against them; and, towards the latter end of the Year, Pope *Felix* and several of his Cardinals retir'd to *Lausane*, but the Council still continu'd their Congregations at *Bale*, where they made diverse particular Regulations, and Condemn'd many Propositions that were propagated and maintain'd by the Mendicant Monks, and particularly this, *That those, who Died in the Habite of St. Francis, stay no longer in Purgatory but one year, because St. Francis went there once every year, and brought all those of his own Order out of it.* At length, they having desir'd Pope *Felix* to return to the Council; he refus'd to obey them; and, finding that the Prelates were daily going away, they, after having indicted another General Council to be held Three Years after in the City of *Lyons*, continu'd that of *Bale*, which was to remain still there if possible, or in the City of *Lausane*, and then went every one to their own Country. This was done in the 45th and last Session of the Council of *Bale*, held upon the 16th Day of *May*, in the Year 1443. Thus ended the Councils of *Bale* and *Florence*, none knowing which of them had the greatest Victory, for neither the one nor the other gave up their Claim, and they found out a way to put an End to their Debates, without making a Peace or Accommodation by Translating themselves to other Places, where nothing was done, yet the Schism continu'd till the Death of *Eugenius IV.* which happen'd upon the 23 of *February*, in the Year 1447. But an end was put to all by Pope *Nicolas V.* who was chosen in his Place upon the 6th of *March*, for he, being a Man of a quiet and peaceable Temper, very willingly Listen'd to the Proposals of an Accommodation, which the Christian Princes made betwixt him and *Felix*: Which were, That *Felix* should renounce the Popedom, but that he should be the first Cardinal and the Perpetual Legate of the Holy See in *Germany*; and that all the Decrees and Acts that had been either done by the Council of *Bale* against the Council of *Florence*, or by the Council of *Florence* against the Council of

of *Bale* should be difanull'd, which was accordingly done, and fo this Schifm ended.

What became of our Author after this Council I know not, for none of our Historians have fo much as mention'd him, fave *Dempster*, who, in the First Book of his *Apparatus*, mentions him only tranfiently, as having been Elector of the Pope at the Council of *Constance*; but it is very probable that he return'd to his own Country; and died in the Reign of King *James* the Second. As for his Character, I can fay no more than what a late Author has faid (c), viz. " 'Tis fomewhat
 " ftrange, that none of the *Scots* Writers fpeak of him; it was a great
 " Honour to that Nation, to have produc'd a Man of fo Eminent a Cha-
 " racter; who, upon fuch an extraordinary Occafion, was fet at the Head
 " of fuch a Bufinefs, which was, in a great meafure, to be fupported by
 " the Credit of thofe to whom it was trufted. One ought to think
 " that both his Learning, Integrity and Judgment were much diftin-
 " guish'd, and yet I do not find, that he is known to the Writers of
 " that Nation, tho' the beft they had, and one of them the beft that
 " any Nation ever had, wrote within a Hundred Years of his Time. If
 " *Boetius* and *Lefly* would take no Care to preferve the Memory of a
 " Man, who was much concern'd in fuch a Bufinefs; yet how he ef-
 " caped the Diligence of *Buchanan*, who muft have valued him more,
 " for it is fomewhat ftrange: Perhaps the Cafe with him was like that
 " of a Prophet, who is not without Honour, fave in his own Country;
 " or fo Tranfient a Thing is Fame and Reputation, that he, who, in
 " one Age, was efteemed the Man of the Firft and moft diftinguifhed
 " Merit of a whole Council, is fo forgotten in the next, that even thofe
 " who have labour'd much and with great Succefs, *Buchanan* especial-
 " ly, to raife the Value of their Country, have not mention'd a Man
 " that was fo great an Honour to it, and that within Memory of the
 " Time, in which they wrote.

His Death
and Chara-
cter.

We have nothing of this Author extant, but fome Orations and Fragments of Speeches mention'd by thofe, who have written the History of the Council of *Bale*.

(c) Vid. Geddes ubi fup.

The Catalogue of his Works.

*Orat. Hab. in Concil. Bafil. Vid. Con. Bafil. in magno volumine Conciliorum, Æ-
 neus Sylvius, de Geflis Conc. Bafil. Coloniae 1535. & Epift. ad Job. de
 Segovia, ibid. Pag. 76. &c.*

The End of the Firft Part,

A Brief Account of some Eminent Writers, who liv'd in the former Period, viz. from the Five Hundreth to the Fifteen Hundreth Year of Christ.

P A R T II.

ST. CATALDUS (a) was Born in the Shire or County of *Argile*, in the Second Century, if we may believe *Bartholomew Moron*, who Publish'd his Life at *Rome*, in the Year 1614. *Dempster* says, that he was Born in the Island of *Jona* or *Hey*, as he had learn'd by Letters, from *F. George Lesly* the Famous Capucin, then in *Italy*; who had seen his Life in MSS. in the *Ambrosian Library* at *Milan*. But the *Irish Writers* say, That he was Born amongst them in *Munster*, Educated at *Lismore*, and afterwards made Bishop of *Ratheny*. But I think, that this is altogether improbable, since the Christian Religion was not in the least known there, till *St. Patrick's* Time, 'as it appears from all their own Records; and all the Writers, who make any Mention of him, say, that he was older than *St. Patrick*. *Moron*, in the above cited Book, tells us, that this Saint went from his Native Country in Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, and from thence, in Obedience to a Heavenly Vision, he went to *Italy*, about the Year 170, where he was made Bishop of *Tarentum*: And *Raphael Massæus Volateranus* says (b), That *St. Cataldus* was esteem'd at *Geneva* near the *Leman-Lake*, as Bishop and Professor of that City. *Alexander ab Alexandro* writes thus of him (c), "In the Flourishing Estate of *Ferdinand* the first King of *Arragon*, when as yet the City and Kingdom of *Naples* were free from the Calamities of War; it is Recorded, That *Catald*, who was a Religious Man, and Bishop of *Tarentum*, a Thousand Years since, and Honour'd by the Citizens there as their Patron, had appear'd in a Tempestuous Night, to one in his Sleep, who Ministrated about Holy Things, then lately admitted to Orders, and of a Virtuous Education, and warn'd him, to cause a Book containing Divine Mysteries, which in his Lifetime, he had wrote, and hid in some obscure Place, to be dug up, and forthwith to be laid before the King's Majesty: But he giving little Credit to the Vision, the same was often repeated to him when awake, and one Morning very early, while he continu'd alone in the Temple, but perfectly awake, *Catald* appear'd to him in his Episcopal Habite and Mitre, and told him, that next Morning without further delay,

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(a) Vid. Barth. Moron, Vit. S. Catal. Edit. Rom. 1614. Thom. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 3. Pag. 163. Camer. de Scot. Doct. Pier. & Fort. Lib. 3. Pag. 138. Sir James Ware's First Book of Irish Writers, Page 3. &c.
(b) Comment. Urban. Lib. 3. (c) Genial. Diet. Lib. 3. Cap. 15.

“ he should dig it up and carry it to the King, Threatning sore Punishment if it were not done. The next Day the Minister and
 “ People went in solemn Procession, to the Place, where the
 “ Book, for a long time, had lyen hid, and found it wrapt up in Leaden
 “ Tables, and fasten’d with Iron Studs. Therein, the Future Over-
 “ throw of the Kingdom, with all the Miseries consequent thereon,
 “ and the impendent Evils which soon afterwards ensu’d, were cer-
 “ tainly foretold the King. All which, taught by sad Experience, we
 “ have seen to our Cost brought to pass. For in Truth, so Powerful
 “ is Divine Prediction, that, some short time thereafter, King Fer-
 “ dinand himself, whether thro’ the Divine Displeasure, or Inevitable
 “ Fate, was taken off in the first approach of the Wars, and Charles
 “ King of France, with a great Army, over-ran the whole Kingdom of
 “ Naples; And Alphonsus Ferdinand’s Eldest Son, scarce warm in his
 “ New Kingdom, was depriv’d thereof, forc’d to a Dishonourable
 “ Flight, and ended his Days as it were in Exile. The Discovery of
 this Prophecy, written in Leaden Tables, is plac’d by Moron in the
 Year 1492. Besides this Book of Visions, Dempster ascribes a Book of
Homilies to him; but I believe that these *Homilies* are no where to be
 found. The same Author has plac’d him in the middle of the Fourth
 Century, about the Year 361: His Memory is Celebrated the 10th of
 May, on which Day, Thus we read in the Roman Martyrology, *St.*
Catald Bishop of Tarentum Famous for Miracles. And if the Reader
 be curious to know what these Miracles were, he will find abundance
 of them, in the Authors above cited. The Catalogue of his Works;
De Visionibus suis Lib. 1.

SEDULIUS.] Some Attempts have been made (d), by the Learn’d
 Father Labbe, to prove that this Sedulius (who Flourish’d in the Fifth
 Century) was no Scots Man, because none of the Ancient Writers
 make mention of his Country. Most of the Moderns take him for one
 of the same Name, who Flourish’d in the Ninth Century, and was
 certainly a Scots Man. But as the Silence of the Ancients, concerning
 his Country, does not prove that he was no Scots Man, so, if we con-
 sider, that there were certainly many of this Name in Scotland (e), and
 in no other Nation that we read of, and that a Number of Learn’d
 Men (f), who had the Occasion of seeing the most Ancient Manu-
 scripts and Records of Europe, have nowise doubted of his being a
 Scots Man, we have no Reason to recede from their Opinion, till bet-
 ter Reasons be adduc’d against them.

Trithemius tells us (g), that he had his Education under one Hilde-
 bert a Scots Bishop, and being desirous to improve himself in his Stu-
 dies, he went from Scotland to France, and from France to Italy.

Hitherto, he had only study’d Poetry and Rhetoric, and probably
 Profess’d them, since he assumes to himself the Title of a Rhetorician
 in his Apologetical Prologue to Macedonius a Presbyter: But, whilst he
 was in Italy, he apply’d himself to the Study of Philosophy, as we are
 in-

(d) Phil. Labbe Dissert. de Script. Eccles. Tom. 2. Pæg. 324. (e) Jacob. Usser, de Eccles. Britan. Antiq. & Phil. Labbe ubi sup. (f) Joa. Trithem. Joa. Balæus Magdibur. Cepturiat. Thomas Dempsterus, Baronius, Bellarminus, Sixtus Senensis, Antonius Possevin, Georgius Fabricius, Lilius Giralduus, Jo. Ger. Vossius, Joa. Baptista Ricciolus, Morerius, Joa. Albertus, Fabricius & innumeri alii. (g) Trithem. de Scrip. Eccles.

inform'd, by the Annotations upon the most Ancient Manuscripts of his Works. From *Italy* he went into *Achaia*, where he Compos'd his Paschal Work, by the Perswasion of *Macedonius* the above-mention'd Presbyter, under the Empire of *Theodosius* the 2d and *Valentinian* the 3d, about the Year 430. 'Tis an Heroic Poem divided into Five Books; the First begins at the Creation of the World, and runs through the most remarkable Histories of the Old Testament; the Four other contain the most Remarkable Actions of the Life of *Jesus Christ*.

Having stay'd for some time in *Achaia*, he return'd to *Italy*; and applying himself to the Study of the Sacred Writings; he enter'd into Holy Orders, and was ordain'd a Presbyter there (b), and afterwards advanc'd to the Dignity of a Bishop (i); but we know not of what Place, unless we might believe an imposing Writer (k), who tells us, that it was of *St. Maria de Oreto* in *Spain*.

We have no Account of the time of *Sedulius's* Death, but certainly, Mr. *Marcel* (l) is grossly mistaken in his Chronological Tables, when he brings him down to the Year 721. For, after his Death, his Works were collected and publish'd by *Turcius Rufus Asterius*, who was Consul, in the Year 494, with *Præsidius*, or he who was Consul with *Protophages*, in the Year 449, as Father *Sirmond* and some others will have it.

His Writings are highly commended by many Christian Writers, and certainly he had an Excellent Genius for Poetry; for the Stile of his Poems is Noble and Great (m), his Notions Poetical, and his Verses Harmonious, excepting some few Unpoetical Phrases. *Liberius* or *Liberatus*, as he is call'd in some Ancient Manuscripts, and *Belisarius*, two Christian Poets of the same Age, have left us the Two following Acrostic Poems in Commendation of him and his Performance.

D. Liberii Poetæ de Sedulio, Acrostichis.

S	EDULIUS, Domini per culta novalia; pergen	S.
E	n; loca conspexit multa radiantia flor	E.
D	iscurrit per prata, libens; quo graminte Davi	D.
U	idit Divino modulantem carmina cant	U.
L	audato psallente viro refluit Citharæ me	L.
T	lle ubi grandisoni captus dulcedine Plectr	T.
U	ritur, & celeri graditur per lilia pass	U.
S	acratosque iterum late conspexit amœno	S.
A	eterna Christi fluvios quos abluit und	A.
N	ec passus torpere diu Doctoris acume	N.
T	unc sua Davidico delectu plectra poposci	T.
I	rrita polluit contempsit numina mund	I.
S	igna crucis, fronti ponit, breviterque triumpho	S.
T	angit, Christe, tuos & numerosaque proelia liba	T.
E	rgo, his dum vario decorat sua rura Color	E.
S	tabunt hi, gracili ducti testudine versu	S.

S f f f

Beli-

(h) Isidor. Hispal. Cap. 7. Car. Script. Eccles. (i) Sigebertus de Illust. Script. Cap. 6. (k) Pseudo & Dexter, in Hispania Oretanum. (l) Georg. Marcell. Tab. Chron. (m) Vid. De Pin. Eccles. Hist. Vol. 4. St. Olaus Barochius Disert. 2. de Poet. Lat.

Belisarii Poetae de Sedulio, Acrostichis Altera.

S	EDULIUS, Christi miracula versibus eden	S;
E	micat, invitans parva ad solennia Mensa	E
D	ignum Convivam: non hunc qui Carperet illu	D
U	ix quod Nobilium proferit triplici aura parat	U
L	ætum quod ponitque sub aurea tecta tribuna	L
I	n quo gemmiferi, totque aurea vasa Canistr	I
U	ivida pro modico portant sibi gaudia vict	U:
S	ed quid olus, vilis producit pauperis hortu	S.
A	c post delicias properant qui sumere magn	A
N	ituntur parvum miserorum spernere grame	N
T	antum quod nihil est, dum nil cum ventre tumesci	T
I	nsidias membrisque movens, animæque Luent	I,
S	i tamen his dapibus vesce dignantur egeni	S
T	emnat divitias animus paucisque quiesca	T
E	xemplo assumpto Domini qui millia quinqu	E
S	temotis cunctis, modicis satiavit ab esci	S.

The Catalogue of his Works. *Carmen Paschale Juv. de Christi Miraculis, Lib. 5. una cum Epistola ad Maced. Presbyt. Nuncupatoria. Veteris & Novi Testamenti Collatio carmine Elegiaco Scripta. Pæan Alphabeticus, de Christo Iambico carmine conscriptus. Paschalis Operis Lib 5. Soluta Oratione Descripti, una cum Epistola Altera ad Macedonium Presbyterum, qui Sedulio Autor fuerat, ut Carmen Paschale Prosuice exprimeret. Opus istud a Codice Pitheano evulgarvit Fr. Juretus, Par 1585. Prodierunt Sedulii; opera ab Aldo Manutio 1502. Basil; A Geor. Fabricio, Basil 1564. cum Not. Anton. Nebriff. Basil 1541. in Bib. Patr. Tom. 6. Pag. 485. in Apendice Bigneana, Pag. 658 and 911 Edinburgi 1701. 8vo. quæ accurata Editio habetur.*

ST. PATRICK Arch-Bishop of Armagh] Tho' St. Patrick be call'd a Scots-Man (n), by the most Ancient, and most Authentic Writers, that make any mention of him; yet Arch-Bishop Usser (o) finding, that he could not be born amongst the Scots in Ireland, and that some of those Writers call him a Britain, he would needs have the World believe, that when they call him a Scots Man, their meaning only is, that he was Born in that part of the Island of Britain that was afterwards inhabited by the Scots: But since this Conjecture is only grounded upon the false Supposition of the Scots not being then Inhabitants of this Island; we have more Reason to follow the general Rule that he gives us for knowing a British-Scot from an Irish-Scot, which is, That when the same Man is call'd both a Britain and a Scot, then he is certainly a British-Scot, and we find that Notkerus Balbulus, an Author (p), who flourish'd in the Ninth Century, tells us expressly (q), that St. Patrick was by Nation a Britain, born in Scotland, who went

(n) Vid. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 15. & Usser. de Primor. (o) Pag. 820. & 821. (p) Philip. Labbe Sanct. PP. & Theolog. Bibl. Chronol. (q) in Scotia Nativitas S. Patricii Episcopi, Natione Britannii, qui in Hibernia Insula Scottis primum Evangelizavit nomen Dom. Nostri Jesu Christi, &c. Notk. Balbulus, in Martyrl. apud Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 15.

went over to *Ireland* to Preach the Gospel of *Jesus Christ* to the *Scots* there.

His Grandfather *Potitus* was a Presbyter, his Father *Calpornius* (r) a Deacon, and his Mother *Concessa* a Sister of *St. Martine* Bishop of *Tours* in *France*; so that he seems to have been destin'd by Providence to the Service of the Church of God. He was Born, in the Year 371. in the Reign of *Eugenius* I. who was overthrown in Battel by *Maximus* the *Roman* Praefect, in the Year 379. Whereupon the *Scots* were, by an Edict, expell'd this Island; and this seems to have been the Cause of his going to *Ireland*, when he was a Child, and not his being taken Captive there, as the Fabulous Writers (f) of his Life have related.

Having stay'd for some Years in *Ireland*, and compassionating the Miserable State of that Poor People, who were altogether Heathens, he form'd to himself a Design of their Conversion: And in order to accomplish it, he went to *France* to his Uncle *St. Martine*, under whom he apply'd himself to the Study of the Sacred Writings, and was by him made a Deacon; but, he dying in the Year 402 (t), he went to *St. German* Bishop of *Auxerre*, by whom he was Ordain'd Presbyter, and stay'd with him for several Years. At length, by the Perswasion of this Holy Bishop (u), he went to *Rome*, to Consult with Pope *Celestine* about his Design of Converting the *Irish* Nation; and here *Jocelinus* tells us (x), That whilst he was on his Journey thither, either by Divine Instinct or by Angelical Instruction, he went to a certain Island, in the *Tirbene* Sea, on purpose to visite an Holy Anchoret, of great Fame, living there, whose Name was *Iustus*: Upon his Arrival, after some Spiritual Conferences, *Iustus* gave him a Staff, saying, That he had receiv'd it from the very Hand of our Lord *Jesus Christ* himself, but to be given to him. After this, *St. Patrick* discoursing with other Men, who liv'd in the same Island, at some little Distance from the Cell of *Iustus*, whereof some appear'd Brisk and Young, and others Old and Decrepit; and understanding that those Old Men were the Children of the Young Men, he ask'd at them, How that could be? To which one of them return'd this Answer. We (says he) from our Childhood, through the Meroy of God, have been always given to Works of Mercy, and our Door was open to every Traveller, that for *Christ's* Sake desired either Viçtuals or Lodging: On a certain Night, we received a Stranger with a Staff in his Hand, and according to our best Ability, treated him with all Necessaries and Kindness. Next Morning, upon his Departure, he bless'd us, and not only bless'd us, but spoke these Words unto us. I am *Jesus Christ*, whom in Person you have, this Night, received into your House, who so often before have received me in my Servants. And then he deliver'd the Staff in his Hand, to the Man of God our Spiritual Father, commanding him to keep it for a certain Pilgrim, nam'd *Patrick*, who, after many Days, should arrive here, and on him to bestow it. Which Command given, he presently ascended into Heaven; and we have ever since remain'd in the same State of Youthful Countenance, Briskness and Vigour of Body, we were in at that time; but our Sons, that were but little Children then, are now, according to their Age, become Decrepit, as you see them.

S s s s 2

When

(r) Neniüs C. 52. (f) Prob. Vita Patricii, Inter Bedæ Opera. Jocelinij. Vita Patricii in Mellisg. Florileg. (t) Gul. Cave, Hist. Liter. (u) Neniüs, Cap. 53. (x) Jocal. Vita S. Patricii, Cap. 24.

When St. *Patrick* heard all this, he gave God Thanks, and, after a few Days longer Conversation with *Iustus*, proceeded on his Journey, carrying in his Hand that Holy Staff, appointed, by God Himself, to be an Instrument for His Servant *Patrick*, to work therewith Prodigious Things in *Ireland*. By this Story the Reader may judge what Truths are to be found in the Writers of St. *Patrick's* Life, who have been so highly commended of late (y), for handing down to us the Antiquities of the *Irish* Nation.

Upon St. *Patrick's* Arrival at *Rome*, he receiv'd all the Encouragement imaginable in his Design, from Pope *Celestine*; for, if we may believe *Marianus Scotus* (z) he Consecrated him, and sent him in the Quality of Arch-Bishop of *Ireland*. So returning to his Native Country, and taking alongst with him several Holy Men, to assist him in the Work, he went over to *Ireland* in the Beginning of the Year 432.

Being come into *Ireland*, he labour'd there with great Success, having, in a few Years, Converted that whole Island, and Establish'd a Regular Church amongst them, consisting of Diocesan Bishops, making *Armagh* the Metropolis; where he sat himself as Primate, and died there, in the Year 493. upon the 17th Day of *March*, (a) in the 122d Year of his Age.

This is all that we can, with any Certainty, affirm of St. *Patrick*; for I have purposely omitted many Circumstances of his Life, as they are related by the Fabulous Writers of it: For altho' he was a Man of great Piety and Devotion, and singularly assisted by God in Converting that Nation, yet he must be strangely Credulous, that will believe, that *Jesus Christ* came from Heaven, to give him a Staff (b), by which, after 40 Days and 40 Nights Fasting, with continual Prayer, he forc'd together, out of all Parts of *Ireland*, all Venomous Animals whatsoever, to the Mountain of *Cruachin Ailge* in the West of *Conaght*, and from thence forc'd them into the Western Ocean lying under this Mountain. That he wrote 365 A, B, C's (c), Founded 365 Churches, Ordain'd 365 Bishops, and no more nor less than 3000 Presbyters. That he rais'd 60 Men from the Dead, and Baptis'd 12 Millions of People, and many other Monstruous Fables that are related of him by *Nenius Joceline* and *Probus*.

We can hardly judge of his Learning, by any thing that remains of his Writings; the most, if not all of them, being Spurious. But 'tis probable, that he was a Man of Parts, considering the Advantages that he had of Studying in *France*, under Two of the Greatest Bishops of their Time; and being imploy'd in such a considerable Affair, as the Conversion of a Nation. The Catalogue of his Works. *Confessio in Epistola ad Hibernos explicata. Epistola ad Coroticum Regem Cambro-Britannicum. Synodus Patricii Capitula seu Canones 31 Completions. Canones 9: antea inediti. Synodus Episcoporum Patricii auxilio Aecerninii, Canones 34 comprehendens. Canones alii aliquot. Proverbia Nonnulla. De Tribus Habitaculis Liber. Charta S. Patricii, seu Epistola de Antiquitate Avellonica. De Abusibus Sæculi Liber. Hæc omnia, collegit ac partim recensuit, partim tunc primum, cum Notis, edidit Vir Cl. D. Jacobus Waxeus; Londi. 1856. in 8vo.*

Ser-

(y) Vid. Jacob. Usser, de Eccles. Britan. Antiq. and the Bishop of St. Asaph, in his Hist. Account of Church Gover. in Brit. (z) Mar. Scot. ad An. 432. (a) Vid. Guil. Cave, Hist. Liter. Pag. 332. (b) Jocel. Vit. St. Patric. Cap. 170. (c) *Nenius*, Cap. 57.

Sermonem sub Patricii nomine confinxit Ricardus Stanihurstus, quem in vita S. Patricii Lib. 2. Antwerpæ edidit An. 1587. Locum vero illi inter Patricii Opuscula concedere noluit Waræus. Epistola de Legatione sive Missione ad Hibernos, edita primum a Gerardo Vossio, deinde in Bib. P. P. Coloniz 1618. Spuriam esse arguit annus Æræ Christianæ, qui in Epistolæ fronte statim occurrit. Alia plura commemorant Balæus, Pittæus, Waræus, Usserius, quæ an alicubi extant, immo an unquam extiterint dubitare licet.

ST. BENIGNE, or **BENIGNUS**, was one of St. Patrick's Disciples, and one of those who went over with him to Ireland; and was so Instrumental in Converting of that People to the Christian Religion, that the Best of the Irish Antiquaries say (a), That St. Patrick made him his Successor in the See of Armagh, some Years before his Death: But others of them say (b), That St. Patrick's immediate Successor was one Senanus, who had been a Soldier, and whose Life is still extant in Metre; in which St. Patrick is introduc'd Prophesying of him thus.

*Nascetur nobis parvulus,
Futurus Dei famulus,
Qui & Senanus nomine
In meo stabit Ordine;
Mibi, Dto propitio,
Succedens Episcopo.*

That's to say,

*To you an Infant shall be born,
A future Minister of God;
His Name Senanus shall adorn
This Place of my abode,
And by the Grace of God, he'll be
Succeeding Bishop after me.*

In the same Life, he is afterwards call'd Arch-Bishop Senanus: But Sir James Ware says, this is so great a Mistake, that without doubt he was not Bishop of Armagh, but Bishop of Finiscatty. In the Psalter of Cassel, Secundinus or Sechnallus, St. Patrick's Nephew by his Sister, is said to have next succeeded him; and Patricius Senior, otherwise call'd Sen-Patricius, or Old Patrick, a Domestic Servant of St. Patrick, is said to have succeeded Secundinus: But here again Sir James Ware says, that this Secundinus was Bishop of Dunsbaghlin in Meath, where he died upon the 27th of November 448. Ag'd 75 Years; and that Sen-Patrick, commonly taken for the Great St. Patrick, died Ten Years after. But to return to St. Benigne, the most receiv'd Opinion is, That St. Patrick made him his Successor in the See of Armagh, in the Year 465, who immediately resign'd it to Jarleth, who, dying in the Year 482, was succeeded by Cormac; so that St. Patrick saw Three of his Successors in the See of Armagh, Joceline owns himself much beholden to a Book written by St. Benigne (c). The Place of his Death is variously reported; for some say, that he died at Armagh, in the Year 468: and others

T t t t

at

(a) Sir James Ware's First Book of Irish Writers, Pag. 1. and of the Bishop of Armagh, Pag. 2. (b) Usser, de Britan. Eccles. Antiq. Pag. 454. (c) Jocel. Vit. St. Pat. Cap. 39.

at *Farlingmer* in *England*, upon the 9th of *November*, from whence his Reliques were Translated to *Glastenbury*, in the Year 1091. Of this Opinion is *William* of *Malmsbury* (d), who has these Words concerning our Author : " In the Year 460, *St. Benigne* came to *Glastenbury*, who was the Third that succeeded to *St. Patrick* in the See of *Armagh*, as their Historians say, he being admonish'd by an Angel, leaving willingly his Native Country and Episcopal Dignity, came in Pilgrimage, under the Conduct of God, to *Glastenbury*, where he found *St. Patrick*. How much he was Favour'd by God, appears by the Miracles he perform'd at *Farlingmer*, where, by his Prayers, Plenty of Rain was obtain'd in a Dearth, and a Green Flourishing Tree sprung out of his dry and withered Staff; and, after innumerable Sufferings in the foresaid Isle, he died in Peace at *Farlingmer*, where he lyes Interr'd; with this Epitaph.

*Hoc Patris in Lapide (1) Beonæ (2) sunt Ossâ locata;
Qui Pater extiterat Monachorum hic tempore prisco.
Hunc forte Patricii dudum fortasse ministrum
Fantur Hybernigenæ, & Beonem de nomine dicunt.*

(1) Tumulo (2) Beningo)

But the Annals of *Innisfallis* say; that he Died at *Rome*; and *Dempster* says, he was Martyr'd at *Gaunt* in *Flanders*, about the Year 633 (e). The Catalogue of his Works, *Joceline* on the Life of *St. Patrick*, in the 136 Chapter, tells us, That *St. Benigne* wrote a Book, partly in *Latine*, and partly, in *Irish*, of the Virtues and Miracles of *St. Patrick*; and there is extant an *Irish Poem* of the *Dublinians* Conversed to Christianity, ascrib'd to *St. Benigne*.

ST. SECUNDINE, commonly call'd *St. Schagblin*, was a Nephew of *St. Patrick*'s by his Sister *Darerca*; and, if we may believe the *Irish* Antiquaries, the *Ulster* Annals say, That in the Year 439, *Secund* or *Secundine*, *Auxillius*, and *Issernine*, were sent into *Ireland*, with an Episcopal Power, to the Assistance of *St. Patrick*. This Saint compos'd a Hymn in Praise of *St. Patrick*, the same Year that he Died, which begins thus. *All ye that love God bear the Holy Merits of that Bless'd Man in Christ, Holy Patrick*. Which Hymn is mention'd by *Joceline*, and was first publish'd by *Sir James Ware*, with *St. Patrick*'s Works, at *London*, in the Year 1656, he Died upon the 27th of *December*, in the Year 448 at *Dunshaglin*, a Village in the Diocess of *Meath*, and was there Buried in a Church he had caus'd Build himself, being Seventy Five Years of Age. If the Reader would know any more of the Legend of his Life, he will find it in *Joceline*'s Life of *St. Patrick* in the 176 and the 177. Chap.

ST. MÆL, or *Mel*, was likewise Nephew to *St. Patrick*, by his Sister *Darerca*; he was the first Bishop of *Ardagh* in *Ireland*, and *Joceline* tells us (a), That he wrote a Book of *The Virtues and Miracles of St. Patrick* then living, and Died, at *Ardagh* the 6th of *February* 487, according to the *Ulster* Annals, but according to *Joceline*, in the Year 488. Which

Author

(d) Guil. Mal. in Lib. de Glast. Eccles. Antiq. apud Usser. de Eccles. Brit. Antiq. Pag. 455. (e) See Sir James Ware of Irish Writers Book 1. Pag. 32. (a) Jocel. vit. S. Pat. cap. 186.

Author in the same Place, says, That he got his Living by hard Labour, as St. Paul did (b).

LUMAN, St. Patrick's Nephew, by his Sister Tygridia; Bishop of the Church of Trim in Meath, wrote, as Joceline says (a), The Acts of St. Patrick his Uncle: His Festival is kept upon the 11th of October.

PATRICK, another Nephew of St. Patrick's by his Sister Tygridia, compos'd *The Life of his Uncle*, and Died at Glashenbury, where he was Honourably Interr'd, says the same Joceline.

ST. FRIDELINE, Son to Dongard XLII. King of Scotland, if we may believe Dempster (a); but the Irish Writers say, That he was a Son of one of their Kings (b); he liv'd about the Year 495, and having taken himself to a Religious Life, he Travel'd through most Parts of Germany and France; for which Cause, he is always call'd St. Frideline the Traveler. At length, after he had built many Monasteries in these Countries, and had taken much Pains in propagating of Christianity, he Died in a Monastery of his own Erektion at Secking or Secane an Isle in the Rhine, and was there Buried (c). Bale and Sir James Ware say, That he wrote several Pious Exhortations, and other Things not now Extant: Dempster gives us this following Catalogue of them. *Exhortationes quædam. Præcepta ad Monachos. Ad Augustinianos. Acta D. Hillarii.* These, who are desirous to know more of him and of his Miracles, will find it in Gaspar Brusch his Chronology of German Monasteries, Canisius (d) and an Anonymous Writer, Publish'd by Melchior Goldast, amongst the Writers of the Affairs of Germany, Publish'd in the Year 1606.

GILDAS ALBANIUS, so call'd from his being Born in that part of Britain call'd Albany or Scotland, an Anonymous Writer of his Life, publish'd by Joannes a Bosco, says he was Born upon the River of Clyd (a), of a Royal Discent: For if we may believe the Irish Antiquaries (b), his Father was one Nau King of Scotland, or Can King of Albany: Having apply'd himself to Theology, he enter'd into Holy Orders, and went over to Ireland, where he govern'd the Church of Armagh for some time; but upon the News of his Brother Howel's being Kill'd by King Arthur in Battel, return'd into Britain, about the Year 508, and he was reconcil'd to King Arthur. That in the Abby of Lancarvan, by Perswasion of the Abbot Cadoc, he taught a School for some time; and from thence went to the Isle of Echni, where he stay'd not very long, being oblig'd to leave it for fear of the Pirates of Orkney. From thence he went to Glashenbury, near which Place, at the Bank of the River Ax, he built a Church which he Dedicated to the Holy Trinity, where he spent the remainder of his Life in Solitude. He Died, upon the 29th of January, in the Year 512.

T t t 2

Dempster

(b) Ibid. Cap. 102. (a) Ibid. cap. 39, 50, 51, and 52. (c) Vld. Dempst. Hist. Ecclef. Gent. Scot. Lib. 6. Pag. 280. (b) Sir James Ware of Irish Writers, Book 1. Pag. 2. (c) Bal. Cent. 14. Scrip. Britan. Num. 10. Sir James Ware of Irish Writ. Book 1. Pag. 2. (d) Antiq. Lect. Tom. 5. (e) Apud Usser. de Ecclef. Brit. Antiq. Pag. 354. (b) Ibid: & Pag. 252: vid: etiam: Ja. Varcus, de Scrip. Hyb.

Dempster and *Bale* have ascribed a great many Books to him, but we have none of them now extant, but some Prophecies that go under his Name. *Geofry of Monmouth* (c) Quotes his Books of the Victory of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, and the Acts of *Germanus* and *Lupus*, so that they seem to have been extant in his Time; and he says likewise, That *Gildas* translated the *Mulmutine* Laws out of *British* into *Latine*, and that King *Alured* turn'd them into *English*. As for his Prophecies, *Buchanan* says, (d) "That those which went under his Name, were so Ridiculous in their Words and Sentences, so Unpolish'd and Uncorrect in their whole Composure, that no one of Sense can believe *Gildas* to be the Author. Arch-Bishop *Usher* (e) has publish'd one of those Prophecies as a Specimen of the rest, which I shall here Transcribe likewise for the Readers Satisfaction.

*Fata ducis celebris super omnia Scotia flebit,
 Qui loca septa salo, jungit ubique sibi.
 Principe Magnifico tellus viduata vacabit
 Annis Bis Ternis Mensibus atque Novem
 Antiquos Reges, Justos, Fortes, Locupletes,
 Largos, Famosos, Scotia mæsta luget.
 Ut Merlinus ait; post Reges victoriosos
 Regis more carens regia sceptrâ Reget;
 Væ canet Albania tantis præsaga ruims;
 Totaque gens propria fraude perempta jacet.
 Serviet Angligenæ Regi per tempora quædam
 (Prob dolor!) Albania, fraude subacta sua.
 Quod respirabit post funus Regis avari,
 Versibus antiquis Prisca Sibylla canit.
 Candidus Albanus, Patriotis causa Ruinæ
 Traditione sua Scotica Regna teret.
 Rex Borealis enim, numerosa classe potitus
 Affliget Scotos ense, furore, fame.
 Extera gens tandem sociorum fraude peribit,
 In bello Princeps Noricus ense cadet.
 Gallica quem gignet, qui gaxis regna replebit
 (O Dolor! O Gemitus!) Fratris ab ense cadit.
 Tristitia cessabunt quæ prospera sine sequentur;
 Pacis & adveniet tempore grata quies.
 Historiæ veteris Gildas Luculentus Arator
 Hæc retulit parvo carmine plura notans.*

There is likewise extant, in *Andrew Hart's* Edition of some old Scots Prophecies Publish'd at *Edinburgh* 1615, a Prophecy under the Name of *Gildas*, wherein, amongst other things, he Prophecies the utter Ruine of *Edinburgh*.

ST. COLUMBA] Arch-Bishop *Usher* (a), with the other *Irish* and *British* Antiquaries, who think that the part of *Britain*, which is now call'd *Scotland*, had not that Name towards the latter end of the Tenth Century, bring an Argument for proving *St. Columba* to be an *Irish* Man, from his Life written by *Adamanus* his Successor, who tells

(c) Lib. 2. Cap. 1: Lib. 3. Cap. 2: Lib. 1. Cap. 18: (d) Buch: Rer: Scot: Lib: 5: in Rege XLIV: (2) De Brit: Ecclesi: Antiq. Pag: 356: (e) Jacob: Usher: Primord: Pag: 725:

tells us, that he was a *Scot* (b), and that he Sail'd out of *Scotland* into *Britain*; from whence they (c) infer, that by *Scotland* here, *Ireland* must certainly be understood. But the late Learn'd Advocate Sir *George Mackenzie*, in his Defence of the Royal Line of *Scotland*, has sufficiently Answer'd the first part of this Objection, when he observes, that it is rather a Bull than a Reason: We have a Clear and a Distinct Answer to the latter part of it, by the Venerable *Bede* (d), when he calls the *Scots* and the *Picts* two Transmarine Nations, who invaded the *Britains*, by which, he says, He does not mean that they liv'd out of *Britain*, but that they were separated from the *Britains*, by the two Firths of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbrixton* (or *Dumbarton*) : So that when *Adamanus* says, That *St. Columba* Sail'd out of *Scotland* into *Britain*, his meaning only is, That he Sail'd from the West Part of *Britain*, then call'd *Scotland* by the Inhabitants, from the *Scots* possessing it, to the North Part, which was Peopled partly by the *Britains*, and therefore call'd *Britain*, and partly by the *Picts*.

Columba was Born, in the Year 520, in the Reign of *Conranus*, or *Conranus* the 45th King of *Scotland*, and had his Education under one Bishop *Finian* or (e) *Findbaras*, as *Adamanus* calls him.

In his Youth he went over to *Ireland*, and, having Devoted himself to a Religious Life, he was first made a Deacon, and afterwards ordain'd Presbyter; and about the 40th Year of his Age, he founded the Famous Monastery of *Deermuch*. During his stay in *Ireland*, he was the occasion of Three Bloody Battels, if we may believe the *Irish* Writers (f). The first, was on this occasion, at a Parliament held at *Taragh* by the Monarch *Diarmuidmhic Fergusse Ceirbbeoil*, one *Connanemach Aodb*, Kill'd a Gentleman, upon which he fled, and shelter'd himself with *Dawbna Fergusse* and *Columba*, yet notwithstanding he was apprehended and put to Death; which *Columba* resented so grievously, that he rais'd an Insurrection, upon which a Battel ensued, at a Place call'd *Cuile Drubinne*, where the King *Diarmuidmhic Fergusse Cierbbeoil*, was overthrown, and the most of his Men kill'd. The other Two Battels were likewise in Revenge, the one against the *Ultonians*, for having pass'd a Decision against him, in Favour of one *Comghall*; and the other against *Colmanembac Diarmada*, for having caus'd Kill one under his Protection, for which, he was severely reprov'd by *Moilasse*, a Holy Bishop, and immediately Commanded to depart out of *Ireland*, and never more, during his Life, to see it: Upon which he return'd to *Scotland* in the Year 565 (g).

About this time, *Bradeus* (h) was King of the North *Picts*, a Nation that still continu'd under the Religion of the Gentiles; but this Prince being of a Mild and Sweet Disposition, *St. Columba* thought, that he might induce him to embrace the Christian Religion; whereupon he Sail'd (i) out of *Scotland* into *Britain*, with some Holy Monks which he took alongst with him, to Labbur in that Work, which God so prosper'd, that he not only Converted that Prince, but his whole Nation to the Christian Faith.

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(b) *Adam. Vita Col. Lib. 1.* (c) See the Bishop of St. Asaph's Historical Account of Chur. Gover. of Brit. and Irel. Pag. 9. (d) *Bed. Hist. Ecclef. Lib. 12. Pag. 52.* (e) *Adam. Vir. Columb. Lib. 2.* (f) See Mr. Wells's Prospect of the State of Ireland, Pag. 100. (g) *Guilt. Cave Hist. Liter.* (h) *Ada. Vita St. Col. Lib. 2.* (i) *Adam. Vita Columb. Lib. 2.* (k) *Lelly, De Gestis Scot. Lib. 4.*

In the mean time, *Eugenius*, the 3d of that Name, and 46th King of *Scotland*, dying, *Convallus* (k) or *Congallus* was advanc'd to the Throne; a Prince, says *Buchanan* (l), who, for his singular Virtues, worthy to be held in Everlasting Remembrance; for, besides his Equity in the Administration of Justice, and the Firmness of his Mind against all Avarice; in the Moderation of his Life, he was nothing inferior to the Monks, who in that Age observ'd a most strict Discipline. *Columba*, hearing of this most worthy Prince, return'd to *Scotland*, and became so intimate with him, that, without his Advice, nothing of any Importance was done in the Kingdom: By his Advice many excellent Laws were made for the Good of the Church, as, That all Clergy Men should have a Mansion-House at their Church, with a Portion of Land belonging to it; That the Tenth of all Corns, Herbs, Fruits and Flocks should belong to the Clergy; That, if any one smote a Church Man, his Hand should be cut off; and if the Church Man was Kill'd, That the Murderer should loose all his Goods, and be Burnt alive; That whosoever were Excommunicated by the Church, they should not be admitted to stand in Judgment, nor no Credit to be given to their Testimony.

He likewise obtain'd in Propriety, the Island of *Huy* or *Jona*, where he built a Noble Monastery, which he Endowed with many ample Privileges, and subjected to it all the other Monasteries that he Built in *Ireland* and *Britain* (m), which were reckon'd by *Adamianus* (n) to be no less than 100.

The King, falling Sick, and taking Death to himself, sent for St. *Columba*, and dispatch'd him over to *Ireland* to bring home *Aidanus* the Lawful Heir of the Kingdom; who had fled thither, upon the Murder of his Father *Goranus*: But the *Irish* Writers say, that he came over to interceed for the Poets (o), for the King of *Offery*, and that the *Irish* might not Invade *Scotland*, for not paying them the Tribute that was due to them as one of their Colonies; and that the *Irish* Monarch *Aodhbmac Ainmhirogh*, having refus'd him these two last; he Prophetically told that Monarch before the Parliament, That *Scanlane Mor* King of *Offery*, should be freed that very Night by God Himself, and be with him where ever he chanc'd to be before Mid-night Prayers, and that *Scotland* should never more pay Tribute to *Ireland*: Both which Predictions were to a Title accomplish'd. They further tell us, That in Obedience to the Holy Bishop *Molaisse's* Penance put upon him, of never seeing *Ireland*, That, during the whole time of his going thither, and of his staying there, and returning back, he had a Searcloth hanging down before his Eyes, so that he never saw Light all the while. But *Adamianus* an Author of better Credit, tells us (p), That *Columba*, one Night in Extacy, saw an Angel with a Book in his Hand, which he calls *Vitreus Ordinationis Regum Liber*, and that he order'd him to read it; and when he found that he was there commanded to Anoint *Aidlanus*, he refus'd, having a greater Love for his Brother, whom he calls *Jogenanus*: Upon which he was smitten by the Angel of the Lord, and the Impression of the Stroke remain'd upon him all the Days of his Life, and threatned him with further Correction, if he did not obey. Having appear'd Three Nights to him, with the Book in his hand, at length

(k) Lesly, de Gestis Scot. Lib. 4. (l) Buch. in Vita Congelli. (m) Bed. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 3. (n) Adam. Vir. Col. (o) See Welsh Prospect of Irel. Pag. 105. (p) Ada. Vir. St. Columb. Lib. 3. Cap. 5.

length *Columba* Anointed *Aidanus*; and in a Speech Prophetically told him, That if he and his Heirs would Protect him and his Relations, their Enemies should not be able to prevail against them; but if they did not, that the Angel of the Lord, who smote him for his sake, would smite him and his more severely, and the Hearts of his Subjects should be turn'd from him, and his Enemies prevail against him.

But whatever Truth be in this, 'tis certain that all our Historians affirm, that *Columba* Crown'd *Aidanus*, and that after the Coronation, some Noblemen fell at Discord at a Match of Hunting; upon which several of them, fearing the King's Wrath, (who was a severe Administrator of Justice) fled to *Brudeus* King of the *Picts*, and being Remanded by *Aidanus*, they were refus'd; upon which the Two Nations made several Incurfions upon one another, and at length came to a Battel, which was fought at *Striveling*; where, tho' the *Scots* obtain'd the Victory, yet it was dearly purchas'd; for *Aidanus's* Eldest Son, whom *Boetius* calls *Arthur*, and *Buchanan* *Griffen*, a Prince of great Hopes, and *Brenden* his Nephew, with diverse of the Nobility were kill'd.

Columba, being extremely griev'd at this Accident, gave the King a severe Reproof for making War upon his Neighbouring Prince, for so slight an Occasion, and by his Prudence and Management, procur'd a Peace betwixt the Two Nations. But this Peace lasted not long; for, by the Instigation of *Ethilfred* King of *Northumberland*, the *Picts* were induc'd to make fresh Incurfions upon the *Scots*; so that *Aidanus* was compell'd to take up Arms: *Columba*, being advertis'd of the Necessity that he was put to, order'd that Prayers should be made for the King and his Army. The King having obtain'd the Victory, it was generally ascrib'd to *Columba's* Prayers; for as it is reported by the Authors of his Life, immediately after the Enemy's Overthrow he call'd his Collegues together, and desir'd them to turn their Prayers to Thanksgiving, for the King had obtain'd the Victory, tho' the Place of Battel was distant from *Hey*, where *Columba* was, at least 200 Miles.

Not long after this, St. *Columba* died in his Monastery at *Hey*, upon the 5th of the *Ides of June* (q), in the Year 597, in the 77th Year of his Age, and was Buried in the Church of the Monastery.

He was certainly a Person of great Sanctity; and, if we may believe *Adamanus* and the other Writers of his Life, he wrought many Miracles, and had many extraordinary Revelations: One of which I shall here relate, because it has been much insisted upon in a late Controversy (r). There came to *Columba*, in *Hey*, one that demean'd himself as humbly as he could, that none might know that he was a Bishop; but yet that could not be conceal'd from the Holy Man *Columba*: For on the Lord's Day, as they were Consecrating the Sacrament, on the sudden *Columba* look'd him in the Face, and said to him, "*Christ* ble's thee my Brother, Thou, being a Bishop, break this Bread alone as a Bishop uses to do; now we know that thou art a Bishop, why hast thou hitherto endeavoured to conceal thy self, that we might not give thee due Veneration?"

The Catalogue of his Works. *Regula Monastica quæ extat, & vulgo Columkill dicitur. Hymnus in Laudem S. Kierani. Tres alii Hymni. vid.*

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Jacob.

Jacob. Waræus, *de Scrip. Hibern. Lib. 1. Pag. 15.* The Works of St. Columba in *Irish* Verse are, *Inter Cod. Laud. Vid. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. Par. 1. N. 784.*

JONAS.] I shall take no further Notice of the Arguments brought by the *Irish* Writers, for proving that this Monk and several other Writers after mention'd were Born in their Country, since they are all founded upon their being call'd *Scots* Men; but proceed to give an Account of them from their own Writings and the Writings of those who were Co-temporary with them (a).

From an obscure Passage in the Life of *Attila*, written by *Jonas*, some Learn'd Men (b) have thought that he was Born in *Italy*; and it being evident from his other Works, that he was a *Scots* Man and the Disciple of St. *Columbanus*, they have been oblig'd to make Two Monks of this Name, the one an *Italian* and the other a *Scots* Man, both of them Monks of *Luxovil* and *Bobio*: But it seems more probable, that *Jonas*, speaking of himself as an *Italian*, proceeds from his living in *Italy*; as *Facundus* calls *Faustus* Bishop of *Reis* a *French* Man, from his long Residence amongst them, tho' it be certain that he was Born in *Britain*.

Tho' this Monk has oblig'd the World with an Account of the Lives of some Eminent Persons, yet we know little or nothing of his own, but that he was Educated in the Monastery of *Hey* under *Convellanus*; who accompany'd *Columbanus* in all his Travels through *France*, *Switzerland* and *Italy*, and was an Abbot, about the Year 665. But of what Monastery is not certainly known, some thinking it was of *Luxovil* (c), and others of *Bobio*.

He was certainly a Studious Man and one of great Piety, but too much given to the Belief of Miracles, which was not so much his Fault, as the Fault of the Age he liv'd in. The Catalogue of his Works: *Scripsit. Vitam S. Columbani, quæ habetur apud Surium ad Waldebertum & Bolenum Abbates Bobii & Luxovii. Novemb. 21. & Mabilon. Sec. Benedict. Tom. 2. Pag. 5. Vitam Eustasii Luxoviensis, Abbatis apud Surium 29 Martii. Et apud Mabil. Sec. Bened. Tom. 2. Pag. 115. Vitam Attalæ, Abbatis Bobiensis, apud Surium, 10 Martii. Vitam Bertulphi, Abbatis Attalæ Successoris, apud Surium 19 Augusti, & apud Mabil. Sec. Bened. Tom. 2. Pag. 160. Vitam S. Joannis Reomaensis, Monasterii Fiedatoris & primi Abbatis, quæ a Roverio cum Notis Edita est, Paris. 1637. in Historia Abbatum Reomanensium. Vitam S. Ulfranni, apud Sur. die 20 Martii. Vitam S. Faræ, apud Mabil. Sec. Bend. 2. Pag. 439.*

ST. GILES was Born in the Year 545 (a), and had his Education in the Monastery of *Hey* with *Columbanus*, under *Congellus* or *Convalanus*; and was one of the 12 Monks that went with him to *France*, in the Year 590. being then in the 45th Year of his Age. Having stay'd with *Columbanus*, for some Years, in the Monastery of *Luxovil*, he went into *Switzerland*, where he Converted several Thousands of People to the Christian Religion: And, tho' he was earnestly press'd to accept of the Bishoprick of *Constance*, he could not be prevail'd upon to accept of that Dignity, but procur'd it to be conferr'd upon one of his Dis-

(a) Vid. Gerard. Jo. Vossius de Hist. Lat. Lib. 2. Pag. 255. (b) Phil. Lab. Dissert. de Scrip. Ecclesi. (c) Joa: Bon: de Div: Psal: (a) Vid: Guil: Cave Hist: Liter: & Demp: Hist: Ecclesi: Gent: Scot: Vit: St: Gal: apud Sur: die 16 Octob: S: Jonas in Vita St: Columb:

Disciples call'd *John*, whom he Consecrated in St. *Steven's* Church in that City. After which he retir'd himself into a Monastery; which he Erected by the Favour and Assistance of *Sigibert* King of *Wesstrick*, in the Country of *Targom*, where he died of a Fever, in the Year 640, being the 95th Year of his Age.

He is said to have been descended from the Royal Blood of *Scotland*, and to have perform'd many Miracles, both during his Life and after his Death; which may be seen at large in his Life, written by *Walfri-dus Strabo* one of the Monks of that Monastery, who Flourish'd in the Ninth Century. Posterity has so Honour'd his Memory, that several Churches has been Erected under his Patronage, and amongst these the Cathedral of *Edinburgb*. His Successors in the Monastery were made Princes of the Empire, in the Year 1226. and they are now so Powerful that they can raise (b) 6000 Men. The Catalogue of his Works. *Sermo Constantiæ in Templo S. Stephani, in Consecratione Joannis Episcopi Constantiensis, habitus apud Canis. Antiq. Lektion. Tom. 1. Pag. 896. Epistola ad Desiderium Cadurcensem, Episcopum apud Usser. Epist. Hibern. Sylog. Pag. 23. Cum aliis quibusdam Epistolis, apud Canis. Tom. 5. Pag. 526. Ad Joannem Constantiensem, Ecclesiam Gubernandi forma. Monita Salutaria ad Walmarum Presbyterum. Conciones, quæ forsan habentur inter Galli nostri Opuscula a Caspare Barthio cum suis Commentariis Edita, Francof. 1623. 8vo. Librum enim non vidi.*

CUMIN] This Abbot was likewise one of S. *Columbanus's* Disciples, as *Jonas* tells (a) in the Life of that Saint; and he is commonly known amongst the Learn'd, by the name of *Cuminus Albus*, or the white *Cumin*. He was made Abbot of *Hey*, in the Year 657. and died in the Year 669 (b); which is all that we know of his Life.

We have a very large Penitential of his, in which there are several Remarkable things, for showing us what the Discipline of the *Scots* Monks then was. For there we may find, that they confess'd their most Secret Sins, and their Great Sins were punish'd with long Penances, and the lesser with many days of Penance; The eating of Blood and of things strangl'd, was forbidden amongst them; The Fast of Lent was commanded; All sorts of Pollutions punish'd with Penances; The Coelibacy of Superior Clerks and Profess'd Monks was Commanded; Marriage was not permitted to be upon *Sundays*; All Married Persons were desired to abstain from the Use of Marriage Three Days before they received the Communion; Bigamy, Usury, Inhospitality and Uncharitableness were Punish'd with severe Penances; Clerks, that gave not their Superfluities to the Poor, were Excommunicated; As they likewise, who did Communicate with a Heretic. Those, who were Baptis'd by such as held Erroneous Opinions about the Trinity, were Re-baptis'd; Those who were Ordain'd by Heretics, Re-ordain'd; Those, who were guilty of any Irreverence at the Receiving of the Sacrament, were put to severe Penance; Their ordinary Penances were Fasting, Separation from the Church, and Entrance into Religious Orders in case of Necessity; Confession that was only made to God was held sufficient; Every one (contrary to the Custom of the

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Greek

(b) Morery, Diction. Geograph. & Hist. (a) Jonas, Vit. St. Col. Cap. 13. apud Dempst. Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot. Lib. 3. Pag. 163. (b) Guil. Cave, Hist. Liter.

Greek Church) had the Liberty to Communicate or not, without incurring any Penance; They offer'd Prayers for the Dead, and Fasted for them; And Women were permitted to receive the Sacrament with a black Vail. These Things I thought fit to take Notice of, for Illustrating the Discipline of the Scots Church in that Age. The Catalogue of his Works. *Scripsit Vitam S. Columbæ, primi Abbatis Hyensis in Britannia, quæ habetur a Mabillonio, edita Sec. Benedict. 1. Pag. 361. Epist. ad Sigen. Abbat. Hyens. apud Usser. Epist. Hybernic. Sylog. Alia ei tribuit Dempsterus Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 3. Pag. 163.*

ADAMANUS, or **ADAMNANUS**, was Born in the Year 624 (a), in the Reign of *Ferqubard I.* and had his Education in the Monastery of *Hey*, where he was Ordain'd Presbyter, and afterwards made their Abbot, upon the Death of *Fuilbeus*, in the Year 679, in the 55th Year of his Age.

The Government of *Eugenius VI.* Son to *Ferqubard II.* was committed to him, whom he carefully brought up in Letters, in Vertue and Piety. Whilst he was at *Hey*, *Arculfus*, Bishop of *Maux* in *France*, who had travell'd to the Holy Land, was driven by a Storm upon that Island, where being Humanly Entertained by *Adamanus*, he gave him an Account of his Travels in the Holy Land, which *Adamanus* afterwards Published.

His Pupil *Eugenius VI.* coming to the Throne, *Adamanus* was sent for to Court, and employ'd in an Embassy to *Alfred* King of *Northumberland*; between whom and *Eugenius* he establish'd a Peace, but could not prevail with him to be at Peace with the *Picts*; but after his Death, he perswaded *Eugenius VII.* to make Peace with *Garnard* King of the *Picts*, and to Marry *Spondana* his Daughter; but she was Murder'd not long after, being great with Child, by Two *Atbol*-Men, as she lay in Bed with the King, they designing to have kill'd him, but were mistaken in the Executing their Design. Upon this Accident, the Friendship between the Two Nations had almost turn'd into deadly Enmity, had it not been for *Adamanus*; for he not only dissuaded the King from making War upon the *Picts*, who had accus'd him of the Murder of his Queen; but likewise, from making War upon his own Subjects, for having caus'd him to Plead his Innocency in a Parliament call'd for that purpose. After he had thus Pacify'd the King, and thereby prevented a Civil War, he died, much Regreted by all Men, upon the 23d Day of *October*, in the Year 704, in the Eightieth Year of his Age. By what we have said, it appears that the Venerable *Bede* gives him a just Character, when he says, that he was *Vir Unitatis & Pacis Studiofissimus*, A Man most careful to preserve Unity and Peace. Yet 'tis said, that when he return'd from *Northumberland*, he press'd the Observation of the Ceremonies and Discipline of the *Romish* Church upon his Monks, which made some of them leave the Monastery, amongst whom *Disibodius* and *Levinus* are mention'd as Two. By what remains of his Writings, it appears that he was too Credulous, and a great Admirer of the Monastic Life: *Alcuin* in one of his Poems (b) commends him thus as one of the Great Ornaments of the Scots Nation.

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(a) Vid. Guil. Cave, Hist. Liter. and Spotisw. Hist. of the Church of Scotland, Lib. 1. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 1. Gerard. Joh. Voss. de Hist. Lat. Lib. 2. Pag. 259. (b) Bib. Berlin. Poë. 246. apud Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot.

Patricius, Cheranus, *Scotorum Gloria Gentis*
Atque Columbanus, Congallus, Adamianus atque
Præclari Patres, morum vitæque Magistri,
Hic pietas precibus horum nos adjuvet omnes.

The Catalogue of his Works, *De vita St. Columbæ, Lib. 3. apud Canis. Tom. 1. Par. 2. Pag. 562. De Locis Sanctis Lib. 3. apud Mabil. Sec Benedict 3. Par. 2. Pag. 502. De Paschate Legitimo, & Canones quidam. De quibus vid. Waræum, de Script. Hibern. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. Pag. 35. & Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 1. Pag. 5.*

AIDAN, Bishop of Lindisfarne, was brought up in the Monastery of *Hey*, under the Abbot *Segenius* (a), who was the Fifth Abbot of that Monastery from *Columba*, and was made Bishop of *Lindisfarne*. The occasion of which was this, The *Saxons*, having overcome the *Britains*, and brought the Country of *England* to an *Heptarchy*, by the Partition they made of it, they never were at Rest, but still making Encroachments upon one another, till at last one got all. *Ethilfred*, King of *Northumberland*, the greatest of them, after he had Reign'd 22 Years with great Avarice and Cruelty, was Kill'd by *Redwald* King of the East *Angles*, and *Edwin* whom he had expell'd, plac'd in his Throne. *Ethilfred* left behind him Seven Sons, *Eufred* or *Eansfred*, *Oswald*, *Ossaus*, *Oswin*, *Offas*, *Osmond*, *Ofik* or *Ofrick*, and one Daughter Nam'd *Ebba*; who, upon their Father's Death fled into *Scotland*, and were very Liberally entertain'd by King *Eugenius* IV. notwithstanding of the Emnity betwixt him and their Father whilst he liv'd. They remain'd Eighteen Years in *Scotland*, Exil'd from their Country, and were by the Care of *Eugenius*, Instructed in the Christian Religion and Baptiz'd. *Edwin* being Kill'd by *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, in the 17th Year of his Reign, they return'd all Home, *Ebba* only excepted, who remain'd still in *Scotland*. The Successor of *Edwin*, Nam'd *Ofrick*, parting the Kingdom with *Eufred* the Eldest Son of *Ethilfred*, was made King of the *Deirians*, and *Eufred* King of the *Bernicians*. These two; turning Apostates, and forsaking the Christian Religion, which they had once Embrac'd, were the Summer following depriv'd both of their Lives and Kingdoms, and *Oswald*, the second Son of *Ethilfred*, succeeded in both the Kingdoms; a Noble and Virtuous Prince, whose chief Study and Care was to promote the Christian Religion: For this end he sent Ambassadors to King *Donald* IV. then Reigning in *Scotland*, Intreating him to send him some Pious and Learn'd Man to Instruct his People in the Christian Religion. King *Donald*, recommending the Matter to the Clergy, one *Cormanus* was Consecrated Bishop and sent to him, but his Labours proving unprofitable, he return'd about the end of the Year, and in a Synod of the Bishops and Clergy, inform'd them that they were a People Stubborn and Froward, and that any Pains that could be taken upon them was lost, they neither being Desireous nor Capable of Instruction. The Clergy were extremely Griev'd to hear this, and whilst they were Debating about what they should do, *Aidanus* rose up and told them, "That by no means, they ought to
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" give

(a) Vid. Bed. Hist. Eccl. Lib. 3. Cap. 3, 5, 14, 15, 16, and 17. Spot. Hist. of the Ch. of Scot. Book 1. Pag. 14. Dempst. Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot. Lib. 1. Pag. 9. Camer. de Scot. Doct. Piet. & Fort. Lib. 3. Pag. 170.

“ give over a Work of that Nature, for that the bad Success of Bishop
 “ *Cormanus*’s Labours might possibly proceed from himself, that had not
 “ us’d the People Tenderly, nor, according to the Apostle’s Rule, *Feed*
 “ *them at first with Milk* ; and therefore he desir’d that some other
 “ Learn’d and Pious Man might be sent to them. This was no sooner
 Propos’d, than embrac’d by the whole Clergy, and none was thought
 fitter for this Service, than he who had given the Advice ; so that he
 was immediately Consecrated Bishop and sent to King *Oswald*. *Aidan*,
 taking alongst with him a great many Presbyters from *Hey*, and the o-
 ther Parts of the Country, were very well receiv’d by the King : And,
 having chosen *Lindisfarne*, now call’d *Holy Island*, for the Place of his
 Episcopal See, he built a great many Churches, and in a short time,
 if we may believe the Venerable *Bede*, viz. In Seven Days, he Baptized
 Fifteen Thousand Persons. For which Happy Success, he was much
 beholden to the King ; for Bishop *Aidan*, not understanding the *Saxon*
 Language, and the King understanding the *Scots*, interpreted everyone of
Aidan’s Sermons to them, so that it is hard to determine whether this Peo-
 ple was more Happy in their King or Bishop ; for as *Bede* Writes, “ All
 “ the Nations and Provinces within *Britain*, were at this Prince’s Devotion,
 “ yet his Heart was never lifted up within him, but still he shew’d
 “ himself Courteous, Affable, and most Compassionate to the Poor ;
 many Instances of which he gives, and amongst them this is one, “ Sit-
 “ ting at Table on *Easter* Day, and *Aidan* by him, when it was told that
 “ a Number of Poor Men were at the Gate expecting his Alms, he
 “ commanded to carry the Meat that was set before him to them,
 “ and the Platter of Silver wherein it was, to be broken in pieces
 “ and Distributed amongst them. *Aidanus* beholding it, took the
 “ King by the Right Hand, and Kissing it, said, *Nunquam marcescat hec*
 “ *manus*, never let this Hand Consume or Wither. Which, he says,
 came likewise to Pass. “ For, being Kill’d in Battel, and his Arm and
 “ his Hand cut off, the same was Inclos’d in a Silver Shrine, and re-
 “ main’d still uncorrupted in the Church of *St. Peter* at *Bamborough*. At
 length, after this Holy Prelate had Govern’d the See of *Lindisfarne*, for
 Seventeen Years, he Died in the Year 651, and was Buried there. Arch-
 Bishop *Spotiswood* from the Venerable *Bede*, gives him this Character (b).
 “ That he was an Example of Abstinence, Sobriety, Chastity, Charity,
 “ and all other Episcopal Virtues ; for as he Taught, so he liv’d, ‘was
 “ Idle at no Time, nor did he admit any of his Retinue to be so, but
 “ kept them in a continu’d Exercise, either Reading Scripture, or
 “ learning the Psalms of *David* by Heart. If he was invited to any
 “ Feast, as rarely he went, he made no stay, but after a little Refresh-
 “ ment taken, got away. In Preaching he was most Diligent, Trave-
 “ ling through the Country for the greater Part on Foot, and instruct-
 “ ing the People wheresoever he came. In a word, he was Deficient
 “ in no Duty requir’d of a good Pastor. The same *Bede* spends some
 whole Chapters, in giving an Account of his Miracles (where the Rea-
 der if he pleases may find them) and blames nothing in his whole Con-
 duct, but his not keeping of *Easter* after the Manner of the Church of
Rome, and even in this, he lessens the Matter when he says for him,

Quod

Quod suæ Gentis Auctoritate devictus, that he was overcome with the Authority of his Nation: *Et contra morem eorum qui ipsum miserant facere non potuit*, and could not keep it contrary to the Custom of them who had sent him. *Dempster* gives us this Catalogue of his Works: *Comm. in Script. Homil. Conciones*. But we have nothing of his remaining but *some Fragments of Conferences*, mention'd in *Bede*, who, in the Life of *St. Cuthbert* speaking of him, says, That as he was deservedly belov'd by them whilst he liv'd, and was had in Veneration by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of the *East Angles*, so after his Death he was accounted a Saint by them of the *Roman Communion*.

ST. FINAN, Bishop of *Lindisfarne* succeeded *St. Aidan* in his Bishoprick in the Year 651. This Prelate was likewise a Presbyter of the Island of *Hey* (a), and as I have said upon the Death of *St. Aidan*, he was consecrated Bishop; for, says *Bede*, *He receiv'd in his stead the Degree of Episcopacy, and was sent by the Scots in Hey to succeed him in the See of Lindisfarne* (b). And upon his Arrival there, says he, *He made a Church fit for an Episcopal See*: For it seems that the Church that *Aidanus* had Built, was only for the present Necessity, and by *Bede's* Words we may learn what sort of Churches the Scots had in these Days; for he says, *In Insula Lindisfarnensi, fecit Ecclesiam Episcopali sedi congruam, quam tamen more Scotorum, non de Lapide, sed de Robore Jesse totam composuit, atque Arundine texit, quam tempore sequenti Reverendissimus Archiepiscopus in honorem B. Petri Apostoli dedicavit, sed Episcopus Loci illius Eadbertus ablata arundine, Plumbi Laminis eam totam, hoc est tectum, & ipsos quoque Parietes ejus co-operiri curavit*. By which we find, that their Churches then were all of Oak, and Thatch'd with Reeds. *Finan* was no sooner settled in the Bishoprick of *Lindisfarne*, but he was Challeng'd to a Dispute by one *Romanus*, or *Conanus* as others call him. This *Romanus* (whom I believe was so call'd, from his Zeal in maintaining the *Roman Rites*) was by Birth a Scots Man, but having Travell'd to *Rome*, he became a Zealous Defender of the Rites and Ceremonies of that Church, especially in the Observation of *Easter*; and hearing that Bishop *Finan* was no less Zealous on the other hand, in maintaining the Rites of the Eastern Church, then receiv'd in *Scotland*, he came to *Northumberland*, and as I have said, Challeng'd the Bishop to a Dispute: To which our Bishop Answer'd, That he was very willing to Dispute with him, but that he could assure him, that as long as he liv'd, he would make no Alteration in the Rites of the Scots Church. *Romanus*, hearing this, push'd the Affair no further, but return'd to *Kent*, where he had liv'd for some time. After this, Bishop *Finan* prov'd so successful in his Labours, that he Converted and Baptized *Penda* King of the *Middle-Angles* with all his Court, and then gave him four Presbyters, viz. *Cedda*, *Adda*, *Betti* and *Diuna*, to Baptize the rest of his People. The last of these *Diuna*, who was a Scots Man, he afterwards ordain'd Bishop of that Province of *Mercia*; and he is plac'd first in the Catalogue of the Bishops of *Lichfield*. *Finan* also Baptized *Sigibert* King of the *East-Angles*, with his Court; and finding the Work of the Go-

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(a) Vid. *Bede Hist. Eccles. Lib: 3: Cap: 17: 25: 21: 22: Spotiswood's Hist: of the Ch: of Scot: Bopk 1: Pag: 15: (b) Vid: *Bede Hist. Eccles. ubi sup:**

spel prosper so in his Hands, says *Bede*, He sent for two other Bishops to Assist him in the Ministry of Ordination, and he with them ordain'd Cudda Bishop of the East-Angles.

At length, after *Finan* had Govern'd the Churches of *Northumberland*, the space of Ten Years, he Died at *Lindisfarne*, and was Buried in the Church that he had Built there, in the Year 661. *Dempster* gives us this Catalogue of his Works, *Scripsit* (says he) *pro veteri Paschatis ritu, Monita Salutaria, ad Ferquhardum Regem*. *Bede* makes mention of his Book upon *Easter*; but we have lost it, and our Historians tell us, that *Ferqubard* was a very wicked Prince, which is the Reason I suppose, that *Dempster* makes *St. Finan* write a Book of Spiritual Advic esto him.

ST. FIACRE.] This Prince was Second Son to *Eugenius IV.* King of *Scotland* (a), and was brought up in all Virtue and Literature under *Conanus* Bishop of *Man*; but taking a Disgust at the World, he stole privately to *France*, and coming to *Pharo* Bishop of *Meaux*, he acquainted him of his Resolution of leading the rest of his Life in some solitary Desert. The Bishop, approving of his Design, he Built a small Cell for himself in the Forrest of *Fordille*, where he spent the Remnant of his Days in great Devotion, Dying upon the 30th of *August* in the Year 670. The Writers of this Prince's Life, have told us of a great many Miracles that he perform'd whilst he was alive, and after he was Dead: But I shall only give the Reader an Account of Two of them, because both relate to the History of our Country, leaving the rest to be Read in the Authors I have Cited. The one happen'd in his own Lifetime, and is told by our Historians thus. The *Scots*, having De-thron'd *Ferqubard* his Eldest Brother, for his Vicious and Wicked Life, they sent over Ambassadors to *Clotarius II.* King of *France*, Intreating that he would endeavour to prevail with *Fiacre* to quit his Hermitage, and return to his Native Country, they designing to Settle the Government upon him as the lawful Heir of the Crown: He being acquainted of this, went to Prayers, and with many Tears besought God to confirm his Mind in the Resolution that he had taken, and Divert them by some visible Means from Disturbing his Solitude. God was pleas'd to hear him; for when they came unto him, he appear'd unto them Leprous and so Deform'd like, that the very sight of him amaz'd them; yet they resolv'd to know what Answer he would give them, intreating him to return to his Native Country, and to accept of the Government of the Kingdom, where he would find the Air more Healthful, and in a short time, by the help of Physicians, recover his Health. *Fiacre* at first excus'd himself, by reason of his Infirmity; but when he perceiv'd them to insist, "I have, said he, made Choice
" of this Condition of Life which you see, and am contented with this
" little Cell for my Dwelling, these Garments, (pointing to his Apparel)
" serve me for Clothing; and my Food is a simple Pottage of
" Herbs, which I Dress to my self, more I desire not, nor would I change
" this State of Life with the most Fortunate King in the World. I
" seem to you Deform'd, yet is my Body sound, and my Blood un-

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(a) Vid. Boet. Hist. Scot. Lib. 9. Lell. de Gest. Scot. Lib. 4. Gaguinus Hist. Fran: Lib. 3: Dupreau ad An. 648: Du-Chesne ad An. 1411. Camer: de Scot: Doct: Fort: & Piet, Pag: 168. Dempst. Hist. Eccles: Gent: Scot: Lib. 6: Pag. 278: Spotisf: Ch: Hist: Lib: 1. Pag. 21. Surius, Tom. 7. &c.

“ corrupted : But it is the Will of God I should look so, that I may
 “ be kept Humble, and learn to amend my Life. Go you therefore
 “ Home, and show my Brother and the Noblemen that sent you hither,
 “ that I live content in this private manner, and will not Change
 “ with any State whatsoever ; and from me, desire them to serve
 “ God purely, to live Justly, and entertain Peace amongst themselves;
 “ which if they do, they shall be always Victorious over their Enemies.
 Thus said, he Blessed them, and withdrew himself into his Cell.
 They finding that they could not prevail with him, return’d again to
Scotland and told the Governours of the Realm of all that happen’d :
 Whereupon his only Sister *Syra*, was so much mov’d with it, that she
 went to Visit him, accompany’d with a Train of young Ladies, and
 both she and they were so taken with his Exemplary Life, that they
 turn’d all Religious and went into a Cloyster in the City of *Meaux* :
 But *Camerarius* says, that she erected a Cloyster of her own in a small
 Village, which from her to this Day is call’d *St. Syre*, and that it was
 Famous for the great resort made to it, by People troubled with
 the Gravel, who were often Cur’d by her Intercession, for which he
 cites an Old Hymn which they Sung to her Praise, viz.

O Syre *virgo pura*
Regis Scotiæ filia,
Sancti Fiacrii soror,
Tu es stella eximia,
Præfulgens virginis gemma,
Campaniæ laus & honor,
Ad Sepulchrum confugiunt tuum
Populi, & sentiant sanitatis remedium.

But to return to *St. Fiacre* ; the other Miracle which many of the
French Historians relate, happen’d upon the Occasion of a War betwixt
France and *England* : For *Charles* King of *France*, finding, that *Henry*
V. of *England* had over-run a great part of *France*, and oblig’d him to
 Capitulate upon very hard Terms, he sent over to *Scotland*
 the Earl of *Vendosme* and the Chancellour of *France*, as Ambassadors to
 the Duke of *Albany* the Governour of *Scotland*, to renew the Ancient
 League between *Scotland* and *France* ; And to require some Aid and
 Assistance to Help and Support him against the powerful Invasion of
 the King of *England*. Whereupon the Governour call’d a Council, who
 order’d that *John Stewart* Earl of *Buchan*, Second Son to the Gover-
 nour *Robert* Duke of *Albany*, and *Archbald Douglass* Earl of *Wigton*
 Son to the Earl of *Douglass*, should go to *France* with Seven Hundred
 Choise Men. The King of *England* being inform’d of this, to
 cause the *Scots* keep Home, Threatned to Invade *Scotland* with a power-
 ful Army : But notwithstanding of this, the *Scots* being noways a-
 fraid of them, sent over to *France* Seven Hundred well Arm’d Men, to
 the great Comfort of the *Daulphin* King *Henry’s* Mortal Enemy. A-
 mongst those who Commanded these Seven Hundred Men, were the
 Earl of *Buchan* and his Brother *Robert*, Sons to the Governour of *Scot-*
land, the Earl of *Wigton*, *Alexander Lindsay*, Brother to the Earl of
Crawford, Sir *John Swinton*, Sir *William Stewart*, Sir *William Douglass*, Sir
John Turnbull, Sir *Robert Lisle*, Sir *William Cumminghame*, Sir *Alexander*

Meldrum; Sir William Hume, Sir John Balgouny, Sir William Lisle, Sir John Halibutson; Sir John Craibford, Sir William Kennedy, Sir John Gray, Sir John Cumling, Sir Robert Botce, Sir Archbald Forbes, Sir Duncan Cunningham, Hugh Kennedy and many other Persons of Note, and known Valour. The French, who knew, by a long Tract of Experience, how Valliant a People the Scots were, resolv'd to give the English Battel with the first occasion; which happen'd not long after, at a Place call'd *Bangy*, where the English were intirely Routed on *Easter Eve*, in the Year 1421; and their Commander in Chief the Duke of Clarence King Henry's Brother, in the first shoke of the Battel, was Kill'd by Sir John Swinton. In this Battel there also Died of the English, the Earl of Kent, Sir John Gray Earl of Tankerville, the Lord Ross, Sir John Lumly, and divers other Persons of Note, with Fifteen Hundred common Soldiers: And the Earls of *Huntington* and *Somerset*, *Thomas Beaufort Somerset's* Brother, and diverse others were taken Prisoners. But amongst the Scots, to whose Valour the Victory was ascrib'd, both by the French and English, we Read of none of Note that Died. The Dauphin, to shew how sensible he was of the Assistance he had receiv'd from the Scots, that same Day created the Earl of *Buchan* High Constable of France, and gave him sundry Towns, Castles and Lands to Enable him the better to maintain the Dignity.

King Henry, hearing of the Death of his Brother, and the Defeat of his Army, and how the Scots had been so Instrumental in it, went with all Expedition over to France, taking alongst with him James the First of that Name King of Scotland, whom he then had Captive; hoping by his Means, either to draw the Scots to his Service, or else, at least, to withdraw their Aids from the Dauphin, by the sight of their own King under his Standard. But this had no effect, for the Scots continu'd still faithful to the French, neither would that Prince command Obedience from them, as we have observ'd in his Life. The King of England finding this, laid Siege to all the Towns where the Scots were Garison'd, and in all his Capitulations, this was always one Article, That the Scots should be deliver'd to King Henry, and left to his Disposition to be dealt withal, according to his Will and Pleasure.

This Prince, having taken the City of Meaux, and demolish'd the Monastery and Shrine of St. Fiacre, because he was a Scot, was suddenly Seis'd with a Gangren in his Anus, of which, in spite of all the Remedies that could be us'd, he Died in the midst of his Triumphs and Victories, in the Flower of his Youth, upon the last Day of August, in the Tenth Year of his Reign, in the Year 1422. Now because he was suddenly Seis'd with this Gangren, upon the Demolishing of St. Fiacre's Shrine, it was noway doubted, but that this had befallen him, for Violating the Ashes of our Saint, and 'tis said, that he himself when he was Dying had this Reflection upon it, That it was very strange that the Scots had such an Inveterate Hatred at the English, that even those who were in Heaven could not forgive them.

The Catalogue of this Saint's Works, according to *Dempster*, are, *All St. Syram Sororem de Monastice vite Laude Lib. ii. Meditationes Lib. ii.* The former of these Books he says, to be in MSS. at Meaux. But I believe we have nothing of his Extant but his Speech to his Ambassadors, and 'tis hard to know whether that was his or not.

COLMAN Bishop of *Lindisfarne*] This Author likewise, if we may believe the *German Writers* (a), was of the Royal Family of *Scotland*, but taking himself to a Religious Life in the Island of *Hey*, he enter'd into Holy Orders, and was in so great Authority, that nothing was done at Court without his Advice; in so much, that the Nobility designing to Dethrone their King *Fergubard II.* were restrain'd from it by the Authority of this Prelate, who told them, *That the Punishment of Kings belong'd to God, and that He ere it were long would take Vengeance of his Wickedness*; which as he foretold came to pass. For the King, after a few Days, being at Hunting, happen'd to be Bitten by a Wolf, and falling into a Fever, the Wound so putrified, that such Quantities of Lice and Vermine came out of it, that he became a loathsome Burden to himself, and all that were about him; Who being touch'd with the Remorse of his by-past Life, sent for *Colman*, to whom he express'd a hearty Repentance for what he had done, and earnestly intreated the Assistance of his Prayers; And to testify his Humiliation, he would needs be carried forth to the next Fields wrapped in Sackcloth, where, after an open Confession of his Sins, he was absolv'd by *Colman*, and shortly after yielded up his Soul to God.

The Bishoprick of *Lindisfarne* falling Vacant, by the Death of *St. Finan*, *Colman* was prefer'd to it; And either upon the Account of his Quality, or that he had a larger Jurisdiction than any of his Predecessors, we find he had a higher Title bestow'd upon him: For, by a Writer then living, he is call'd (b) *Colman Metropolitan of the City of York*; and there he Govern'd, says *Bede*, till the Thirtieth Year of the Episcopacy of the Scots (c); for *Aidan* held the Bishoprick Seventeen Years, *Finan* Ten Years, and *Colman* Three Years, for he kept it no longer. In his time the Controversy about *Easter* was very hotly Disputed, and great Pains taken to bring him to a Conformity with the Rites of the *Romish Church*; but he would not forsake the Discipline of his own Church. At length, after diverse Conferences, a Public Dispute was condescended upon, for deciding the Question. The Place was chosen at *Whitby*, (which *Bede* calls *Sternshalt*) a Religious House in *Tork-shire*, whereof *Hilda* a Learn'd and Devote Woman was Abbess. This Woman was a great Enemy to all the Rites of the *Romish Church*, especially to the Clerical Tonsure. The Day appointed being come, *Oswy King of Northumberland* and *Elfred* his Son were personally present, and a great many of the Clergy. The Reasoners were Bishop *Colman*, on the One part, assisted by the *Scottish Clergy* and the Abbess *Hilda*; and on the Other Part *Agilbert* a French Man Bishop of the East Saxons, *Wilfrid*, *Agatho*, *Jacob*, *Romanus*, Presbyters; *Cedda*, lately Consecrated a Bishop by the Scots, was chosen *Partis utriusque Interpres*, which Bishop *Spotiswood* (d) thinks was the Recorder of all that should be spoken by either Party or enacted in that Conference and Meeting. But having given a sufficient Account of this Controversy before, I shall trouble the Reader no further with it, but if he be desirous to see the Conference betwixt Bishop *Colman* and *Wilfrid*, he will find it at large in *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, and in Bishop *Spotiswood* in the Place last Cited. After this

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(a) Ap. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 3. Pag. 141. vide etiam Camer. de Scot. Doct. Piet. & Fort. Lib. 3. Pag. 179. vide de hoc Sancto, Bed. Lib. 3. Cap. 27. Baron. Tom. 2. ad An. 1012 Wolfangus Laz. Lib. 8. Vivon. lig. Vit. Lib. Buch. Brit. Luc. Spot. &c. (b) Steph. Hedii, vit. Wilfridii. (c) Bed. Hist. Lib. 3. C. 26. (d) Lib. 1 Pag. 16.

*Dumque diversos populos pererrat.
Rhæticas tandem veniens ad Oras &c.*

The Catalogue of his Books according to *Dempster, Pro Sociis Quarto-decimanis. De Insura Clericorum. Exhortatio ad Hebridianos.* Which last Book, he sayes, is in MSS. in the King's Library at *Paris*. But I believe, there is nothing of his extant but the Conference betwixt him and *Wilfrid* recorded by the Venerable *Bede*, and if it was as he has Recorded it, he has been a Person of greater Piety than Learning, for he makes him Defend himself and his Cause but very meanly.

ST. DISIBOD a Scots Bishop, went over to Germany from Scotland, in the Year 675 (a), or according to *Marianus Scotus*, in the Year 674, having stay'd for some time in Germany, he erected a Monastery in a place call'd after him, says *Arnold Wion* (b), *Mount Disibod* now *Disinberg* in the Lower Palatinate, and there Died upon the 8th of July, above Eighty Years of Age. *Hildegard*, a Nun, who had her Education under the Abbess *Jutta* in *Mount Disibod* wrote his Life, which is publish'd in *Surius's* Collection of the Lives of the Saints. Bishop *Lesly* (c) gives him a large *Encomium* for his great Piety and Learning; and *Dempster* says, that he saw a Book of his *de Monachorum profectu in Solitudine agentium*.

ST. CUTHBERT or **COLBERT**, Bishop of *Lindisfarne*] We have the Life of this Holy Prelate written by the Venerable *Bede* both in Prose and Heroic Verse (a); but he gives us no Account of his Country. *John Tinnmouth* and *John Capgrave*, in their Legend of his Life, make him come from Ireland, and to be the Son of an Irish King. But a great many others say, that he was born in Scotland (b): And this Opinion seems highly probable to me, for these two Reasons, First, Because his Name is one of the most Ancient Scots Names that we have, for there lyes Buried in the *Cordeliers* at *Rheims*, one of this Name, who came from Scotland in the 12th Century (c) and upon his Tomb is this Inscription, in old Gothic Letters,

*Cy Gift Ly Præux Chevaliers
Richard Colbert Dict ly Escossois K. 1. F. 1300.*

Then follows Three or Four Words that cannot be Read, after which are these,

Pries pour l'Ame de Ly

In the middle of the Stope, is Engraven his Arms, being a *Serpent tortille en Pal* and beneath them are these Two Verses in Gothic Letters. like wise,

*En Escosse Je vis le Berceau
Et Rheims m'a donné le Tombeau.*

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(a) Vid: Joh, Trith: Lib. 3. de viris Illustr: Ord: St: Bened: Dempst: Hist: Eccl: Gent: Scot: Lib: 4: Pag: 205 Sir James Ware of Irish writ, Book 1. Pag: 11: (b) Lib: 11: Lig: vit: Cap: 58. (c) Lessl. de Gest: Scotorum Lib. 4: (d) Bed: Hist: Eccl: Gent: Ang: Lib: 4: (b) Vid: Dempst: Hist: Eccl: Gent: Scot: Lib: 3: Pag: 135. (e) Vid. Mar: Grand: Dict: Hist: & Geog:

Secondly, *Bede* tells us, that he was brought up from his Infancy, in the Monastery of *Melrose*, which evidently shows him to have been a *British Scot*. In this Monastery, he was first under the Care of the Abbot *Eata*, and afterwards under the Abbot *Boisil*. Upon whose Death he was made Abbot himself, which Office he Discharg'd for some Years with great Honour and Integrity; at length, by the Perswasion of *Eata* Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, he quit the Monastery and came to Assist him in the Work of the Ministry, which he did for some Years with great Success; but Affecting a retir'd Life, he went from *Lindisfarne*, to the Island of *Farne* distant about Three Leagues in the Sea; and here he remain'd till he was chosen Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, which Dignity he very unwillingly accepted of, but at length, being overcome by the Importunity of King *Egfrid* and others, he was Consecrated in the King's presence at *Tork*, by the Arch-Bishop on *Easter* Day, in the Year 684. But *Bede* says, "That *Cuthbert* was first Elected Bishop of *Hagulfstad*, in the room of *Trumbert* deposed: But because he liked better to be Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, where he was more Conversant, it was agreed, that *Eata*, being return'd to the Government of the See of *Hagulfstad* to which he was first ordain'd, *Cuthbert* should be Bishop of *Lindisfarne*. But after Two Years, continues *Bede*, he return'd to the Isle of *Farne*, where he ended his Days on the 20th of *March*, in the Year 686. Our Historians give many Instances of the Kindness that this Saint has shown to our Kings and Country, upon which account many Churches are Consecrated to his Memory in *Scotland*. They who would have a full Account of the History of his Miracles; will find them in the 4th Book of *Bede's* Ecclesiastic History, and in the Life of that Saint; in the 11 Tom. of *Surius's* Collection of the Lives of the Saints, and in *John Timmoth's* Life of this Saint, publish'd by *Canisius*, Tom: 5. *Antiq. Lect. Fol.* 106. The Catalogue of his Works, according to *Dempster*, are, *Exhortationes ad Fratres. Regula Monastica*. Which last is mention'd by *John Timmoth*.

ST. CHILIAN, or **KILIAN**, Bishop of *Wirtzburg* (a), was first a Monk, and then an Abbot, but of what Monastery is uncertain: But it seems that he was a Violent maintainer of the Rites of the Church of *Rome*, for all those who give any Account of him, tell us, That he finding that the *Scots* Church was not like to Comply with the Church of *Rome*, he left his Monastery, and went over to *Germany* with *Colonatus* a Presbyter, (and not *Colman*, as *Dempster*, *Camerarius* and *Sir James Ware* say) *Theotrianus* a Deacon and some others. Upon their Arrival at *Herbipolis*, now call'd *Wirtzburg*, they found that *Gosbertus*, the Governour of that City, was lately Married to his Brother's Widow. *St. Kilian*, being extremely surpriz'd to find this Tolerated in a City, where Christianity was profess'd, went straight to *Rome*, where he made a heavy Complaint to the Pope of it: But the Pope excusing himself upon the Account of the Governour's being a Heathen, he told him that he could not but mightily commend his Zeal, and that he thought that none was fitter than he to be sent there to Reclaim the Governour. And that he might do it with greater Authority, he erected

(a) Vid: *Démoch: de Mis: Sacr: in Car. Epif: Herbip: & Alit: apud Demp: Hist: Eccl: Lib: 10: Pag: 407: & apud Camer: Lib: 3: Pag: 163. Spotif: Lib: 1: Pag: 19:*

erected *Wurtzburg* into an Episcopal See, and Consecrated St. *Kilian* Bishop. Upon which, our Saint return'd to *Wurtzburg*, and not only Converted Duke *Gosbert* the Governour, but almost all *Franconia*. At length, finding himself absolute Master of the Governour's Passions and Inclinations, he told him how it was against the Law of God for him to continue in Wedlock with his Brother's Wife, and that nothing could atone for his Sin but a Divorce. *Gosbert*, having acquainted his Wife *Geilana* of this, she resolv'd to be avenged on St. *Kilian* and his Companions; so having engaged some Murderers to take away their Lives, he and they were Strangled in their Chambers: And lest the Murder should be Discover'd, their Bodies, Books, and Vestments were all hidden under the Ground: Which Villany was committed upon the 8th of July, in the Year 689 (b). But *Burchard*, his Successor caus'd raise their Bones and interr'd them decently in the Church of the City. Upon which, *Ængelbardus Finkius* Doctor of the Decrees, who liv'd about the Year 1613, made this Exaltic,

*Hi sunt Herbipolis qui te docuere Magistri
Qua verum coleres Religione Deum.
Impia quos tandem jussit Geilana necari,
Celavitque sub hunc Corpora cæsa locum
Ne turpi, sine Laude, situ defossa jacerent
Corpora, Burchardus sub monumenta locat.*

Which is render'd thus by the Translator of Sir James Ware's Book of Irish Writers,

*These be the Men who taught this Heathenish Town,
To Banish Idols and serve God alone;
Whom Geilan Slew and Hid, not out of Shame,
But with their Bodies to Destroy their Name.
Burchard their Reliques here in Marble lays,
That so her Malice mayn't out-live their Praise.*

This Saint's Life is extant in the IV Tome of *Surius's* Collection of the Lives of the Saints, and in the IV Tome of *Canisius's* Collections. The Catalogue of his Works, according to *Dempster*, are, *Contra Arrianismum. Contra Peregrinos Cultus. Monita ad Gosbertum Ducem, super Divortio cum fratris uxore.* *Possvine* the Jesuit, in his *Apparatus*, mentions his Book against the *Arrians*.

ST. FLORENTIUS Bishop of Strasburg] (a). This Prelate was descended from a Noble Family, and born to an Opulent Fortune; in his younger Years he apply'd himself to the *Belles Lettres*, Philosophy and Theology. But affecting a retir'd and solitary Life, he left his own Country, and went over to *Germany*; And in the Country *Alsace*, upon the River *Hasel*, built a small Cell for himself, where he liv'd with such a Strickness and Holiness of Life, that he became the Wonder and Admiration of all the Adjacent Countries. The Noise of which coming to the Ears of *Dagobert* King of *France*, who at that time had his Daughter *Rathildis* lying Sick of a Disease that had

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(b) Sir James Ware's Hist: Irish Writ. (a) Vid. vitæ St. Flor. apud Suri. & Haracum, Pag. 833. vid. etiam Demp. Hist: Eccles: Gent: Scot: Lib. 6. Pag. 277. Camer. de Scot. Piet: Lib. 3. Pag. 186. Spotif: Lib. 1. Pag. 21.

depriv'd her both of her Sight and Speech, he sent to him and desir'd the Assistance of his Prayers for the Recovery of his Daughter, which our Holy Hermite very willingly comply'd to, and so it pleas'd God, that she recover'd; which *Dagobert*, ascribing to St. *Florentius's* Prayers, caus'd build a Magnificent Abby nigh to his Cell, and, by earnest Intreaties and Solicitations gain'd him to accept of the Government of it. After he had govern'd this Abby, which was call'd the *Abby of Haseluh*, for several Years, upon the Death of *Rotharius* Bishop of *Strasburg*, St. *Florentius* was promoted to that See, which he Govern'd for Twelve Years most wisely, giving daily instances of his Virtue, Learning, and Integrity, as well in the *Active* as *Contemplative* Life. Sometime before his Death he caus'd build a Monastery for *Scots* Men at the River *Bruschius* in *Alsace*, and placed therein *Argobastus*, *Theodotus* and *Hidolphus*, who had accompanied him from *Scotland*. At length, being well stricken in Years, he Died upon the 7th of *November*, in the Year 675, and was Buried in the foresaid Monastery which he had founded for his Country Men. *Dempster* says, That *Petrus Petavius* a *French* Lawyer at *Paris*, with whom he was acquainted, had a Book in MSS. written by this St. *Florentius*, in a very fair Hand, which he calls *Ordinatio sue Ecclesiae*. The Life and Miracles of this Saint are to be found at large in *Surius* and several others, who have written the Lives of the Saints.

ST. WILLIBRORD Arch-Bishop of *Utrecht* in *Holland*.] This Prelate, the *English* say, was Born amongst them. The *Frislanders* say, that he was Born amongst them, and *Hector Boetius* (a), *Dempster*, *Camerarius*, *Gasper Brusch* and others say that he was Born in *Scotland*. But *Alcuin* who wrote this Prelate's Life, both in Prose and Verse, and liv'd in the Century next to him, tells us, (b), that by Birth he was a *Britain*, and that he Studied for Twelve Years amongst the greatest Masters both of Religion and Philosophy in *Scotland*; so whether he means that by Birth he was an *English* *Saxon*, and brought up amongst the *Scots*, or that he was a *British* *Scot*, I shall leave to the Reader's Determination: And in the beginning of his second Book he says (as'tis very well Translated by a late Author (c).

*Fam'd Willibrord came from the Western Clime,
To see Blest France in good King Pepin's time.
Whose Wit and Virtue, Love with Wisdom Plac'd,
His Speech and Mind, his Mien and Actions grac'd.
Britain's kind Soil did give him Birth and Parts,
And Learn'd Scotland taught him Sacred Arts.*

But I must beg Pardon of the Translator, for putting in the Word *Scotland* instead of that of *Ireland*, as he has it, since *Alcuin* has the Word *Scotia*, which I humbly think better Translated *Scotland* than *Ireland*, and he makes use of the same Word and to the same Sense in this Epigram, publish'd by *Canisius* (d) upon *Wilgifus*, St. *Willibrord's* Father.

Nobilis

(a) Vide *Demp. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 19. Pag. 651.* *Camer. de Scot. Pict. Lib. 3. Pag. 186.* (b) *Vit. St. Willibr.* (c) The Translator of *Ware's Irish Writers.* (d) *Canis. Antiq. Lect. Tom. VI. Pag. 361.*

*Nobilis ille fuit magna de gente sacerdos,
Sed magnus multo nobilior meritis.
Ut dudum cecini secunda Britanniae Mater,
Patria Scotorum clara Magistra fuit.
Francia sed Felix rapuit.*

Being thus brought up in Letters, in the 33d Year of his Age, having a great desire of Preaching the Gospel to the Infidels, he Communicated his Design to Bishop *Egbert*, who approv'd of his Zeal; so taking Twelve others to assist him, they Embarked and Arriv'd at *Utrecht* in the Year 690. *Willibrord*, finding some hopes of Converting these People to the Christian Religion, went and acquainted King *Pepin* of it, who sent him to Pope *Sergius*, who for his further Encouragement Consecrated him Arch-Bishop of *Utrecht*, and of all the adjacent Provinces, upon St. *Cæcilia's* Day, in the Year 696, in the Church Consecrated to her Memory. After which, he return'd to *Utrecht* and Converted an incredible Number of Pagans, as may be seen at large in his Life written by *Alcuin*, and publish'd with his other Works by *Andrew du Chesne* at *Paris*, in the Year 1617. His Works, according to *Dempster*, are, *De sua Peregrinatione. Homiliæ. Ecclesiastici Canones. Epistolæ ad Diverfos*. But we have none of these extant; and it may very well be doubted if ever they were written, but his Will is extant in *Scribanius's Antwerpia*, and in *Miræus* his Account of the *Netherlands*, he Died according to *Gasper Brusch* in the Year 739, or according to *Camerarius* and others, in the Year 736, in the 81 Year of his Age.

SEDULIUS a Bishop, who liv'd towards the beginning of the Eight Century (a), went to *Rome* with one *Ferguslus* another Scots Bishop, about the Year 720. In the Month of *April*, in the Year 721 Pope *Gregory II.* call'd a Council at *Rome* in St. *Peter's* Church; where our Two Scots Bishops were present, with Twenty other Bishops, Eleven Priests and five Deacons. Pope *Gregory* was chosen President, and they made 17 Canons, which the Pope caus'd Publish sign'd under all their Hands, and amongst them our Bishop Subscribes himself *Britanniæ Episcopus de Genere Scotorum*. The Eleven first Canons of this Council, is against those who Marry within the prohibited Degrees, Persons Consecrated to God, the Wives of Priests or Deacons; and against those who run away with Widows and Virgins. The XII, is against those who consult Sorcerers and Necromancers, and those who make use of Charins. The XIII, is against those who possess Gardens or Places belonging to the Church. The XIV, XV, and XVI are against a particular Person who had Married a Diaconess, and the XVII against the Clergy who wore long Hair. What became of our Bishop after this, we know not, but it is very probable that he return'd to his own Country, and Died towards the beginning of the Ninth Century: For *Hepidanus* a Monk of St. *Gall*, in his Chronicle, brings him down to the beginning of the Ninth Century. The Two Learn'd Jesuits *F. Labbe* and *F. Sirmond* say, that his Commentary upon St. *Matthew*, which is in the Jesuites College of *Clermont*, cannot be under Seven or Eight Hundred Years old. Arch-Bishop

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Usher

(a) Vid: Phil: Labbe Differ: de Scrip: Ecclef: Tom: II: Pag: 334: Gul: Cave's Hist: Litter: Par: 1: M. Du Pin: Nou: Bib: des Aut: Ecclef: Tom: VI: Pag: 129. & Tom: VII: Pag: 177. Dempst: Hist: Eccl: Gent: Scot: Lib: 17. F. Simon Hist: Crit: des Princip. Coment. du Nouv: Test. Pag. 379.

Usher and several others, have taken this *Sedulius* to be the same with the Poet *Sedulius*, not knowing that this *Sedulius* cites in his Commentaries, *Sedulius* the Poet and several other Authors that liv'd after *Sedulius* the Poet's Death, and that this *Sedulius* was at *Rome* in the Year 721. We have two Commentaries of this Prelate still extant, the one Printed, the other in MSS. That which is Printed is a Commentary upon all the Epistles of St. Paul. That the Reader may have some Notion of his Learning and Parts, I shall give an Account of his Thoughts upon some Difficulties in these Epistles.

He observes, in the beginning of his Commentary explaining these Words of the Epistle to the *Romans*; *Gratia Vobis & Pax*; &c. v. 7. Ch. 1. To all you that be at *Rome*, beloved of God, call'd to be Saints: Grace be with you, and Peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ. He says, That there is something here Defective in the Apostle's Words, which he would have thus supply'd; I Paul a Servant of Jesus Christ, call'd to be an Apostle, Pray or Wish Grace and Peace be Multiply'd unto you from God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ. *Illud Animadvertendum est, quod & in Superioribus & in Præsenti Commate Eclipses, id est, defectus, necessariarum dictionum esse noscuntur. Itaque ut plena constructio constare queat, ipsa verborum Series in Ordinem sic disponatur. Ego Paulus servus Christi Jesu vocatus Apostolus --- Precor vel exopto, multiplicentur Gratia Vobis & Pax a Deo Patre Nostro & Domino Jesu Christo.* In all the Passages in these Epistles, where it would seem that the Apostle would make God the Author of our Sins, he follows the Greek Fathers, by Mollifying the Expressions, and saying, that we are to understand them so, that God only permits our Sins, and that by abandoning of God we abandon our selves to our own Passions. he being, noway the cause of it. Upon these Words, *Sicut scriptum est, quia non est justus quisquam*, &c. He says, That there are Eight Verses here cited by St. Paul, which are neither in *Hebrew*, nor in any of the Ancient Greek Versions; Yea, nor in those who Cite the Ancient vulgar Edition of the Septuagint. Now, those, says he, who ask, why St. Paul then has cited them, they know not that they are taken from different Places of Scripture, and principally from the *Psalms*: But there is not to be found in the most part of the Greek Copies of the 13 *Psalms*, what is Read here from *Sepulchrum Patens* --- till *Scimus autem*. This Learn'd Observation he has borrowed from St. Jerome. Upon these Words, *In quo omnes Peccaverunt*, Rom. 5. 12. he follows St. *Augustine*; for, he says, That 'tis in *Adam* that all have Sinned, and that even Children cannot be Purg'd from the Guilt of Original Sin but by the Baptism of Jesus Christ: And if it be objected, says he, That St. Paul seems to restrain v. 19. this Sin to *Many* only, and not to extend it to *All Men*; He Answers that the Words *Many* and *All* signify the same thing in this Epistle. *Et ut evidentius ostenderet omnes homines & multos homines idem esse, addit his, sicut per Inobedientiam unius, Peccatores constituti sunt multi.* Upon these Words of the same Epistle Rom. 8. 29. *Quos Præscivit & Prædestinavit*, he follows the Doctrine of the Fathers of the Grecian Church, saying, That God Elected only those whom He foresaw would devote themselves over to Him; *Hos quos Præscivit futuros devotos sibi, Hos elegit ad promissa Præmia capeßenda.* And when he explains these Words; *Quos autem Prædestinavit hos & Vocavit*, He Call'd those, says he, whose Faith He knew by His Pre-science

science : The Vocation or Calling, not making Men come to God, unless they please themselves. *Quos præscivit credituros hos vocavit; vocatio volentes colligit* ; In which he follows *Pelagius*, as he does in the most of his Commentary. He seems to have been no great Favourer of the Doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist; for, upon these Words, 1 Cor. 11. 24. *Hoc facite in meam Commemorationem*, he says, *Iesus Christus* left us this Ceremony to put us in Remembrance of Him, in the same manner as a Man, who undertaking a Voyage, leaves to his Friend some Token of his Friendship; *Suam memoriam nobis reliquit, quemadmodum si quis Peregrè proficissens, aliquod pignus ei quem diligit derelinquat*, &c. In which he follows *Pelagius*. I shall not trouble the Reader with any more of his Observations, since they are all of the like Nature; so that the Character given him, by one of the ablest Criticks of this Age (b), seems to be very just and fair. "It appears," says he, manifestly, that *Sedulius* has Copied in these Collections, "the greatest Part of the *Scholiums* of *Pelagius* upon the Epistles of St. Paul, and has even imitated him in his Style and in his Way; only "that he is larger than he, having Collected the Interpretations of many Commentators, which for the most part he does not so much as "name; which is the Reason, that tho' he frequently adheres to the "Literal Sense of the Text, yet sometimes he throws himself with St. "Augustine upon Theological and Mystical Interpretations. And this "is the Reason why he is so often inconsistent with himself.

The Learned F. *Sirmond* tells us, that his Commentary upon St. Matthew's Gospel, which is still in MSS. in the College of Clermont, is of the same Nature with his Commentary upon the Epistles of St. Paul. Besides these, in the Catalogue of the Famous *Thuan's* Library, there is mention made of some Grammatical Pieces written by one *Sedulius*, which are generally ascrib'd, by the Learned, to our Author. The Catalogue of his Works, *Collectaneorum, seu Explanationes in Epistolas S. Pauli, ex Patrum Scriptis confarctatæ* Basil. 1528. & 1534. in Fol. & in Bib. Pat. Tom. vi. Pag. 494. *Collectaneorum in Evangelium D. Matthæi*, MSS. Ext. in Bib. Soc. Jesu Collegii de Clermont. *Grammatica. Quædam Opuscula*, MSS. in Bib. *Thuana*.

ST. WILIBALD Bishop of Eychstat.] The English Writers say, that this Prelate was Born amongst them, and that he was no less than one of their King's Sons call'd *Richard*: All which is prov'd from Four Monkish Verses made upon St. *Winibald* his Brother, which are these (a),

*Hic Winibaldus, Richardi Filius almus,
Qui Regnum Anglorum mox linquens, hoc Monachorum
Claustum fundavit, Benedictique rigavit
Nomine, septingento quinquagesimoque Anno.*

But, as *Camerarius* has very well observ'd, there was no such King in England at that time, neither had it the Name of England; and we have several Authors of good Credit, who tell us in express Terms, that he was Born in Scotland, such as *Tritemius* (b), *Arnold-Murman* (c), *Joan-*

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(b) Father Simon, ubi supra. (A) De Scotæ. Piæstæ, Lib. 7. Pag. 136. (b) De Script. Ecclæ. Pag. 249. (c) Theat. Copenh. Gedlunum.

nes Frisus (d), *Joannes Molanus* (e), *Gasper Bruschi* (f), *Reginaldus* Bishop of *Eychstat* (g), and several others (b). This Prelate, from his younger Years having addicted himself to Religion, and according to the Devotion of that Age, affecting an Hermetical and Retir'd Life, he left his Native Country and retir'd to the Monastery of Mount *Cassin*, towards the Year 728. Pope Gregory III. being inform'd of his extraordinary Piety and Parts, and that he might be very useful in assisting his Country-Man *Boniface* Bishop of *Mentz*, he call'd him out of his Monastery, and sent him to *Germany* in the Year 739, where he acquit himself so well in all the Duties incumbent upon him, that in the Year 741 he was Consecrated Bishop of *Eychstat*: And we find him assisting in a Synod call'd in *Germany*, in the Year 742. The History of which Synod, I have given in the Life of St. *Boniface*. At length, after he had Converted a great many Pagans to the Christian Religion, and perform'd many Noble Acts of Charity, he died in the Year 786. We have under this Prelate's Name, the Life of St. *Boniface* Bishop of *Mentz*, written at the Desire of *Lullus* his Successor; which was first Publish'd by *Canisius* and afterwards by *F. Mabilion*: But this is a spurious Work, as we have observ'd in the Life of that Saint. *Dempster* gives us this Catalogue of our Prelate's Works. *De Vita S. Bonifacii*, Lib. 11. *De Vita S. Walpurgis sororis*. *Epistolæ ad Scotos & Britannos*. *Epistolæ ad Gregorium Papam III.* *Epistolæ ad Zachariam Papam*. Of which Books, the Two First, we have Reason to believe he wrote, from the Authority of good Authors; and, considering the Circumstances of his Life, 'tis probable he might have written the Three last; therefore *Dempster* has put them down: But neither the one nor the other are extant at this Day.

ST. RUMOLDUS Bishop of *Mechlen*.] If we may believe the Writers of this Saint's Life (a), he was of the Royal Family of *Scotland*, and having entred into a Religious Life, he went to *Rome*, Preaching the Gospel where ever he came. After he had stay'd for some time at *Rome*, he was admonish'd, by a Divine Revelation, to go to *Mechlen*; where he was very kindly receiv'd by *Odo* the Lord of that City, whose Lady being Barren, upon the Intercession and Prayers of our Saint, Conceived and brought forth an Admirable Boy, whom he Baptis'd under the Name of *Libertus*. Here he built a Monastery for the Canon-Regulars, was made Bishop of that City; and, having liv'd to a good Old Age, was at length Murder'd, in the Year 782. The Cathedral Church of *Mechlen* is Dedicated to his Memory, and Pope *Paul III.* at the Desire of *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, Erected it into an Arch-Bishop's Seat, under the Title of *Primate of the Low Countries*: And all the Bishops of *Mechlen*, ever since *Rumoldus's* time, have carry'd the Arms of *Scotland*. *Hugh Vardæus*, an *Irish* Writer, has Publish'd the Life of this Saint full of Monstruous Lies, which he calls Miracles, together with a Liturgy attributed to him, at *Lovin*, all under this Title, *S. Rumol, Martyrium, Liturgia Antiqua, Acta &c. Notis Illustrata & Aucta*, ab *Hugone Vardæo*, in 4to. *Lov.* 1662.

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(d) Bib. Philos. Pag. 916. (e) In i. Maii, in Addit. ad Ulfuard. (f) Lib. 1. de Episcop. (g) Vit. S. Wilib. (b) Dempst. Hist. Ecclef. Gent. Scot. Lib. 18. Pag. 640. Camer. de Scot. Piet. Lib. 3. Pag. 136. M. Du Pin, Bib. Nouv. des Aut. Ecclef. Tome 6. Pag. 107. Gull. Cave, Hist. Lit. Par. 1. (a) Vid: Vit. S. Rumoldi, ex Theod. Abbat. S. Trudonis apud Haræum, Pag. 491. Dempst. Hist. Ecclef. Gent. Scot. Lib. 16. Pag. 358. &c.

ST. VIRGIL Bishop of *Salzburg*. This Prelate was descended from a Noble and Ancient Family (a), and went over to *France* about the middle of the Eighth Century. King *Pepin*, who Reigu'd at that time, finding him to be a Person of great Learning and of a sweet and affable Temper, kept him for Two Years at his Court: The Bishopric of *Salzburg* falling vacant, he sent him with an Ample Recommendation to *Otilo* Duke of *Bavaria*, who preferr'd him to that See up, on the 15th of *June*, in the Year 767. The same Year he founded the Cathedral Church at *Salzburg*, which, being finish'd 13 Years after, he Dedicated to the Honour of *St. Rupert*, who was likewise a *Scot* (b), and whose Bones, at that time, he Translated thither. This Prelate had Two Controversies with his Country-Man *Boniface* Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*; the First was about a *Formula* an Ignorant Priest made use of in Baptising; for instead of *In Nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti*, he alway said, *In Nomine Patria & Filia & Spiritua Sancta*. *Boniface* said, that Baptism under this Form of Words was Invalid, and *Virgil* maintain'd the contrary. At length, the Debate turn'd so high betwixt them, that it was brought before Pope *Zachury*, in the Year 754, who gave his Decision in our Prelate's Favour. But he had not so good Success in the other Controversy, which was not so much a Controversy in Divinity as in Geography and Mathematics; for the understanding of which, the Reader must know what the State of Geography was before and at our Author's time.

A late Ingenious Author (c) has very well observ'd, that a Stranger to Geography, that should read the Voyages of *Ulysses* or *Aeneas*, as they are described by the Poets, and should observe the time that was spent, the Removes that they made and Dangers they underwent, in being tofs'd from Shoar to Shoar, would be apt to imagine they had visited most Part of the Habitable World; and yet 'tis plain, one of them scarce went any further than the *Ægean* Sea, and neither of them past the Mouth of the *Streights*. But we are not so much to think this strange in the Poets, since the Ancient Historians and Geographers knew little farther; for *Herodotus* is lost when he passes the *Streights* (d). *Posidonius* likewise, and *Artemedorus*, in *Strabo*, make the Sun to set there (e). We are very much beholden to the *Romans*, for the First great Improvements in Geography; for they no sooner subdued any Province, but they caus'd the Map of the Province to be drawn and shown in their Triumphs to the Spectators: And a great Number of these Maps were to be seen in *Lucullus's* Porch, expos'd to the View of every Body (f). About an Hundred Years before the Birth of our Saviour, the Senate of *Rome* sent Geographers to several Parts, that they might measure the whole Earth; but they did not inspect the Twentieth Part of it. Besides the *Romans*, several Princes did contribute very much to the Advancement of this Science; for *Neco* King of the *Egyptians*, many Years before *Christ*, caus'd the Coast of *Africa* to be view'd by the *Phœnician* Geographers, for Three Years together. *Darius* order'd a Scrutiny to be made into the *Indies* and the Eastern *Æthiopic* Sea: And *Alexander the Great*, in his *Asiatic* Expedition, took alongst with him *Diogenetus*.

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(a) Vid. Joh. Avent: Annal. Boicor. Hend. Canif. Antiq. Lest. Tom. VI. And. Brun. Annal. Boicor. Camer. de Scot. Pier. Lib. 3. Pag. 165. (b) Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 16. Pag. 554. (c) Reflect. upon Learning, Pag. 134. (d) Herod. Lib. 2. (e) Strab. Lib. 3. ad injt. (f) Bernard Varen. Geog. Gener. Lib. 1. Pag. 5.

metus and *Betoneus* Two able Geographers; from whose Observations the Geographers, for several Ages, were oblig'd for a great many things. Yet notwithstanding of all this, the Geography of the Ancients continued still so Imperfect, that *Strabo*, who Flourish'd under the Reign of *Tiberius* (g), gives us such a large Catalogue of their Mistakes, in his Three First Books; that any Reader, by perusing of them, will be sufficiently convinc'd of the Truth of what I have here asserted. *Strabo* indeed has Corrected many of these Mistakes, and has deliver'd things down to us with greater Acuracy, but he himself is very far from being exact, by reason of his wanting Tables and Maps: And the Longitudes and Latitudes being Things beyond his Skill, without which it is scarce possible to fix Places aright; he could not but err for want of such Helps to guide his Course. And, as the Ingenious Author of the *Reflections upon Learning* has observ'd in the Place above-cited; the same may be said of most of the Geographers before or soon after his Time. The Honour of reducing Geography to Art and System, was reserv'd to *Ptolomy*, who, by adding Mathematical Advantages to the Historical Method, in which it had been treated of before, has describ'd the World in a much more intelligible manner: For he has delineated it under more certain Rules, and by fixing the Bounds of Places from Longitude and Latitude, has both discover'd others Mistakes, and left us a Method of discovering his own; the most considerable of which may be seen in *Agathildemon's* Map of the World, which is Printed with *Ptolomy's* Works, and is the First of its kind now extant. This was the State of Geography in our Author's time, who having apply'd himself to the Study of the Mathematics, and especially of *Ptolomy's* Writings, he, in some Conferences with the Learn'd Men of that Age, affirm'd, *That a great Part of the Earth was as yet undiscovered; That it had a Spherical Form, and consequently, That every Nation had their Antipodes, or a Nation living in the opposite Part of the Globe to them* (h). This being against the common and received Opinion of the Ancients, who thought the Earth to be a Plain, and the Heaven to join it in some Part in India, as *Aviculus Alcimus* expresses it (i).

*Ergo ubi transmissis Mundi caput incipit Indis,
Quo perhibent, Terram Confina jungere Cælo, &c.*

This Opinion of our Prelate, as I have said, being against the received Opinion of the Ancients, and seeming to oppose some Passages of Scripture, our Author was accus'd of Broaching a new Heretical Doctrine, and was so tossed and persecuted about it by *Boniface* Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*, that he was near running the Risque of losing his Life for it. But how unjust they were to him, appears by the Discoveries of our Modern Geographers and Travellers; and yet one half of his Assertion remains still unsolved, *viz. That a great Part of the Earth is not as yet discovered*: For, notwithstanding of all our new Discoveries, and the great Improvements that have been since that time, both in Geography and Navigation, yet the Famous *M. La Motte le Vayer* (k) affirms, that almost one half of the Terrestrial Globe is yet undiscover'd; and another late Author (l) allows a Fourth Part, by a modest Computation; for

(g) Vid: Voss de Scien: Mathem: Cap: 43, & de Hist: Græc: Lib: 2. Cap: 7. (h) Vid: Mari Velez: Hist: Rec: Boicar. (i) Lib: in Genesi. (k) Vol: 1. Pag: 825. (l) The Author of the *Reflections upon Learning*, Pag: 140.

for that there is a vast Southern Continent as yet scarce looked into, is past all Controversy : And 'tis very much doubted if the Discovery of it would turn to great Account, since the *Dutch*, who pretend to have sail'd to the 64th Degree of Southern Latitude, have observ'd Mountains cover'd with Snow. But to mention no further South than the utmost Bounds of *America*, the Straits of *Magellan* are so frozen in *April* (*m*), that there is then no passing that way for Ice : So that much of that Country must be cold and barren. The Northern Parts of *America* are yet undiscover'd, nor can it be determin'd till its Bounds that way be laid open, whether it be a vast Island or a Continent. *Africa*, tho' it has been compass'd Round and Round from the *Mediterranean* to the *Red Sea* ; yet little more than its Coasts are throughly known, except *Egypt* and *Abassia* : The Inland Parts, because of their supposed Rudeness and Desolateness, being altogether neglected or very superficially described. And as to *Asia*, what a prodigious Compass are we forced to fetch about to come at the extreme Regions of that Quarter of the World, most of which might be saved, and a Voyage made with half the Charge and Time, could a Passage be discovered by the North to *Tartary* and *China*, which has been often attempted, but always with Disappointment, and sometime with the loss of the Adventurers ; and is like never to be found out, upon the Account of the rough Winds, the intense Coldness of the Clime, the Mountains of Ice that are in these Seas, the Difficulty in making their way in thick Mists and Fogs, and, which is worse, in Nights of some Months Continuance, and no Moon either to direct their Course or give them Light ; to say nothing of a vast Ridge of Mountains, which has been observ'd by our late Missionaries (*n*), to stretch it self forth into the *Tartarian Sea*, the Cape whereof has never yet been doubled, and probably never will, it being doubtful, whether these Mountains may not reach to the opposite Coast, and join *America* with the *Asian* Continent : So that the Bounds of *Asia* on that Side, as well as the opposite *American* Coast, has been hitherto undiscover'd. By all which, the Reader may judge of the Reasonableness of our Author's Assertion, who was so much persecuted for maintaining these Geographical Truths, that it was thought it hastned his Death, which some say happen'd upon the 27th of *November*, in the Year 785. and others in the Year 784.

Aventine, *Velfer*, *Canisius*, *Brunerus*, and all the German Writers say, That this Prelate was an Excellent Mathematician, an Acurate Philosopher, and a good Divine ; and the Church of *Rome* was so much convinc'd of his extraordinary Sanctity, after his Death, that at length, he was Canoniz'd by *Gregory IX.* in the Year 1233. This Prelate wrote a Letter to *Pope Zachary*, against *Boniface Bishop of Mentz*, and a *Discourse upon the Antipodes* ; but both these are lost, and we have nothing of his, unless it be the *Glossary* cited by *Melchior Goldast*, in his Notes upon *Columbanus*, which he is thought to be the Author of.

GILDAS, the Fourth of that Name, as he is call'd by *Bale* and *Dempster* (*a*), liv'd in the Year 820. Doctor *Cave* (*b*), Arch-Bishop *Usher* (*c*), and Sir *James Ware* (*d*), finding this Author to be undeniably,

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(*m*) See Narborough's Voyage, Pag. 15. (*n*) Le Compt's Memoirs, Let. ult. (*a*) Bale Cent. 2. Cap. 21. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 7. Pag. 322. (*b*) Hist. Liter. Pag. 519. (*c*) Epist. Hib, Pag. 55. (*d*) Of Irish Writers, Book 2. Page 34.

from his own Writings, a Scots Man, Born in Britain; they say, that he was Born in Wales and descended from the Irish Scots: By which it may be evidently seen, how much these Learn'd Men have been prejudic'd, in favours of their beloved *Hypothesis*, viz.: That no Part of Britain was then Inhabited by the Scots. We know nothing of the Particulars of this Author's Life, but that he wrote several Books. The Catalogue of which, according to *Dimpster*, is, *Hist. Britan.* for which he cites *Polydore Virgil: Breviarium Gildæ*, which is still extant in MSS. But Arch-Bishop *Usher* says, in the best Copies, it is ascribed to *Nennius* the Britain. *De Mirabilibus Britanniae*, which *Bale* says begins thus, *The First Wonder is a Lake. De Primis Habitatibus Britanniae. De Regi Arturo. De Sepulchro ejus incognito*, and several others not extant, mention'd by *Bale*: But both of them have omitted his Book *De Computo*; which we have still extant in MSS. in the Cottonian Library. This Book is written upon the Computation of Time, and consists of 99 Chapters, and shows our Author to have been a good Mathematician: It is Dedicated to *Rabanus Maurus* his Country-Man, who was then Abbot of *Fulda*; and this Dedication was Publish'd by Arch-Bishop *Usher*, *Epist. Hib.* Pag. 55.

ST. STOLBRAND, a Bishop who flourish'd under the Reign of *Constantine II.* King of Scotland (a), about the Year 860, is supposed, with Bishop *Adrian* (who is plac'd first in the Catalogue of the Bishops of St. *Andrews*) to be the Author of the Laws for the Re-forming of the Church and State, that were Publish'd in that Prince's time, in a Meeting of the Nobility and Clergy at *Scone*, which *Hector Boece*, in the Tenth Book of his History, and in the XV. Chapter, tells us, were as follows.

1^{mo}. All Church Men are to wait Diligently upon Divine Service; To abstain from all Secular Business; They must live satisfy'd with the Revenues of their Churches; They must Preach the Word of God to the People, and to be in their Lives and Conversations such Examples of Piety to them as they themselves teach them to be in their Doctrines. And that they may the more easily and freely serve God, they are for the future Discharged from all Taxes and Expenses required of other Subjects, for carrying on of Wars; That they shall neither keep Horse nor Hounds for their Pleasure, and that they shall carry no Arms, or be Judges in Civil Actions.

2^{do}. If the Church Men fail in their Duty, and that upon a due Examination it be found to be so, for the first Fault they shall be Fined in a good Sum of Money, and for the Second (if they amend not their Lives) they shall be depriv'd of the Priesthood.

3^{tio}. That all young People shall refrain from all sorts of Vices, especially Lust and Drunkenness, that they shall be Fed with Course Meat, and that but once in the Day.

4^{to}. That Drunkenness in all young People shall be punish'd with Death.

5^{to}. That the Exercises of young Men shall be Running, Wrestling, the Cross-bow, Hand-bow, casting of Darts, and all such Exercises that
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(a) *Hect. Boet. Hist. Scot. Lib. 10. Cap. XV. Dimpst. Hist. Eccl. Lib. 17. Pag. 575. Camer. de Scot. Piet. Lib. 3. Pag. 168. J. Less. de Gest. Scot. Lib. 5. & alii.*

may inure them to Hardiness of Body; as likewise, that they should Sleep upon hard Dails to enable them to suffer Hardship in the King's Wars, but that these Things should not be requir'd of the Aged Persons.

6to. That all Taverners, and People who kept Publick Houses for Fostering up the Lusts of the People, upon Pain of Death should remove out of the Kingdom against such a Day. By these Laws, we may see how virtuously our Ancestors liv'd, and by what Means it was that they came to perform so many Noble and Valiant Actions against their Enemies. Some time after the Promulgation of these Laws our Author suffered Martyrdom in the Island of *May*, upon this occasion; The *Picts* who had been Expell'd the Kingdom, and had fled to *Denmark*, Transferr'd the Right of all their Possessions and Lands in *Fife* to *Gadarius* King of *Denmark*, for the Protection that he afforded them. Whereupon, he rais'd a strong Army which he sent over to *Fife*, under the Command of his two Brethren *Hungar* and *Hubba*; they no sooner Land'd, but they put all to the Sword; amongst whom our Author, Bishop *Adrian*, *Monanus* an Arch-Deacon, *Glodianus* a Presbyter, and many other ChurchMen, who having fled to the Island of *May* for their Safety, were unmercifully Kill'd upon the 20 of *August* 874. *Dempster* gives us this Catalogue of his Works, *Comment. in Lib. Job. De casa Regni Pictici. Hist. Britan.* A Fragment of this Last Book, he says, *Isack Causobon* saw in the King's Library in *France*, and advertis'd the Public of it.

LAURENCE a Presbyter (a), went over from Scotland to Germany towards the beginning of the Tenth Century; and being very kindly receiv'd by *Brithon* Son to *Otto* Duke of Saxony, and Bishop of *Ferden*, he exercis'd his Ministry for some Years under him there. After which, his Patron being call'd to *Rome*, he took him along with him. At which time there were great Divisions in the Church; For the Emperor *Otto* Dying in the Year 983, there arose a great Controversy about the choosing of another Emperor, some being for *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*, Nephew to *Otto* the Great, and Others for an Italian call'd *Crescentius* (b); but the Germans, who were the strongest Party at *Rome*, having obtain'd the Consent of *Benedict* VII. Crown'd *Otto* III. Son to *Otto* II. Emperor, after which Pope *Benedict* liv'd not above Six Months, and *Peter* Bishop of *Pavia* was chosen in his Place, under the Name of Pope *John* XIV. but this Pope did not enjoy the Pontificate long; for one *Francon* Cardinal Deacon, who had intruded himself into that Dignity before, under the Name of *Bodiface*, returning from *Constantinople* in the Year 985, gain'd so considerable a Party at *Rome*, that he Seis'd upon Pope *John*, loaded him with Chains, and imprison'd him in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, where he Died of Famine, Four Months after, and he himself only Survived him Four Months, Dieing in such Contempt and Hatred, that even those who had been his Creatures and of his own Party, Insulted over his Dead Corps, and dragg'd it throrow the City. After which, the City of *Rome* proceeded to the Election of a New Pope, and the Election

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(a) Vid. *Dempst. Hist. Ecclesi Lib. II. Pag. 437.* (b) Vid. *M. Du Pin Nov. Bib. T. II. Pag. 14.*

fell upon a Priest nam'd *John*, the XV. Pope of that Name. In the beginning of this Pope's Pontificate, *Crescentius*, who had assum'd to himself the Name of *Consul*, Seis'd upon the Castle of *St. Angelo*; the Pope being afraid that he might Treat him as his Predecessor was Treated, immediately retir'd to *Tuscany*, and sent Deputies to the Emperor *Otbo*, intreating his Assistance. The *Romans*, who knew by Experience how severely they had Smarted by such Visites from the the Emperors, sent an Honourable Deputation to the Pope, intreating him to return, and that they would give him all the Security he could propose. The Pope being satisfied with this, return'd to *Rome*, where he was receiv'd with all the Respect and Submission imaginable, and enjoy'd the Papal Chair in Peace and Ease, till towards the end of his Pontificate that *Crescentius* began to Persecute him, which oblig'd him to Write to the Emperor *Otbo* to come to his Assistance. Upon which that Prince came with an Army to *Italy*, and remain'd for some time at the City of *Ravenna*: During his stay there, the Pope Died in the Month of *May*, in the Year 996, the Emperor being advertis'd of the Pope's Death, sent word to the *Romans* to choose *Bruno* his Cousin-German, and our Author's Patron, in his Place, which they accordingly did, and he assum'd the Name of *Gregory*, the V. Pope of that Name. But he was scarcely well set in the Papal Chair when he was expell'd by *Crescentius*, and *John* Bishop of *Plaisance* was put in his Place. The Emperor hearing of this, came immediately with his Army to *Rome*, and having made himself Master of the City, he Re-establish'd *Gregory*, but *Crescentius* and *John* fled to the Castle of *St. Angelo*, which the Emperor laid Siege to, but was so Valiantly Defended by *Crescentius*, that it was thought he would never have taken it, if *Crescentius* had not been Treacherously Murder'd, but the poor Anti-Pope *John* was taken, had his Eyes pull'd out of his Head, his Nose and his Ears cut off, and was carried in this Miserable Condition thorow the City of *Rome* mounted upon an Ass, with his Face towards the Tail, being oblig'd to proclaim as he went along, *Whosoever undertakes to Dispossess a Pope, let him be thus Expos'd and Treated.*

It was this *Gregory V.* that, for preventing of all Troubles that might for the future happen in the Electing of Emperors, ordain'd, That it should be done by a certain Number of German Princes, whom he nam'd at the Desire and Solicitation of the Emperor *Otbo*, and to favour those of his own Nation; which in all Probability was agreed to by the *Romans*. This Pope liv'd not after his Election but 2 Years and 8 or 9 Months; but what became of our Author after his Death, I know not. *Dempster* gives us this Catalogue of his Works, *Contra Adeobaldum Anti-Papam & Crescentem Romanum. De Actis Gregorii V.* The First Book, he says, is mention'd by *Theologus a Niem*, in his Book of Schisms, and that some other Works of his are to be found in the *Vatican Library*.

HENRY a Monk of *Holy-rood-house* (a), compos'd a Book, says *Dempster*, call'd *Textura Temporum*, which I take to be the same with the Chronicle lately Publish'd by Mr. *Wharton* (b), written by one of

(a) Vide *Dempst. Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot. Lib. 8. Pag. 369.* (b) *Angl. Sacra, Tom: I. Vide etiam Gnl. Cave, Hist. Liter. Pars 2da, Pag. 391.*

of the Monks of that Cloyster ; but *Dempster* makes this *Henry* Abbot of *Holmcultrain* in *England*. But whoever the Author of this Chronicle was, he liv'd about the Year 1163. for he gives a brief Account of the Affairs of *Britain* from *Julius Cæsar's* time till that Year. The first Part of this Chronicle, that is to say, from *Julius Cæsar's* time till *Augustine's* coming to *Britain*, in the Year 596, is not Publish'd, as being nothing but a Compend of *Bede's* History. In the other Part he chiefly takes Notice of the *Scots* Affairs, and what pass'd in his own Monastery, it is Publish'd under the Title of *Chron. Edenb. Anglia Sacra Tom. I. Pag. 152.*

ROBERT ELLIS (a) Vicar to the Bishop of *Caithness*, having a Desire to see the City of *Rome*, went from *Scotland* about the middle of the 12th Century ; but coming to the City of *Toulouse*, he fell in Converse with the Bishops of *Albi*, *Agde* and several others of the Clergy, who were advising what would be the most proper Means for suppressing a Sect of Heretics, who were then disturbing the Peace of the Church ; they were so well pleas'd with his Prudence and Learning, that they put a stop to his Journey, by engaging him to Assist them in the reclaiming of these Heretics, for which they made him first Arch-Deacon of *St. Peter's*, and afterward Arch-Deacon of *Agde*.

The Author of this Heresy was one *Oliver*, who, with his Followers, from the apparent Godliness and Simplicity of their Lives, were call'd *The Good Men*. In the Year 1176, a Council was call'd at *Lombex* to Examine these Heretics, some of whom had been apprehended by the Inhabitants of that Place. The Judges that were chosen to Examine them, were, *Gyrald* Bishop of *Albi*, *Gaucelin* Bishop of *Lodeve*, the Abbot of *Castres*, and Three other Abbots. The Sentence was pronounced in presence of *Pontius* Arch-Bishop of *Narbonne*, *Arnold* Bishop of *Nismes*, the Arch-Bishop of *Toulouse*, the Bishop of *Agde*, several Abbots, Superiors of Monasteries, and many others who were present at the Council, amongst whom our Author was a Principal Person. The Interrogations were put to them by the Bishop of *Lodeve*, by the Order of the Bishop of *Albi*, whose first Question to them was, If they acknowledged the Law of *Moses*, the Prophets, and the Books of the Old and New Testaments ? They Answer'd, That they did not acknowledge either the Law of *Moses*, the *Psalms*, or any of the Books of the Old Testament, but only the Gospels, the Epistles of *St. Paul*, the Seven Canonical Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, and the *Apocalyps*. Secondly, He asked an Account of their Faith. They Answer'd, That they were not bound to give that, unless they were Constrain'd to do it. The Third Question was about the Baptism of Children, to which they said, they had nothing to Answer. The Fourth Question was concerning the Eucharist, where, and by whom it ought to be Consecrated, what they ought to be who receive it, and if it be better Consecrated by a Good than by a Wicked Priest ? They Answer'd, That they who receiv'd it Unworthily, would be Damned, but they Affirm'd that every good Man might Consecrate it, whether

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(a) Vld. *Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 5. Pag. 261.* Concil. *Max. in Synod. Lumbar. M. Du Pin Nouv. Bib. Tom. 9. Pag. 106.*

he were a Priest or a Laick. The Fifth was concerning Marriage: They said, That they had nothing else to Answer to that, but what was in *St. Paul*, that the Man and the Woman were join'd together, because of Concupiscence and Fornication. The Sixth Question was, If by a Death-bed Repentance we could be Saved, and if we were oblig'd to Confess our Sins to Priests, or if we might Confess them to Laicks? They Answer'd, That Sick Persons might Confess to whom they pleas'd, but as for Others, they had nothing to say, because *St. James* speaks of Sick Persons only. The Seventh Question was, If they believ'd that Contrition and Confession were sufficient for obtaining a Remission of our Sins without Satisfaction, Penances, Fastings, Alms, and other Austerities? They Answer'd, That the Apostle *St. James* had only ordain'd Confession for our Salvation. They declar'd likewise, without being asked, That they believ'd, that no Oaths ought to be taken, and that all those that were ordain'd, and had not the Qualifications requir'd in a Bishop by *St. Paul*, were Wolves and Robbers, whom none ought to obey. These Errors were refuted by *Pontius* Arch-Bishop of *Narbonne*, *Arnold* Bishop of *Nismes*, our Author and Two Abbots, who only made use of the Plain Texts of the New Testament against them. After which, the Judges declar'd these Good Men Heretics, Condemning *Oliver* and all his Followers; and Authoris'd their Sentence by several Passages of Scripture in Opposition to the above-nam'd Opinions. This Sentence was pronounc'd by the Bishop of *Lodève*; upon which, they Protested against the Council, saying, That the Bishop who had pass'd the Sentence against them, was an Heretic, an Hypocrite, their Enemy and their Persecuter; also that they were ready to show by express Texts from the Gospels and the Apostles, that he and all the Bishops were not Pastors, but Hirelings. To this the Bishop Answer'd, That his Sentence was according to Law, and that he was ready to maintain it either in the Court of Pope *Alexander*, in that of *Lewis* King of *France*, or in that of the Count *de Tolouse*. Upon this, they turn'd themselves towards the People, and told them, that they were now going to make a Confession of their Faith, being mov'd thereto by Charity, and for the Honour of the Auditory. Upon which the Bishop desir'd them to observe, that it was not for the Honour of God, but for the Honour of the Auditory. Then they repeated and acknowledged, That we ought to Confess with our Mouths the Faith that we have in our Hearts; That they believe that no Person could be Sav'd, unless he receive the Body of Jesus Christ; That we are only to be saved in the true Church; That there was none had the Power of Consecrating the Sacraments but the Priests; And that the Consecration that was given by the Wicked, was as Valid as that which was given by the Good; That no Person can be Sav'd without Baptism, and that Children are Sav'd by that Sacrament; That Men and Women may be Sav'd, altho' they be Married; and that every one should not only Verbally but Cordially submit to the Penances impos'd by the Priests, and be Baptized in the Church; And in fine, that they were willing to acknowledge all that could be shown to them from the Gospels and the Epistles of the Apostles. Upon this, the Bishop press'd them to swear, that they held only these Opinions and none else: But they answer'd, that they would not swear

swear, because Swearing was against the Doctrine of the Gospel. The Bishop told them positively, that unless they swore to what they had said, they could not be believed; and he proved to them by many Examples taken out of the New Testament, that Swearing was not absolutely forbidden, but only in some certain Cases. They answer'd; That the Bishop of *Albi* had promised to them, that they should not be oblig'd to swear; but the Bishop of *Albi* deny'd that ever he had given them such a Promise, and confirm'd the Sentence Pronounc'd by the Bishop of *Lodeve*; after which it was subscrib'd by all who were at the Council.

What became of our Author after this Council we know not; but *Dempster* says, that he was a Person extraordinarily esteem'd, and of Excellent Learning for that Age, *Vir eo Sæculo raræ Doctrinæ, incomparabilis Aestimationis*; and that we have still extant of his, the following Books, *Contra Oliverium Arrianum. Pro Auctoritate utriusque Testamenti. Ad Gilbertum Lugdunensem Episcopum*. But I am apt to believe, that all these Books are nothing else but the Process of the Council against these Heretics, and because he subscribes it, he makes him Author of it; my Reason for this Conjecture is, because after he has given us this Catalogue of our Author's Works, he adds, *Quæ omnia in Processu extant*. There is a gross Mistake here in *Dempster* likewise, who thought these Good Men were *Arrians*.

EUGENIUS Abbot of St. James the Greater's Monastery at *Wirtzburg*, came over from *Scotland* (a) to Germany towards the middle of the Twelfth Century, and was the Third Abbot of that Monastery, which he govern'd Wisely and Piously for Eighteen Years, and died in the Year 1198. The Catalogue of his Works, according to *Dempster*, are, *Exhortationes ad Peregrinos Scotos Mem. Trith. Chron. ejusdem Monasterii. Ad Cælestinum III. Pontificem Maximum Epistola: Ad quæ confirmationem Monasterii impetravit, quæ extat apud Trithemium*.

JOHN SCOT Bishop of *Dunkeld*. I. Arch-Bishop *Spotswood* and *Dempster* (a) say, that this Prelate was an *English-Man* by Birth, but in a MSS. History, which I have of the Bishops of St. *Andrews*, which is collected from the best Chronicles and Historians we have, he is call'd a *Scots Man*; for, in the beginning of the Life of *Hugh* Bishop of St. *Andrews*, the Author says (b), *Nec diu post Richardi obitum vacavit Sedes, quin Mr. Joannes Cognomento & Natiome Scotus, in ejus locum suffectus est*. And this I think is the most probable Opinion. *Richard* Bishop of St. *Andrews* dying, King *William* recommended one *Hugh* a Chaplain of his own, to be chosen in his Place; but the Clergy, favouring more our Author, who was then Arch-Deacon of St. *Andrews*, they made Choice of him. Upon which, the King was so incens'd, that he swore by the Arm of St. *James*, (which was his ordinary Oath) That as long as he liv'd, *Scot* should never enjoy that Place; so he sent the Clergy Orders immediately to make a new Election, and appointed *Joceline* Bishop of *Glasgow* their Assistant. The Clergy, considering that *Hugh* was not only the King's Chaplain, but likewise his Confessor,

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and so that in all Probability the King would not be prevail'd with to quit his Interest, they obey'd the King's Orders and made Choice of his Chaplain. . . Upon which the Arch-Deacon our Author, appeal'd to the See of *Rome*, and went straight there to inform Pope *Alexander III.* of all that had pass'd. The Pope hereupon sent with our Author to *Scotland*, *Alexius* Sub-Dean of the *Roman* See, to try and examine the Truth of that Affair. At first, the King made Difficulty to admit him into his Kingdom; but at length, being prevail'd with, the Two Elections were try'd before the Legate, and Sentence was Pronounc'd in Favours of our Author, and *Joceline* Bishop of *Glasgow*, with the rest of the Clergy that assisted at the Election of the King's Chaplain, were Excommunicated: After which, the Legate and our Author acquainted the Pope of what had been done; and in answer to them he sent Three Letters confirming what his Legate had done, and ordering *Matthew* Bishop of *Aberdeen* to Consecrate the Arch-Deacon Bishop of *St. Andrews*. These Three Letters of Pope *Alexander's* (c) are the LV. LVI. ad LVII. Letters, as they are Printed in the X. Vol. of the Bibliothec of the Fathers. The Legate, in obedience to the Pope's Letters, call'd an Assembly of the Bishops, Abbots and whole Clergy at the Abby of *Holy-rood-house*, where our Author was publicly Consecrated Bishop of *St. Andrews*, by *Matthew* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, upon *Trinity-Sunday*, in the Year 1178. But both the Legate and the Bishop, finding, that the King was no way satisfy'd with their Proceedings, thought it convenient to leave the Kingdom and retire to *Rome*, where our Prelate was very kindly receiv'd and honourably entertain'd by Pope *Alexander*, and not by Pope *Lucius*, as *Spotiswood* has it: For *Alexander* was not as yet dead. That the Pope might show how much he resented the King's not complying with his Desires, he order'd the Arch-Bishop of *Tork*, who pretended to a Superiority over the Church of *Scotland*, to Excommunicate the King, and to put the Realm under Interdiction; which was accordingly done. Pope *Alexander* dying in the Month of *August*, in the Year 1181, Cardinal *Humbaud* was chosen in his Place, under the Name of *Lucius III.* This Pope, upon his Accession to the Papal Throne, was resolv'd to have continued the Interdiction and Excommunication of the King; but our Bishop, prostrating himself at his Feet, told him, *That he would much rather renounce his Dignity, than have so many Christian Souls, for ought that concerned him, defrauded of Spiritual Benefits.* The Pope was so well pleased with our Prelate for this Christian Disposition of Mind, that he not only forbore to continue the Interdiction, but likewise, at his Desire, took it altogether off, and freed the King from his Excommunication, as it appears from Pope *Lucius's* Letter to King *William*, Publish'd in the X. Volume of the Bibliothec of the Fathers, Page 1735. But this Pope did not enjoy his Dignity long; for, being expell'd the City of *Rome*, by the *Roman* Senators, he retir'd to *Verona*, where he died upon the 25th of *November*, in the Year 1185. and *Lambert* Arch-Bishop of *Milan* succeeded him, under the Name of *Urban VIII.* We have a Letter of this Pope's likewise, in Favours of our Prelate, directed to King *William*, but nothing was done in it; for this Pope died shortly after, viz. upon the 17th of *October*, in the Year 1187. and the next day,

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Albert, Cardinal Priest of *St. Laurence*, was chosen in his Place, under the Name of *Gregory VIII*. But his Pontificate lasted not fully Two Months, for he died upon the 16th of *December*, the same Year; and *Pauline* Cardinal of *Palestrina* was chosen in his Place, upon the 6th of *January* 1188. under the Name of *Clement III*. In the beginning of this Pope's Pontificate, *Walter de Bidden*, Bishop of *Dunkeld* and Chancellor of the Kingdom, died; upon which, the King, to take away all Matter of further Debate betwixt him and our Prelate, wrote a Letter to him; and another to the Pope, with an Offer of the Bishopric of *Dunkeld*, which was not much inferiour at that time to the Bishopric of *St. Andrews*; and withal told them, That if it had not been for the Oath, which he had rashly made, and thought himself oblig'd in Conscience to keep, he had never oppos'd so worthy a Man as the Arch-Deacon. Our Prelate, being a Person of a quiet and mild Temper, accepted of this Offer; but the Pope procur'd to him likewise, during his Life, the Rents of the Arch-Deaconry. So our Prelate return'd to *Scotland*, and enter'd peaceably to the Bishopric of *Dunkeld*; and *Hugh* Bishop of *St. Andrews* took his Journey to *Rome*, that he might be reconcil'd to the Pope; who, being absolv'd for his Intrusion, died in his Return, about Six Miles from the City of *Rome*, upon the 6th of *August*, in the Year 1188. The First Five Letters of this Pope are upon this Controversy.

At this time, News was brought from the East, of the Prevailing of *Sultan Saladin* of *Egypt* against the Christians in the Holy Land: Upon which, the Emperor *Frederic*, *Philip* King of *France* and *Richard* King of *England* enter'd into a *Croisade*. But *Richard* King of *England*, being afraid that *William* King of *Scotland* might undertake something, in his Absence, against *England*, to oblige him to Friendship, restor'd to him all the Castles which were deliver'd to King *Henry* his Father, and releas'd him, and all his Posterity, of all Homages made and confirm'd by Charter unto King *Henry*, as extorted from him, being then his Prisoner, reserving only such Rights to himself as were due to his Ancestors, from King *William's* Ancestors, for the Lands they held in *England*. The *Scots* King, on the other hand, to requite his Kindness, gave unto *Richard* Ten Thousand Merks *Sterling*, and caus'd his Brother *David* Earl of *Huntington* to go along with him, with 500 Gentlemen under his Command. But this prov'd but a very unfortunate Expedition; for, after they had been unsuccessful in their Attempts, many of them perish'd, some by Famine and Hardship, and others by Water; the Emperor *Frederic* was drown'd, bathing himself in a small River hard by *Antioch*, and the Earl of *Huntington* the King of *Scotland's* Brother, with the Gentlemen under his Command, in their Return, were cast away by a Tempest at Sea, only the Earl himself, having his Ship driven upon the Coast of *Egypt*, was taken Prisoner and led to *Alexandria*, where, being redeem'd by some *Venetians*, he was brought to *Constantinople*, and freed by an *English* Merchant in that City who had known him formerly, and from thence he return'd safely to his own Country, the Fourth Year after his Embarkment, and landed at the Town of *Dundee*; which *Hector Boece* says was, before that, call'd *Alectum*, but that upon his happy Arrival it was call'd *Dei Donum*. Yet I think *Buchanan's* Conjecture much better, who thinks it was call'd *Duntay*, from

Dun, which in the *Celtic* signifies a Hill, and the River of *Tay*. But whatever Truth be in this, 'tis certain, that ~~that~~ Town received many Privileges from King *William*, for his Brother's happy Arrival there, which to this day they enjoy; and in Memory thereof was the Abby of *Lindores* founded for the *Benedictine* Monks, and diverse Lands gifted thereto, by the King and the Earl his Brother. The King of *England* landing much about the same time, King *William* went to *England*, to Congratulate his safe Arrival, where he contracted a grievous Sicknefs, whereupon the Rumour of his Death was spread over the Nation, which gave Occasion to several to commit a great many Insolencies, and amongst others, *Herald*, Earl of *Orkney* and *Caitness*, upon Suspicion that *John*, Bishop of that Country, had impeded the Grant of something he demanded of the King, took him Prisoner, put out his Eyes and cut out his Tongue. This Inhumanity the King, at his Return, punish'd most severely; for the Earl, being apprehended and brought to his Trial, had his Eyes pull'd out, and then was strangled by the Hand of the Hangman; and that he might have none to succeed him, all his Male Children were Gelded, and his Kinsmen severely Fined for not assisting the Bishop. This exemplary Piece of Justice being reported to Pope *Innocent III.* who then held the Papal Chair, he sent to King *William*, by his Legate *John* Cardinal de *Monte Celio*, a Sword richly set with precious Stones, a Purple Hat in form of a Diadem, and a large Bull of Privileges, whereby the Church of *Scotland* was exempted from all Ecclesiastical Censures, the Pope himself, and his Legate a *Lactere* only excepted. It was also declar'd, "That it should not be lawful to any to Excommunicate the King and his Successors, or to Interdict the Kingdom, but the Pope or his Legate, and that no Stranger should exercise any Legation within the Realm, except a Cardinal, or such an one as the Conclave did appoint. This Bull is still extant. The Cardinal de *Monte Celio*, before he return'd to *Rome*, call'd a Convocation of the Clergy at *Perth*, where our Prelate and the rest of the Prelates and inferior Clergy being assembled, "They depos'd all the Priests who were found to have taken Orders upon *Sunday*; *Robert* Abbot of *Dumfermling* was depos'd, and *Patrick* Prior of *Dunferme* was put in his Place. They order'd, That every *Saturday*, from *Twelve*, should be kept as Holy Day, and that all People at the Sound of the Bell should Address themselves to hear Service, and abstain from all Handy-work till *Monday* Morning. After this Meeting, our Prelate return'd to his Episcopal Seat at *Dunkeld*, and the Legate went to *Ireland*, and from thence to *Rome*. Whilst he was in *Ireland*, he preferr'd to the See of *Down*, one *Ralph* Abbot of *Melrofs*, whom he had taken along with him from *Scotland*, and of whom Sir *James Ware* writes thus (*d*), in his Account of the Bishops of *Down*, " *Ralph* Abbot first of *Kinlofs*, afterwards in 1194 of *Melrofs* in *Scotland*, was at last, " by means of *John* de *Salerno*, Presbyter Cardinal of St. *Stephen* in Mount *Celio*, Legate from Pope *Innocent III.* advanc'd to this See in 1202, and " sat Eleven Years; and, if we may believe *Dempster* (*e*), who gives us almost the same Account of him, he wrote the *Acts of the Council of Perth*, and some Letters to the Monks of *Melrofs*, and to the Legate. But to return to our Prelate, some few Days before his Death, he

went

went into the Monastery of *Newbottle*, and there departed this Life, in the Year 1203, and was Interr'd in the Quire of that Church on the North-side of the Altar. In the MSS. of the Bishops of St. *Andrew's*, which I have Cited, he is said to be *Homo sane usquequaque Doctus, clarus & Illustris*. And Arch-Bishop *Spotiswood* says, "That he was a Man that made Conscience of his Charge, and was Painful in his Office. But nothing can give a better Idea of this Prelate's Worth than this following Story which is Narrated of him at his Accession to the See of *Dunkeld*. The Country of *Argile* was at that time in this Diocess, and the People spoke only the Highland Language, which the Bishop had no Knowledge of: Upon this, he labour'd to have the Diocess divided, and *Argile* Erected into an Episcopal See; and for that end he wrote a Letter to Pope *Clement III.* wherein, "He earnestly desired him to Erect the Country of *Argile* into an Episcopal See, and to make *Ewaldus* his Chaplain, Bishop thereof, who was a Wise and Godly Man, and spoke the Highland Language. For, says he to the Pope, *How can I make an Account to the Judge of the World in the last Day, when I cannot be understood of them whom I Teach? The Maintenance is sufficient for two Bishops, if we be not Prodigious of the Patrimony of Christ, and will live with that Moderation which becometh His Servants; it will be therefore much better to diminish the Charge, and increase the Number of able Work Men in the Lord's Field.* The Pope, having Read the Letter, and considering how earnest he was to be eased of his Charge, tho' to his own Temporal Loss, said, *It is the study of others to enlarge their Bounds and Livings, not valuing how it goeth with the People, and here is one who desires his Benefice may be parted in two. O how few Bishops are now in the Christian World so dispos'd!* We have none of this Prelate's Letters to the Pope extant, but such Fragments as may be collected from their Answers. The Catalogue of his Works, according to *Dempster*, are, *Epistolæ ad Pontifices*, viz. *Alexandrum III. Lucium III. Urbanum III. Gregorium VIII. & Clem: III. De Jure Ecclesiastico. Submissio causæ suæ. Appellatio ab Interdicto.*

JOHN CAMPBELL or CAMPBELL, (a) descended from the Family of *Argile*, having finish'd the Course of his Studies in his own Country, went over to *France*, where he Studied for some time at the University of *Paris*. From *France* he went to *Italy*, where he Studied likewise, for some time, at the University of *Bononia*. At length, returning to his own Country, he Died, in the Reign of King *Alexander III.* who began to Reign in the Year 1249, and Died in the Year 1286. *Hector Boece* says, that he had this Author's History of *Scotland* from *Icolmkil* in the Year 1525 (b); He was an Author who was as Learn'd as Honourable, and adhered to *Cæsar* and the other Roman Writers, in the Accounts that he gave of the Affairs of Old *Britain* and *Caledonia*, whereas the other Annalists differ from them in what they report of the Transactions of these times; upon which, the Bishop of *Carlisle* has this Reflection (c). "And yet, if he was the Author of those Eloquent Dispatches, which are said to have pass'd betwixt *Julius Cæsar* and the Ancient *Scots*, for which

E e e e e 2

"Hector

(a) Vid. *Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 3. Pag. 159.* Voss. de *Hist. Lat. Lib. 3. Part 4. Cap. 8.* Sir. *Rich. Baker in his Chron: (b) Hect. Boet. Hist. Scot. Lib. 2. Fol. 34. Lib. 3. Fol. 40. Lib. 7. Fol. 24.* (c) *Scot. Hist. Lib. Pag. 83.*

" *Hector* quotes him in his Third Book, he was certainly a Man of as
 " great Invention as Sincerity, for *Cæsar* himself, 'tis plain, knew no-
 " thing of that whole Story. But this Reverend and Learn'd Prelate
 I think is a little too severe upon our Author; for *Hector* quotes not him
 as the sole Author, but as having taken some things from him, his
 Words are (d), *This History of the coming of Cæsar into Britain, and sub-*
duing of it to his Empire, differs not much from the words of his Commentaries,
and are taken by us out of Verimond, Campbel, and other Authors. But the
 Bishop of St. Asaph (e) goes a little further, and doubts if ever there
 were such a History in the World as our Author's, tho' *Hector Boece*
 tells us in his History, that it was in his Custody: But how improbable
 this is, I shall, God willing, demonstrate in the Life of that Author.
 The Catalogue of his Works, *Scotorum Chronicon*, which is now lost.

GILBERT MURRAY, Bishop of Caithness (a) Son to the
 Lord Duffus, having finish'd the Course of his Studies, enter'd
 into Holy Orders, and was, not long after, made Bishop of Caithness. In
 his time the Controversy about the Arch-Bishop of York's Superiority
 over the Scots Clergy, was first Debated, which had its first rise from a
 Promise that King William had made to Henry King of England, during
 the time of his Captivity, viz. That he should bring the Scots Bishops
 to a Conference, and Dispute with the Arch-Bishop of York before the
 Bishops of England, and compell them to be subject to him. Accord-
 ingly, in order to this, in January 1176, there was a Meeting at Norham,
 where both the Kings were present in Person. In this Meeting the
 King of England dealt earnestly with the Scots Clergy to submit them-
 selves to the Arch-Bishop of York as their Metropolitan: But they, pre-
 tending the Absence of many of their Number, and the want of their
 inferior Clergy's Consent, delayed the giving of an Answer at that time.
 The next Year, the Pope, at the desire of the King of England, sent
 Hugo Cardinal de Sancto Angelo, his Legate, to Britain, under pretence of
 reforming the Abuses that he should find in both Churches. But his
 main Design was to bring over the Scots Clergy to the Subjection of the
 Arch-Bishop of York; for which end he sent his Apparitors with a Cita-
 tion to the Bishops of Scotland. The Kings of Scotland and England did
 thereupon meet at Northampton, and King William brought along with
 him, says Roger de Hoveden (b), " Richard Bishop of St. Andrews, Joce-
 line Bishop of Glasgow, Richard Bishop of Dunkeld, Christian Bishop of
 Whitehorn, Andrew Bishop of Caithness, Simon Bishop of Murray, and
 " the rest of the Priors and Abbots of his Kingdom, who being Con-
 " vee'n'd before their Lord the King of England, their Lord the King
 " commanded them, upon their Allegiance and the Oath of Fealty
 " which they had Sworn to him, that they should show the same
 " Subjection to the Church of England, which they were oblig'd to do
 " in the Reign of the Kings his Predecessors. To which they An-
 " swer'd, That they never were subject to the Church of England, nor
 " ought to show any Subjection thereunto. To which Roger Arch-
 " Bishop of York Repli'd, affirming that the Bishop of Glasgow and
 Wils.

(d) Lib. 3. Cap. 4. (e) St. Asaph Præf. to Hist. Ac. XXVI. (a) Vid. Spotif. Ch. Hist. Lib. 2. Pag. 38. & Pag. 111. Camer. de Scot. Piet. Lib. 3. Pag. 121. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent: Scot. Lib. 7: Pag. 303. Sir. Tho: Craig, upon Hom: Pag: 321 & 322. Petrie's Ch: Hist. Cent. 12. Pag. 378. &c. (b) Vid: Roger, de Hoy. Annal. Pars Poster.

“ *Witberne* or *Whiteborn* were subject to the See of *Tork*, in the time of
 “ the Arch-Bishop’s Predecessors, and did thereupon Demonstrate and
 “ sufficiently Instruct the Privileges granted to the See of *Tork*, upon
 “ that head, by the Popes. To which *Joceline* Bishop of *Glasgow* re-join’d;
 “ that the Church of *Glasgow* was a peculiar Daughter to the Church
 “ of *Rome*, and Exempt from all Subjections to any other Bishops or
 “ Arch-Bishops; and altho’ the See of *Tork* had the Superiority for
 “ some time, over the See of *Glasgow*, yet ’tis plain that she never de-
 “ serv’d it, and because *Richard*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, endeavour’d
 “ to have had the Church of *Scotland* Subject to his See; he effected so
 “ much against the King of *England*, that he permitted the *Scots* Bi-
 “ shops to return Home, without making any Submission to the Church
 “ of *England*. Thus far *Houden*, who has Misrepresented the Story
 abominably, as the Learn’d Sir *Thomas Craig* has made appear in his
 Book of *Homage*. For the true Matter of Fact was thus. The As-
 sembly being met and all ranked in their Places, the Cardinal, who had
 his Seat somewhat higher than the rest, made a long Speech in Com-
 mendation of *Humility* and *Obedience*, showing what excellent Virtues
 these were, and how much to be desired of Clergy Men. Having in-
 larg’d for some time upon this, he at length came to perswade the
 Clergy of *Scotland* to submit themselves to the Primate of *Tork*; which
 he said, “ Was a Thing very convenient for them, and would turn
 “ greatly to their Ease and Advantage. For, having no Superior a-
 “ mongst themselves, nor Metropolitan to decide Controversies that
 “ might possibly happen; there could none be fitter than their Neigh-
 “ bour the Arch-bishop of *Tork*, a Prelate of great Respect, and one
 “ whose Credit in the Court of *Rome* might serve them to good Use.
 “ Therefore he intreated them to lay aside all Grudges and Emulations,
 “ and dispose themselves to live, in all time after, as Members of one
 “ and the same Church. The Bishops, and the rest of the inferior
 Clergy, who were afraid to offend the Legate, made no Answer, till at
 length after a long Silence, Our Prelate, who was then only a *Chanon*,
 rose up and spoke to this Effect, “ The Church of *Scotland*, ever since
 “ the Faith of Christ was Embrac’d in that Kingdom, hath been a
 “ Free and Independent Church, Subject to none, but the Bishop of
 “ *Rome*, whose Authority we refuse not to acknowledge: To admit
 “ any other for our Metropolitan, especially the Arch-Bishop of *Tork*,
 “ we neither can, nor will; for, notwithstanding the present Peace,
 “ which we wish may long continue, Wars may break up betwixt the
 “ two Kingdoms, and if it shall fall out so, neither shall he be able to
 “ discharge any Duty amongst us, nor can we, safely and without Su-
 “ spicion, resort to him for the Controversies, which you, my Lord Car-
 “ dinal, say, may arise amongst our selves. We have Learn’d and
 “ Wise Prelates who can determine the same, and if they should be
 “ deficient in their Duties, we have a Good and Religious King, who
 “ is able to keep all things in Frame and Order; so that we have no
 “ necessity of any Stranger to be set over us. And I cannot think,
 “ that either his Holiness hath forgotten, or you, my Lord, that are
 “ his Legate, can be ignorant of the late Exemption granted unto
 “ *Malcolm* our Last King; since the Grant whereof, we have done
 “ nothing which may make us seem unworthy of that Favour!

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“ Where-

“ Wherefore, in the Name of all the *Scottish Church*, we do humbly
 “ intreat the Preservation of all our Ancient Liberties, and that we
 “ be not brought under Subjection to our Enemies. This is our Au-
 “ thor’s Speech, as the Reverend and Learn’d Arch-Bishop *Spotswood* has
 taken it from *Hector Boece* and the Book of *Scoom*. But Mr. *Petrie*, in
 his Church History, tells us, that he had from *Alexander Lindsay* Bishop
 of *Dunkeld*, an old Register, belonging to that Church, where he found
 our Prelate’s Speech Recorded thus:

“ It is true, *English Nation*, thou mightest have been Noble, and
 “ more Noble than some other Nations, if thou hadst not Craftily
 “ turned the Power of thy Nobility, and the Strength of thy fearful
 “ Might, into the Presumption of Tyranny, and thy Knowledge of
 “ Liberal Science into the shifting Glosses of Sophistry; but thou dis-
 “ posest not thy Purposes as if thou wert led with Reason, and being
 “ puff’d up with thy Strong Armies, and trusting in thy great Wealth,
 “ thou attemptest in thy wretch’d Ambition, and Lust of Domineer-
 “ ing, to bring under thy Jurisdiction thy Neighbour Provinces and
 “ Nations, more Noble, I will not say in Multitude and Power, but
 “ in Linage and Antiquity; unto whom, if thou wilt consider An-
 “ cient Records, thou shouldest rather have been humbly Obedient;
 “ or at least, laying aside thy Rancor, have Relgn’d together in per-
 “ petual Love: And now with all Wickedness of Pride that thou
 “ showest, without any Reason or Law, but in thy Ambitious Power,
 “ thou seekest to Oppress thy Mother the Church of *Scotland*,
 “ which, from the beginning, hath been Catholic and Free, and
 “ which brought thee, when thou wast straying in the Wilderness of
 “ Heathenism, into the safe Guard of the True Faith, and Way unto
 “ Life, even unto *Jesus Christ* the Author of Eternal Rest; She did
 “ wash thy Kings and Princes, and People, in the Laver of Holy Bap-
 “ tism; She Taught thee the Commandments of God, and Instruct-
 “ ed thee in Moral Duties; She did accept many of thy Nobles, and
 “ others of Meaner Rank, when they were desirous to learn to Read,
 “ and gladly gave them daily Entertainment without Price; Books
 “ also to Read, and Instruction freely; She did also Appoint, Consec-
 “ rate, and Ordain thy Bishops and Priests; By the space of Thirty
 “ Years and above, She Maintain’d the Primacy and Pontifical Dignity
 “ within thee, on the North-side of *Thames*, as *Beda* Witnesseth: And
 “ now, I pray, what Recompence renderest thou unto Her, that hath
 “ bestow’d so many Benefits on thee? Is it Bondage? Or such as
 “ *Judea* render’d unto Christ, Evil for Good? It seemeth no other
 “ thing. Thou unkind Vine, how art thou turn’d into Bitterness?
 “ We looked for Grapes, and thou bringest forth wild Grapes, for
 “ Judgment and behold Iniquity, and Crying. If thou couldest do as
 “ thou wouldest, thou wouldest draw thy Mother the Church of
 “ *Scotland*, whom thou shouldest Honour with all Reverence, into the
 “ basest and most wretched Bondage. Fy for Shaine! What is more
 “ Base when thou wilt do no Good, to continue in doing Wrong? Even
 “ the Serpents will not do Harm to their own, albeit they cast forth to the
 “ Hurt of others; The Vice of Ingratitude hath not so much Moderation;
 “ An ungrateful Man doth wrack and massacre himself, and he despiseth
 “ and minceth the Benefits for which he should be thankful, but multi-
 “ plieth

" plith and enlargeth Injuries. It was a true Saying of *Seneca*, (I see)
 " The more some do owe, they hate the more; a small Debt maketh a
 " grievous Enemy. What sayest thou, *David*? It is true, they render'd
 " me Evil for Good, and Hatred for my Love. It is a wretched thing
 " (saith *Gregory*) to serve a Lord, who cannot be appeas'd with what-
 " soever Obedience. Therefore thou Church of *England*, dost as be-
 " comes thee not; thou thinkest to carry what thou cravest, and to
 " take what is not granted; seek what is just, if thou wilt have Pleasure
 " in what thou seekest. And to the end I do not weary others with
 " my Words, albeit I have no Charge to speak for the Liberty of the
 " Church of *Scotland*, and albeit all the Clergy of *Scotland* would think
 " otherwise, yet I dissent from subjecting Her, and I do appeal unto
 " the Apostolical Lord, unto whom immediately She is subject; and if it
 " were needful for me to die in the Cause, here I am ready to lay down
 " my Neck unto the Sword: Nor do I think it expedient to advise a-
 " ny more with my Lords the Prelates, nor, if they will do otherwise,
 " do I consent unto them; for it is more honest to deny quickly what
 " is demanded unjustly, than to drive off Time by Delays, seeing he
 " is the less deceived who is refus'd betimes.

Arch-Bishop *Spotiswood* says, that our Prelate delivered this Speech
 with so extraordinary a Grace, and in so passionate a manner, that even
 the *English* themselves commended him, and that the Arch-Bishop of
Tork calling him to him, laying his Hand upon his Head, said, *Ex tua*
Pharetra nunquam venit ista Sagitta; Meaning, that he was set on to speak
 by some others of greater Note. But Mr. *Petrie*, the Ecclesiastical Hi-
 storian of the Presbyterian Party, thinks, that by this Expression the
 Arch-Bishop of *Tork* was against all *Set-Forms*. For, says he, the mean-
 ing of this Expression is, *When ye stand in a good Cause, do not forethink what*
ye shall say, for in that hour it shall be given unto you. The Legate, finding
 that he could not prevail with the *Scots* Clergy, dissolv'd the Assembly.
 Our Author, upon his Return, for his Behaviour, was prefer'd to the
 Bishopric of *Caitness*, and made Chancellor of the Kingdom. He built
 the Cathedral Church of *Caitness* upon his own Charges, and liv'd to
 see it finish'd; who, shortly after the Dedication, died at *Scravister*, in
 the Year 1245. according to *Spotiswood*, but according to *Camerarius* in
 the Year 1176. *Dempster* has made Two different Authors of this Pre-
 late, for in his VII. Book, Page 303. he says, he wrote *Exhortationes ad*
Ecclesiam suam. De Libertate Scotiæ. And in the same Book, Page 323:
 he makes mention of him as a different Author from the former, and
 says, that he wrote *Collectio Privilegiorum Regni Scotiæ*; and *Canones*
omnium Regni Scotiæ Ecclesiarum. But I believe, that this worthy Pre-
 late's Speech has made *Dempster* make so many Books out of it; for
 we have nothing else of his extant. *Camerarius* says, that when he was
 a dying, he recommended to all those who were about him, to observe
 Three Things, which he had always observed in his Lifetime. *First*,
 Never to do any Prejudice to their Neighbours; and if they prejudic'd
 them, never to be reveng'd on them. *Secondly*, To suffer patiently
 whatever God Almighty was pleas'd to inflict upon them, since He
 chastises most those whom He loves best. And *Lastly*, To be Subject
 to their Superiors.

GAUFRID, Sacrist to the Monastery of *Coldingham* in the *Mers*, Flourish'd about the Year 1214 (a), or in the Year 1175, as *Dempster* has it, who tells us likewise, that he was Abbot of *Dumfermling*. Mr. *Wharton* (b) has Publish'd a Continuation of the History of the Church of *Durham*, from the Year 1114; till the Year 1214. written by this *Gaufrid*: In which he tells us, that he was an Eye-witness to the most of what he relates. The History of this Church was first begun by *Turgot* Prior of *Eli*, who brought it down to the Year 1097; which *Simon*, a Monk of *Durham*, Publish'd, Fifty Years after, under his own Name. An Anonymous Monk of *Durham* continued this History till the Year 1114, and our Author from that till the Year 1214. *Robert de Graystones*, Bishop of *Durham*, continued it from that Year till the Year 1336, and *William de Chambre* made a Continuation of it after him. In the History of this Church, written by these Authors, a great many Miracles and ridiculous Stories are related, which sufficiently show the Immoral Practices and gross Ignorance of the Clergy in these Times. But I shall not trouble the Reader with many Instances of this kind; only there is one which is so very singular, that I cannot omit to relate it. One of the Bishops of *Durham* nam'd *Lewis*, descended from the Kings of *France* and *Sicily*, was so profoundly Ignorant, that he could neither Understand, Read or Pronounce *Latine*, in so much, that when he was Consecrated, after he had endeavour'd, for a long time, to pronounce the Word *Metropolitica*, and finding that it would not do, he brought himself off by Pronouncing these Three *French* Words, *seit pur dite*, that's to say, *Hold it as said*. And at another time, conferring Orders, he found himself in the same Labyrinth, when he was to pronounce those Two Words, in *Enigmate*; and finding that he could not do it, in a great Passion, he said, *Par Seynt Lowys il ne fu pas curteis, qui ceste parole ici escrit*. By *Saint Lewis*, he that wrote these Words was not Civil. By this Story, the Reader may likewise see the great Difference that is betwixt the *French* Language at this time and in those Days. Another Example of which I shall give, in the Oath of Homage, which *Baliol*, King of *Scotland*, took to *Edward* King of *England*; which another Monk of these times, who writes the History of the Church of *Worcester*, sets down thus (c).

Mun Signur Sire Edward Rey de Engleterre é Souvereyn Seigneur du Reaune de Escoce, jeo Johan de Baliol Reys de Escoce oue les. appartenaunses, eod Kant Ki apent le quel ico tenk e dey e dreyte cleym pur moy e pur mes Heyrs Reys de Escoce tenyr beritablement de vus e de vos Heyrs Reys de Engleterre de vie e de membre e de terrien bonur countre totes gens hi poent vivere ou mourir: e le Reys le receit ev la furme sauve seon dreyte le dreyt auri i. cest homage fu fet au Neof Chastel sur Tyne en Engleterre le jour seint Estienne, le an de grace MCC nonante e deus, et du Regne le Reys Edward XXI.

But to return to our Author, there is extant of his, as I have said, his Book, *De Statu Ecclesiæ Dumelmensis ab Anno 1114. ad An. 1214. Angl. Sacra*, Pag. 427. Tom. 1. Besides which, *Dempster* says, he wrote a Book *Pro Exemptione Ecclesiæ Scoticæ*.

JOHN

(a) Vid. Guil. Cave, Hist. Liter. Pars 2da. Pag. 427. Dempst. Hist. Ecclef. Lib. 7. Pag. 327. (b) Angl. Sacra, Tom. 1. Pag. 427. (c) Anglia Sacra, Tom. 1.

JOHN CUMING, Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*.] The *Irish* and *English* Antiquaries (a) say, that this Author was Born in *England*; but *Dempster* (b) says, that he was Born in *Scotland* at *Bamff*, and descended from the Earls of *Buchan*, a Family which had great Possessions in *England*, and who were very Faithful to the Kings of *England*, in the Wars betwixt the *Bruce* and the *Baliol*: So that it does no way invalidate *Dempster*'s Authority, that he was, upon the Recommendation of King *Henry II.* chosen Arch-Bishop of *Dublin* at *Evesham*, upon the 6th of *September*, in the Year 1181. After which he was ordain'd Priest, at *Velletrum*, the 13th Day of *March* following, and on the 21st, being *Palm-Sunday*, he was Consecrated Arch-Bishop there, by Pope *Lucius III.* from whom he obtain'd a Bull dated upon the 13th of *April*, *Indiction* 15. Anno 1182. in which, amongst other Privileges granted to the See of *Dublin*, this is to be found, "In Pursuance of the Authority of the Sacred Canons, We appoint, That no Arch-Bishop or Bishop shall, without the Assent of the Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*, presume to hold any Convention, if it be in a Bishoprick within the Diocese of *Dublin*, or handle any Causes or Ecclesiastical Matters of that Diocese, without being thereunto Authoriz'd by the Pope of *Rome* or his Legate. A Copy of this Bull, says Sir *James Ware*, is still extant in the Old Register of the Arch-Bishopric of *Dublin*, call'd *Crede Mihi*, Fol. 80. And from this Privilege arose that sharp and long Controversy between the Arch-Bishop of *Armagh* and *Dublin*, about the Primacy. *Giraldus Cambrensis*, who knew this Arch-Bishop, says (c), That when Pope *Lucius* Consecrated him Arch-Bishop, he was likewise Created Cardinal Presbyter; but there is no such thing to be found in the Bull of Pope *Lucius*, nor is he mention'd amongst the Cardinals by *Onuphrius* and *Ciacconius*, who have given us a Catalogue of them: He was Install'd in his Bishopric in the Month of *September* in the Year 1184. In the Year 1190, he Built and Endow'd the Church Dedicated to *St. Patrick*, in the South Suburbs of the City of *Dublin*, having demolish'd the Old Paroch-Church that was there, and therein plac'd 13 Prebends, which Number, in after-times, increas'd to 22. He partly renew'd and enlarg'd the Quire of *Christ-Church* in *Dublin*, and Built and Endow'd the Nunnery of *Grace à Dieu*, in the County of *Dublin*. In the Year 1197. *Hamon de Valonnis* Justiciar of *Ireland*, and several others, intruded upon the Rights and Privileges of his Bishopric, for which, he did Excommunicate them, and went over to *England* to complain of the Injuries they had done him; but King *Richard*, giving him no Satisfaction, he was forc'd to return to *Ireland*, and to compound the Matter with the Justiciar, who, in Satisfaction for what he and his Party had done, gave our Prelate Twenty Curucates of Land in *Ucunil*. At length, this worthy Prelate died at *Dublin*, upon the 28th of *October* 1212, and lies there Buried in *Christ-Church*, under a Marble Tomb, in the South-side of the Quire. We have still extant of this Bishop several Canons, of a Provincial Synod held at *Dublin* and approv'd of by Pope *Urban III.* which Canons are to be found among the Records of the Cathedral of *Christ-Church* in *Dublin*. *Giraldus Cambrensis*, who was present at this Synod, says, That at the Opening of the Synod, our Arch-Bishop had

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(a) See Sir *James Ware*, of *Irish Writers*, Book 2. Pag. 37. of the Arch-B. of Dub. Pag. 4. (b) Vid. *Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib.* 3. Pag. 162. (c) *Hib. Expago. Lib.* 2.

a Sermon on the Sacraments of the Church: And *Dempster* says, That he saw in the Library of *Paulus Petavius* Senator at *Paris*, of our Prelate's Writings, *Epistolæ ad Pontifices*, *Epistolæ ad Varios*. Sir *James Ware* says, That he was a Learn'd, Eloquent and Grave Divine.

JONATHAN, Bishop of *Dumblane*. This (a) Prelate Travell'd, whilst he was very Young, to the Holy Land, and enter'd into the Order of the *Carmelites*, an Order which had its First Rise from some Religious People, who liv'd on Mount *Carmel* in *Syria* about the Year 1121. At first they liv'd under no Rule, but about the Year 1199. they subjected themselves to a Rule drawn up to them by *Albert* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, which was approv'd of by Pope *Honorius* III. From the Holy Land he came to *Rome*, and from thence was sent by the Pope to *Scotland*, with his Legate to assist him in the Procuring of Money, for the carrying on of the Holy War. In the Management of which, he acted so wisely and discreetly, that he was thought the fittest Person, both by King and Clergy, that they could make Choice of for the See of *Dumblane*, and accordingly he was unanimously chosen Bishop of *Dumblane*, and is the First Bishop, that we find mention'd, of that See, which was founded by King *David*, about the Year 1140. *Dempster* says, That he had by him some Fragments of this Prelate's Book upon the Holy War, that were sufficient Proofs of his singular Erudition and Prudence. The Catalogue of his Works, according to *Dempster*, *De Belli Sacri Subsidiis*. *Monita Papæ*. If he was a *Carmelite* Friar, as *Dempster* says, he was the First who came to the Western Parts of the World; for that Order came not from the East till the Year 1238. and our Prelate died in the Year 1209. This Order had their Convents in *Scotland* at *Dumbar*, *Linlithgow*, *Tillilume*, *Queens-Ferry*, *Aberdeen*, *Irwing* and *Bamff*. *Dempster* says (b), That this Order was first brought into *Scotland*, by one *Thomas Leicht*, in King *Alexander's* Time.

THOMAS LERMONT, or **LERMONTH**, commonly call'd *Thomas the Rymer* (a), was Born at *Erslingtoun* in the *Mers*, his Paternal Inheritance: Having apply'd himself, in his younger Years, to the *Belles-Lettres*, he became very Famous for his Compositions in Poetry, for which he was commonly call'd, by the Vulgar, *Thomas the Rymer*. At this time, there was likewise, a very Famous Poetess, one *Eliza* a Nun at *Hadingtoun*: Our Author, having had some Conferences with her, she acquainted him of several Revelations which she had concerning the future State of *Scotland*, which he afterward put into Verse, and told upon several Occasions. *Hector Boece*, in his History (b), tells us, that the Day before King *Alexander's* Death, the Earl of *March* ask'd at him, How the Weather would prove the next Day? To which he answer'd, *That before the next Day at Noon such a Tempest should blow as Scotland had not felt for many Years before*. The next Morning, the Day being clear, and no Change appearing in the Air, the Earl told him, That he was but a false Prophet. To which he reply'd, *That Noon was not yet over*; about which time a Post came to

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(a) Vid. *Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 9. Pag. 384.* Mr. Du Pin, *Bib. Eccles. Tom. X. Pag. 174.* (b) *Hist. Eccles. Lib. XI. Pag. 436.* (a) Vid. *Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. XI. Pag. 438.* & *Lib. VIII. Pag. 369.* *Spotisw. Church Hist. Lib. 2. Pag. 47.* (b) *Lib. 13. Cap. XXI.*

quaint the Earl of the King's sudden Death by a fall from his Horse; then said our Author, *This is the Tempest I foretold, and so it shall prove to Scotland*, which accordingly came to pass. There is a Folio of this Author's Prophecies still extant, as I am credibly inform'd, but I could never obtain a sight of it. *Andrew Hart* in the Year 1645, Printed a Collection of several Old Scots Prophecies, amongst which are two of our Author's, the one in *Latine* and the other in *English*; which have been Re-printed very often since, but very incorrectly. That in *Latine*, *Dempster* calls his Book *De Futuro Scotiæ Statu*. Since both these Poems have been, as I have said, very incorrectly Printed, and that they are not very long, I shall insert them here according to *Andrew Hart's* Copy, together with the old Scots Translation of the *Latine*.

De Futuro SCOTIÆ Statu.

- 1 SCOTIA mæsta dolo propria jam perdita Prole,
Regibus orba tuis, fraude subacta sui
- 2 Proh dolor ! Ancilla fit libera, fraus perit illa,
Ignaræ sobolis Gens, perit ecce dolus,
- 3 Magnifici funus Regis, dolor omnibus unus :
Subdita non legi, dat mala Regna Regi.
- 4 O gravis anxietas, sexus dolet omnis, & ætas :
Quem fera mors rapuit, natio Scota luit.
- 5 Pridem Terra ferax, Gens martia, Natio verax,
Perdiderat gratum, quem tenere statum.
- 6 Duro conflictu, fortune mobilis ictu,
Sunt in deterius, versa beata prius.
- 7 Sub juga venisti, quæ victrix ante fuisti :
Advena Sceptra gerit, quæ velit ense terit ;
- 8 Anglorum nati, nec vi, nec more probati,
Væ tibi quod solo præda fuisse dolo.
- 9 Gens invincibilis, gens fortis, gensque virilis
Succubuit fati, res miseranda satis.
- 10 Gloria Scotorum, vernans ætate priorum :
Vi tantæ cladis, obtenebrata cadis.
- 11 Ecce repentinæ sunt hujus causa ruine,
Contemptus Fidei, Fraus, Dolus, Ira Dei.
- 12 Rerum cæcus Amor, Inopum Oppressio, Clamor
Fugis, Plebs retegens, Natio legis egens.
- 13 Fastus majorum, vitiorum causa priorum ;
Peccati fomes legis inepta comes.
- 14 Hunc cecinere statum, veterum præsagia vatum :
Singula vovere, quæ cecinere sero
- 15 Scandala, terrores, plagas, variosque dolores,
Ex serie Fati, Scotia disce pati.
- 16 Gens surget ex te diversa prosperitate,
Vix poterunt scribi, damna futura tibi.
- 17 Sed ne desperes, quæ tantis luctibus hæres,
Non est perpetua Plaga futura tua.

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Credo

- 18 *Credo, licet sera, veterum praeſagia vera :
In bonitate Dei, ſit tibi cura ſpei.*
- 19 *Nam quæ tot pateris, quæ jam captivæ videris
Tandem ſolæris, Imperialis eris.*
- 20 *Deſuper eveniet tibi Virtus, Scotia. fiet
Ultima proſpexior, quam tua vita prior,*
- 21 *Promittunt veteres, quod eris tibi bellicus Hæres,
Qui ſua jura novans, Regna jurabit vultus
Stragibus immenſis, ſudabit Scoticus Enſis;
Rex perdet cunctos Ulter ubique reos.*
- 22 *Irruit Angligena per etiam genti, non ſine pœna,
Enſe, Sili, Fletu, Peſte, Tremore, Metu.*
- 24 *Hoſtibus afflictiſ, ſtratiſ, per prælia victiſ,
Scotia Tuque tui, placida pace frui.*

The ſame in SCOTISH Metre.

- S** COTLAND be ſad now, & lament, thy Child whom thou haſt loſt:
Bereft of Kings, ſilly undone by thine unkindly Hoſt.
- 2 Alas the Free, Bond is become, and Deceit is thy Fall,
The Falſhood of the *Brutiſh* Race has brought thee into Thral.
- 3 The Grave of the moſt Noble Prince, to all is great Regret,
Noght ſubject to Law who doth leave the Kingdom and Eſtate.
- 4 O Anguiſh great, where every kind and Age doth Lament,
Whom bitter Death has tane away, ſhall Scotland ſore Repent.
- 5 Lately a Land of Rich Increaſe, a Nation Stout and True,
Haſtint their former dear Eſtate, which they did hold of due :
- 6 By hard Conflict, and by the Chance, of mobile Fortune's Force,
Thy Hap and thy Proſperity is turned into worſe.
- 7 Thou wont to win, now is Subdu'd, and come in under Yoke :
A Stranger Reigns, and doth Deſtroy, what likes him with Swords ſtroke.
- 8 The *Engliſh* Race, who neither Force nor Manners do approve,
Wo is to thee by Guile and Slight, is only win above.
- 9 The mighty Nation was toſore, Invincible and Stout,
Has yielded now to Deſtiny, great Pity is but Doubt:
- 10 In former Age the Scots Renown did Flourish goodly gay,
But now alas ! is over-clad with a great dark Decay :
- 11 Then mark and ſee what is the Cauſe, of this ſo wondrous Fall,
Contempt of Faith, Falſhood, Deceit, the Wrath of God wthal.
- 12 Unſatiable Greed of World's Gain, Oppreſſion, Cries of Poor
Perpetual, a Slandrous Race, no Juſtice put in ure.
- 13 The hauty Pride of mighty Men of former Vice chief Cauſe,
The Nutriture of Wickedneſs, an unjuſt Match of Laws.
- 14 Therefore this Caſe the Prophets old of long time did preſage,
As now has hapned every point into this preſent Age.
- 15 Sen Fate is ſo, now Scotland learn in Patience to abide,
Slanders, great Fears and ſudden Plagues, and Dolors moe beſide.
- 16 For out of thee ſhall People riſe, with diverſe happineſs.
And yet a Pen can ſcarcely Write, thy Hurt, Skaith, and Diſtreſs.
- 17 But

- 17 But yet beware thou not Distrust, although o'erwhelm'd with Grief,
 Thy Straik is not perpetual, for thou shalt find Relief.
 18 I do suppose although too late, old Prophecies shall hold,
 Hope thou in GOD's Goodness ever, and Mercies manifold.
 19 For thou that now a Patient is, and seemeth to be Bound,
 At Liberty shall free be set, and with Empire Renown'd.
 20 From High above shall Grace come down, and thy state, *Scotland*, be
 In latter End more Prosperous, nor former Age did see.
 21 Old Prophecies foretell to Thee, a warlike Heir be's Born,
 Who shall recover new his Right, advance his Kingdom's Horn. (make
 22 Then shall the *Scots* Sword sweat with Blood, and Slaughter which they
 The King himself Revenger shall the Guilty Troops down wrack.
 23 The *English* Nation shall invade, but not escape a Plague, (Ague,
 With Sword, with Thirst, with Tears and Pest, with Fear & such like
 24 And after En'mies be's thrown down, and Mastered by Weir,
 Then *Scotland* in Peace, Quietly, pass joyful Days for e'er.

The Prophecy of Thomas Rymer.

STILL on my ways as I went,
 Out through a Land beside a Lee,
 I met a Bairn upon the way,
 Me thought him seemly for to see.
 I askt him wholly his Intent,
 Good Sir, if your Will be ;
 Sen that ye bide upon the Bent,
 Some uncouth Tidings tell you me.
 When shall these Wars be gone,
 That Feil Men may live in Lee :
 Or when shall Falshood go from Home,
 And Lawty blow his Horn on hie ?
 I looked from me not a Mile,
 And saw Two Knights upon a Ley ;
 They were Armed seemly New,
 Two Crosses on their Breasts they bare,
 And they were Clad in diverse Hue,
 Of sundry Countries as they were ;
 The One was Red as any Blood,
 Set in his Shield a Dragon Sheen,
 He stirr'd his Steed as he were Wood,
 With Crabbed Words, Sharp and Keen,
 Right to the other Bairn him by,
 His Horse was all of Silver Sheen,
 His Shield was shaped right seemly,
 In it a Ramping Lyon keen,
 Seemly into Gold was set ;
 His Border was of Azur sheen,
 With Silk and Sable well was plate.
 I looked from me o'er a Green,
 And saw a Lady on a Lee,
 That such an One had I ne'er seen,
 H h h h h

The Light of her shined so hie.
Attour the Moor whereas she sure,
The Fields me thought fair and green :
She rode upon a Steed full sture,
That such an One I had seldom seen :
Her Steed was White as any Milk,
His Top, his Tail, were both full Blae,
A sad Saddle sewed with Silk,
As all were Gold it glitter'd sae,
His Harneßing was of Silk of *Inde*,
Set with precious Stones free,
He ambled on a Noble Kind,
Upon her Head stood Crowns Three,
Her Garment was of Gules gay,
But other Colour saw I none.
A flying Fowl then I saw,
Light beside her on a Stone,
A Stoup into her Hand she bare,
And Holy Water she had ready :
She Sprinkl'd the Field both here and there,
Said, here shall many dead Corps ly.
At yon Bridge upon yon Burn,
Where the Water runs bright and sheen,
There shall many Steeds spurn,
And Knights Die through Battle keen.
To the Two Knights then did she say,
Let be your Strife, my Knights free :
Ye take your Horse and Ride your way,
As GOD hath ordained so must it be.
Saint *Andrew*, thou hast the Right ;
Saint *George*, thou art my own Knight,
Thy wrangous Heirs shall work thee Woe.
Now are they on their ways gone,
The Lady and the Knights Two :
To that Bairn then can I ment,
And asked Tydings by my Fey,
What kind of Light was that, I said,
Thou shewed to me upon yon Ley ?
Or wherefrom came these Knights Two,
They seemed of a far Country ?
That Lady that I let thee see,
That is the Queen of Heaven so Bright ;
The Fowl that flew by her Knee,
That is Saint *Michael* much of Might ?
The Knights two the Field to tae
Where many Men in Field shall Fight ;
Know you well it shall be sae,
That Die shall many a Gentle Knight,
With Death shall many Doughty deal,
The Lords shall be theri away,
There is no Harret that can tell,

Who shall win the Field that Day.
 A Crowned King in Arms Three,
 Under the Banner shall be set,
 Two false and feigned shall be;
 The Third shall light and make great Let.
 Banners Five again shall strive,
 And come in on the other side,
 The White Lyon shall beat them down,
 And work them Woe, with Wounds wide;
 The Bear's Head with the Red Lyon,
 So seemly into Red Gold set,
 That Day shall slay the King with Crown,
 Though many Lord make great Let :
 There shall attour the Water of *Forth*
 Set in Gold the Red Lyon,
 And many Lords out of the North
 To that Battel shall make them bown.
 There shall Crescents come full keen,
 That wears the Crofs as red as Blood ;
 On every side shall be Sorrow seen,
 Defouled is many doughty Food.
 Beside a Lough upon a Lee,
 They shall assemble upon a Day,
 And many doughty Men shall die ;
 Few in quiet shall be found away :
 Our *Scottish* King shall come full keen,
 The Red Lyon beareth he ;
 A feddered Arrow sharp I ween,
 Shall make him wink and warr to see:
 Out of the Field he shall be led,
 When he is bloody and woe for Blood ;
 Yet to his Men shall he say,
 For GOD's Love, turn you again,
 And give yon Southern Folk a Fray ;
 Why should I lose ? The Right is mine :
 My Date is not to die this Day ;
 Yonder is Falsset fled away,
 And Lawty blows his Horn on hie.
 Our bloody King that wears the Crown,
 Full boldly shall the Battel bide ;
 His Banner shall be beaten down,
 And hath no Hole his Head to hide.
 The Stars Three that Day shall die,
 That bears the Heart in Silver sheen ;
 There is no Riches, Gold nor Fee,
 May lengthen his Life one Hour I ween ;
 Thus through the Field the Knight shall ride,
 And twice rescue the King with Crown ;
 He shall make many a Banner yield.
 The Knight that bears the Todes three,
 He will by Force the Field to tae.

H h h h h a

But

But when he sees the Lyon die,
 Think ye well, he will be wae.
 Beside him lights Bairns Three,
 Two are white, and the Third is blae,
 The Todes Three shall slae the Two,
 The third of them shall make him die ;
 Out of the Field shall go no more
 But one Knight and Knaves Three.

There comes a Banner Red as blood,
 In a ship of Silver sheen,
 With him comes many ferly food,
 To work the *Scots* much hurt and woe.
 There comes a Ghost out of the West,
 Is of another Language than he ;
 To the Battle bows him best,
 As soon as he the Senyour can see,
 The Ratches works them great wanrest,
 Where they are rayed on a Lee,
 I cannot tell who hath the best,
 Each one of them makes other die.
 A white Swan set into blae,
 Shall semble from the South-Sea,
 To work the Northern Folks great wae.
 For know you well thus shall it be,
 The Staiks Eight with Silver set,
 Shall semble from the other side,
 Till he and the Swans be met ;
 They shall work woe with Wounds wide,
 Through Wounds wide their Weeds hath wet :
 So boldly will their Bairns bide,
 It is no reck who gets the best,
 They shall both die in that same Tide.

There comes a Lord out of the North,
 Riding upon a Horse of Tree,
 That broad Lands hath beyond *Forth*,
 The white Hind beareth he ;
 And two Ratches that are blue
 Set in Gold that is so free,
 That Day the Eagle shall him slay,
 And then put up his Banner hie.
 The Lord that beareth Lozens Three ;
 Set into Gold and Gules Two.
 Before him shall a Battel be,
 He wears a Banner that is blue,
 Set with Peacock Tails Three.
 And luttie Ladies Heads Two,
 Unfain of one each other shall be,
 All through Grief, together they go ,
 I cannot tell who wins the Gree,
 Each one of them shall other slay.
 The Eagle gray set into green,

That wears the Hart's Heads three,
 Out of the South he shall be seen,
 To light and ray him on a Lee,
 With fiftie five Knights that are keen,
 And Earls either two or three,
 From *Carlisle* shall come bedeen,
 Again shall they it never see.
 At *Pinkin-cluch* there shall be spilt
 Much Gentle Blood that Day;
 There shall the Bear lose the Guilt,
 And the Eagle bear it away
 Before the Water, Men call *Tyne*.

And there over lies a Brig of Stone,
 The Bears Three loses the Gree,
 There shall the Eagle win his Name.

There comes a Beast out of the West,
 With him shall come a fair Menzie,
 His Banner hath been seldom seen,
 A Bastard trow I best he be,
 Gotten between a Lady sheen
 And a Knight in privity:
 His Arms are full eath to know,
 The Red Lyon beareth he;
 That Lyon shall forsaken be,
 And be right glad to be away:
 Into an Orchard on a Lee,
 With Herbs green and Alleyes gray,
 There will he inlaiked be,
 His Men says harmesday,
 The Eagle puts his Banner on hie,
 And says the Field he won that Day.
 There shall the Lyon lie full still,
 Into a Valley fair and bright;
 A Lady shouts with Words shrill,
 And says, Woe worth thee, coward Knight,
 Thy Men are slain upon yon Hill,
 To dead are many doughty dight;
 Thereat the Lyon likes ill,
 And raises his Banner hie on hight
 Upon the Moor that is so gray,
 Beside a headless Cross of Stoane,
 There shall the Eagle die that Day,
 And the red Lyon win the Name;
 The Eagles 'Three shall lose the Gree
 That they have had this many Day;
 The red Lyon shall win renown,
 Win all the Field and bear away.
 One Crown shall come, another shall go,
 And drink the Gentle Blood so free.

When all these Ferlies were away,
 Then saw I none but I and he;

I i i i i

Then

Then to the Bairn could I say,
 Where dwells thou, or in what Country?
 Or who shall rule the Isle of Britain,
 From the North to the South-Sea?
 A French Queen shall bear the Son,
 Shall rule all Britain to the Sea,
 Which of the Bruces Blood shall come;
 As near as the Ninth Degree.
 I frained fast what was his Name;
 Where that he came from what Country?
 At Erslingtoun I dwell at Hame;
 Thomas the Rymer Men call me.

Concerning these Prophecies, the Reverend and Learn'd Bishop *Spotiswood* says (c), "That they may be justly admired, having foretold so many Ages before, the Union of the Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *England*, in the Ninth Degree of the *Bruce's* Blood, with the Succession of *Bruce* himself to the Crown; being yet a Child, and diverse other Particulars, which the Event hath testify'd and made good. - - - Whence, or how he had this Knowledge, can hardly be affirmed; but sure it is, that he did Divine and Answer truly of many things to come. We find by these Prophecies, that he was well seen in *Heraldry*: Upon which, Mr. *Nisbet* a good Judge in this Noble Science, says (d), "That his Meaning may be understood by *Heralds*, especially, when he speaks of Kingdoms and Communities, whom he often points out by their *Badges* or some other Piece of their *Ensigns*: But when he speaks of particular *Families*, his Meaning is altogether obscure, either because many of these *Families* have since alter'd their Bearings; or because he represents them by their *Crests*, and other Exterior Ornaments, which being sometimes chang'd from one thing to another, and frequently carried at the same time by different Families, 'tis impossible to know, by *Heraldry* or any other Means, what he intends. However this we may certainly conclude from his Writings, that *Heraldry* was in good Esteem in his Days, and well known to the Vulgar, else he had never made Choice of such Terms to express himself in; and that it was so, we are confirmed by a great many Documents about his time, and a little after, wherein common Notaries, in their Transcripts of Charters, and other Evidents, exactly blazon the Coats of Arms on the Impressions of Seals thereto appended, which I have seen.

Dempster says, That our Author flourish'd in the Year 1282. We know not the Year of his Death, but 'tis certain that he died during the time of the Wars between the *Bruce* and the *Baliol*.

MR. WOOD, was descended from the Ancient Family of the *Woods* (a), says *Dempster*, of whom we know no more than that he had the Surname of *Good* impos'd upon him: But where he Liv'd, or what his Station was, we know not, only that *Dempster* says, he wrote a most Learn'd Book of his Travels thorow *Italy*, which was publish'd at *Milan*:

(c) Lib. 2. Pag. 472. (d) In his Essay upon Addit. Fig. and Marks of Cadency, Pag. 160. (a) Vid. *Dempst. Lib.* 17. Pag. 588.

lan under this Title, *Comparatio Antiquæ & Hodiernæ Italiæ*. He flourish'd in the Year 1270.

WILLIAM, an Abbot of the Order of St. *Augustine*] This Abbot was born at *Edinburgh* (a), His Father's Name w. as *men*, but what his Surname was we know not. Whilst he was a Youth, he enter'd into the Order of the *Hermites* of St. *Augustine*. Some have thought that this Order was first instituted by St. *Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*, but this is without any Ground (b); others make their Founder to be *William*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, who liv'd in the Time of St. *Bernard*, who, being return'd from his Voyage to *Jerusalem*, establish'd in *Italy* several Monasteries of *Hermites*, who were call'd *Williamites*, and not *Augustines*. This Order, which was almost Extinct, was renew'd by *John the Good* of *Mantua*, who from him were call'd, *The Brethren* of *John the Good*, or *Zambonites*. He establish'd likewise divers other Orders of *Hermites*, some of which were called the Brethren of *Fabale*, others the *Britins*, and others the *Saccites*. Pope *Innocent IV.* form'd the Design of Uniting all these *Hermites* into one Body, which was done by *Alexander IV.* who succeeded him in the Year 1254, under the Name of the Order of the *Hermites* of St. *Augustine*; altho' he took them out of their *Hermitages*, settled them in Cities, and imploy'd them in the Functions of the Hierarchy. This Order being establish'd in *Scotland*, they had the following Convents there, the Abby of *Jedburgh* in *Teviotdale*, the Abby of *Holy-rood-house* in *Lothian*, adjoining to the *Canongate* in *Edinburgh*, the Abby of *Cambuskenneth* in *Stirling-shire*; all Three founded by King *David the I.* The Abby of *Inchaffry* in *Strathbirne*, founded by *Gilbert* Earl of *Strath-Iern*; The Abby of *Scoon* in *Gowry*, founded by *Alexander the I.* King of *Scotland*, the Priory of *Crusa* in the *West Isles*, founded by St. *Columba*; The Priory of *Omistlas*, in the *West Isles*, founded by St. *Columba*; The Priory of the *Holy-Cross*, at *Peebles* in *Tweeddale*, founded by *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway*; The Priory of St. *Mary's Isle* in *Galloway*, which was a Cell pertaining to the Abby of *Holy-rood-house*; The Priory of St. *Colonor's Isle* in *Monteith*, founded by *Edgar* King of *Scotland*; The Priory of St. *Andrews* in *Fyfe*, founded by King *Alexander the I.* It is annexed to the Arch-Bishoprick of St. *Andrews*; The Priory of *May* in the Mouth of *Forth*, which was a Cell belonging to St. *Andrews*; The Priory of *Pittenweem* in *Fyfe*, which was another Cell belonging to St. *Andrews*; The Priory of *Monimusk* in *Marr*, which was a Cell belonging to the Priory of St. *Andrews*; The Priory of *Restennot* in *Angus*, which was a Cell belonging to the Abby of *Jedburgh*; The Priory of *Straphillan* in *Athol*, founded by King *Robert the I.* The Priory of *Blantyre* in *Clidisdail*, which was a Cell belonging to the Abby of *Jedburgh*; The Priory of *Port-Mollock* in *Loch-Leven* in *Fyfe*, which was a Cell belonging to the Priory of St. *Andrews*; it is annexed to St. *Leonards College*, and the Priory of *Loch-Tay* in *Broad-Albin*. If all these Convents belonged to the *Augustines*, as our Historians say, they have not had them from their first Foundations, since many of them were founded, not only long before that Order came into *Scotland*, but likewise long before that Order had a Being. But to return to our Author, after he was well stricken in Years,

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(a) Vid: Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 19. Pag. 662. (b) Vid: M. Du Pin. Nov. Bib. des Aut. Eccles. Tom. 10. Pag. 174. The Ap: to Spotis. Ch. Hist.

he was made Abbot of *Holy-rood-house*, and succeeded *William* called the *Eleemosynar*, but upon the account of his Age, shortly after resign'd the Government of his Monastery; and being much addicted to a Hermetical Life, he retir'd to *Inchkeith*, where he stay'd, says *Dempster*, for Nine Weeks: But not finding sufficient Accommodation there for a Person of his Age, he return'd again to the Abby of *Holy-rood-house*: And being ask'd, What made him quite his Hermitage? His Answer was,

*Quid faciam cum nudus eam? Jam præterit Ætas,
Ad patrios remeare Lares me cogit Egestas.*

Dempster says, That he was a most Learn'd Man, and left to Posterity many Monuments of his Ingine; but that he principally apply'd himself to Theology and Mathematics, without neglecting his Juvenile Studies. *Fuit* (says he) *vir Eruditissimus, & multa Posteris reliquit Ingenii Monumenta, maximè vero Theologica Mathematicis temperabat, nec juveniliū studiorum obliviscebatur.* But if he was very Old when he quit the Government of his Monastery, which *Dempster* says, was in the Year 1227, he could not have been of the Order of St. *Augustine*; therefore 'tis more probable, that he flourish'd towards the latter End of the 13th. Century. The Catalogue of his Works, according to *Dempster*, are, *Carmina varia de Horoscopis digerendis. De divinatrice Facultate. De Malo Hæresis & Schismatis.*

JOHEL, the XIII. Abbot of *Wirtsburgh* wrote, says *Dempster* (a), the History of the Siege of *Acon* in *Palestine*, which was besieged by the Christian Princes for Three Years and Four Months; and at length was surrendred upon an Honourable Capitulation, after it had cost the Lives of many Excellent Princes and Noble Captains. This History, he says, was in MSS. in the Library of *Paulus Petavius* a Senator at *Paris*: He Died in the Year 1298.

WILLIAM MALVOISIN Bishop of St. *Andrews* (a),]
This Prelate went over in his younger Years to *France*, where he studied the *Belles Lettres*, Philosophy and Theology: Upon which account, some of our Historians call him a *French* Man. *Hugh*, Chancellor of the Kingdom, Dying upon the VI. of the Ides of *July*, our Prelate was made Chancellor in his Place upon the VI. of the Ides of *September*, in the Year 1199, and Consecrated Bishop of *Glasgow* in the Year 1200, *Roger* Bishop of St. *Andrews* Dying, he was Translated from *Glasgow* to St. *Andrews* in the Year 1202. In the Year 1208 he Consecrated the Monastery of *Dryburg*; in the year 1211, he demitted the Chancellor's Place, and *William de Bois* was chosen in his Room. In the Year 1214 he Consecrated *Adam* Abbot of *Melrofs* Bishop of *Cathness*. In the Month of *May*, upon St. *Mamercius's* Day (b), Pope *Innocent* III. having indicted a General Council upon the 20th of *April*, in the Year 1213 to be holden two Years and a half after, that's to say, before the Month of *November*, in the Year 1215. The Pope, in his Letter of Indiction, gives Two Reasons for calling of this Council, viz. The

(a) *Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 9. Pag. 396.* (a) *Hist. MSS. Episc. St. And: Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 12. Pag. 904.* Chron. de *Melrofs*. *Spotil. Ch: Hist. Lib. 2. Pag. 113.* (b) *Vid. M. Du Pin, Nov. Bib. Tom. 10. Pag. 103.*

The Recovery of the Holy-Land, and the Reformation of the Catholic Church ; upon which account, he Addresses this Circular Letter, to all the Patriarchs, Arch-Bishops, Bishops and Sovereign Princes of Christendom. Amongst the Bishops of *Scotland*, who went to this Council, our Prelate was one, who arriv'd safely at *Rome* in the Month of *October*, with *Walter* Bishop of *Glasgow*, *Bricius* Bishop of *Murray*, *Henry* Abbot of *Kelso*, and the Deputes of the other Prelates. This Council, which sat down at the Appointed time, viz. in the Month of *November*, in the Year 1215, was compos'd of Four Hundred and Twelve Bishops, who were personally present, about Eight Hundred Abbots and Priors; and a great Number of Deputes from the absent Prelates in the several Nations of Christendom. The *Latine* Patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Jerusalem*, were also present ; the Patriarch of *Antioch* being Sick, sent a Bishop for his Depute ; and there was a Deacon, who represented the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, then under the Dominion of the *Saracens*; there was likewise present the Ambassadors from the Emperor of *Constantinople*, the King of *Sicily* new Elected Emperor, from the Kings of *France*, *Scotland*, *England*, *Hungary*, *Jerusalem*, *Cyprus*, *Aragon*, and several other Princes. The Pope open'd the Council by a Sermon, taking for his Text these Words of our Saviour, *Luke 22. V. 15. I have earnestly desired to Eat this Passover with you.* Upon which he said, That there were Three sorts of Passovers, that he desir'd to Celebrate with them, the Corporal, the Spiritual, and *Eternal* Passover. The Corporal, which was the passing from one Place to another, for the delivering of *Jerusalem* ; The Spiritual, which was the passing from one State to another, by Re-forming the Catholic Church ; And the *Eternal*, which was the passing from this Temporal Life to Celestial Glory. Upon the First, he Exhorted them to Contribute with all their Power, for the Recovering of the Holy-Land ; Upon the Second, he exhorted them to put in Execution their Spiritual Censures, against those who were Guilty of Gross Enormities, that they might thereby be brought back to the ways of Truth ; and more particularly to take Notice of the Clergy, because they were the principal Authors of all the Disorders in the Church of GOD, by their Wicked and Dissolute Lives : " For it is " this, says he, that destroys the Faith, by which Religion is Disfigur'd ; " this ranverses Liberty, by which justice is Despis'd and Tramp'l'd " upon ; that multiplies the Number of Heretics ; that gives Inf- " lence to the Schismatics ; that makes the Impious Proud, and the " *Saracens* Powerful : And then concludes with the Third Passover, which was the Passage into Glory, which he hoped one Day to enjoy with them for ever.

After this the Pope caus'd to be Read in full Council LXX Canons, which he himself had Drawn up, and which, as *Matthew Paris* says, appear'd tolerable to some of the Prelates, but very burdensome to others. *Facto prius ab ipso Papa Exhortationis Sermone, recitata sunt in pleno Concilio Capitula Septuaginta, quæ aliis placabilia, aliis videbantur onerosa.* Upon which, *M. Du Pin* says, That 'tis certain that these Canons were not the Work of the Council, but of *Innocent III.* who presented them to the Council already formed, and caused them to be Read ; that the Prelates did not Deliberate about them, but that their Silence was taken for an Approbation of them. This Council, which was very Numerous at first, dwindl'd to

nothing, in less than the space of a Month: For the Prelates being Anxious to return to their Respective Countries, obtain'd their Permissions from the Pope by great Sums of Money, which he oblig'd them to pay to him, and to borrow from the Merchants at *Rome*. But it seems that our Prelate was not so Anxious as the rest; for by the Chronicle of *Melrofs*, we find that he did not return to his own Country till four Years after. This Council, is that which the Ecclesiastic Historians call the IV. General Council of *Lateran*. Our Prelate, upon his Return to *Scotland*, brought along with him some of the Order of *St. Dominic*, some *Franciscans*, *Jacobines*, and of the Monks call'd *Vallis Umbrosæ*. In the Year 1233, he consecrated *Clement* Bishop of *Dumblain*, and Died in the Year 1238 at *Inchmurtach*; and, as he himself had directed, was Buried in the New Church of *St. Andrews*. *Dempster* says, that this Prelate wrote a Book of the Miracles of *St. Ninian*, and another of the Acts of *St. Quintigern* or *St. Mungo*, the first Bishop of *Glasgow*, and this last Book, he says, is commended by *Mombritius*. In the MSS. History, which I have of the Bishops of *St. Andrews*, this Character is given of him, *Vir Pietate, Doctrina, Prudentia & in rebus agendis dexteritate insignis. Erat autem miræ Facundiæ, singularis Gratiæ, & ad moriendum atque persuadendum plurimum habuit vigoris. Propter quas animi dotes, simul cum vitæ singularis Sanctimonia, ad maxima in Re-publica & Ecclesia munera obcunda, vocatus est a Rege & Populo. Neque solum ipse doctus erat, verum etiam omni qua potuit ratione, bonas Literas & viros Literatos juvit, promovit & auxit.* Arch-Bishop *Spotiswood* says of him (c), "That he was a Man of singular Wisdom and Courage, that he Govern'd the Church most Happily, the Rents alienated by his Predecessors, or lost by their Negligence, he recover'd to his See, advanc'd the Fabric of the Church (which was then in Building) more than any that went before him, and suffer'd no Man of what Quality soever he was, to Usurp upon the Church or Possessions of it. *Vid. Spotis. ubi sup.*

WILLIAM Abbot of *Glenlus* in *Galloway*.] We know nothing of this Author, but that he wrote the following Letter to the (a) Abbot of *Melrofs*, about an Appearance in the Heavens; and that the Chronicle of *Melrofs* says, he was *Vir optimi testimonii & Sanctæ Conversationis Monachus*. By this Letter the Reader will see that the *Latine* of our *Scots* Monks at that time, was not so Barbarous as many think.

VIRIS in Christo Venerabilibus, Domino A. Priori de *Melrofs*, & ejusdem loci Conventui Frater W. Pauperum Christi de *Glenlus*, Minister indignus, æternam in Domino Salutem. Quanto impossibilius esse poterit veritatem falli, tanto certius ea quæ veritatis ore prædicta sunt, jam in parte fuisse impleta, & quæ restant procul dubio credenda sunt esse complenda. Veritatis siquidem ore, teste Evangelista, scimus fuisse prædictum, Erunt signa in Sole, & Luna, & Stellis, & in Terris pressura gentium, præ confusione sonitus Maris & Fluctuum, &c. Cum igitur nihil in Terra, quamlibet minimum, sine causa fiat, certum est quod nec majora sine majori causa proveniant. Signum igitur Magnum, imo signa plura & permaxima, quæ nuper in partibus *Galwe-*
chiæ

chiæ apparuerunt, sub quanta potui brevitate perstringens, Sanctitati vestræ transmittere curavi. Quod nullatenus tantis tamque Venerandis Viris facere præsumissem, nisi certius de Conscientia eorum mihi constaret, qui prædicta Signa propriis oculis viderunt, & rei ordinem ore veridico in præsentia nostra & multorum narraverunt. Contigit igitur Conuersum quendam ordinis nostri, virum mori geratum, sobrium, castum, & probatæ satis Religionis, iter facere die videlicet Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi in crastini Palmarum pridie nonas Aprilis, Luna xiii. in noctis crepusculo, & ecce respiciente prædicto Conuerso Lunam plenam vidit & rotundam, statim in ipsa hora quasi funiculus quidam niger & subpallidus Lunam in duas diuisit partes. Sed nigredo prædicti Funiculi in mediam partem Lunæ quæ versus Aquilonem erat se diffundens, ipsam partem Lunæ nigriorem & pallidiorem cætera parte effecit, & statim quasi in ictu oculi pars ipsa pallidior ab alia parte Lunæ scindi visa est & dirumpi, & ad spatium unius stadii elongari, & quasi in tanta violentia videbatur pars illa pallidior ab alia parte Lunæ fuisse avulsa, ut scintillas more Draconis in aere discurrentis emitteret. Tandem post moram aliquantulam, pars ipsa pallidior Lunæ paulatim & quasi morose ad aliam partem appropriabat, nunc seipsam quasi meticuloſe retrahendo, nunc quasi coacta illac se impellendo; tandem vero cum jam prædictæ partes Lunæ invicem sibi convenirent, ecce nubes utramque partem operuit, & prædicta visio disparuit. Ad statum igitur venti transvolante nube, iterum Luna de sub nube erupit; & statim ad magnitudinem trium Lunarum crevisse visa est; & statim Deformatio illa per crementa in Firmamento se diffundens, in Castellum speciosum transformatur, cujus Castellî Turres & Muri propugnaculis sufficienter muniti prominebant. Ad hoc spectaculum tam insolitum quam horrendum, tam Conuersum quam Servientem suum timor invasit & tremor; & ait Serviens ad Conuersum, Magister, quid putas sibi volunt ista! Nunquid putas dies Iudicii advenit? Et ille, nequaquam, fili. Sed Virtutes Dei Omnipotentis sunt, qui pro voluntate sua, Signa, Portenta, Prodigia facit & Mirabilia. Et adjecit Serviens, Audivi frequenter quod per Pythonissas & Maleficas & Incantatrices fœminas hujusmodi mutatione Luna solet deformari. Et ille, non est ita, fili. Quin potius credendum est, quod aliquod mirum & humano generi horrendum portendant. Interim autem Luna, deposita Castellî forma, in Navem pergrandem & elegantissimam fabricam factam formata est: Sed & unus tantum Homo, cujus maxima erat statura, in Navi quasi ejusdem Navis Nauta apparuit. Prædicta igitur Navis extenso velo & explicito, velocissimo cursu per transversum Insulæ de Man versus Hiberniam velificare visa est. Post hæc vero Luna, abjecta navis forma, iterum in Castellum magnum & spectantibus supra modum horrendum transformata est; & hac vice Vexillum quoddam regale, quale cum exercitibus Regum ad bellum proficiscentium præferri solet, in prædicto Castello apparuit: Et quod magis mirandum fuit, singulæ illæ sive cauduke quæ in extremitatibus Vexillorum dependent, in prædicto Vexillo quasi ad statum venti moveri & agitari videbantur. Post hæc aliquanto interposito intervallo, omnis Castellî illius Machina disparuit; & Luna, propria resumta forma, naturali cursu progressa est. Post hæc Turris quædam parvula & nebulosa, minimis munita propugnaculis, brevissimo spatio supra Lunam apparuit, & statim disparuit. Luna vero tam crebra sui vexatione, tam inconvenienti deformatione, tam violenta, tam subita suimet mutatione, quasi injuriam passa, turbata, contristata, & conturbata, pallida mansit & decolorata. Tandem vero proprio resumto colore in seipsam reversa est. Advertat igitur Sanctitas vestra, si tam insolitum Spectaculum, tam monstrosum Portentum, tam horrendum Miraculum silentio legi debuerit.

Et si Creator non tantum Lunæ, sed totius Creaturæ præcellentissimæ speciositati Lunæ & fere omnium Elementorum Firmamenti, etiam Terræ & Maris Sacramenta in se continenti non pepercit, imo pro humani Generis præmunitione tanta, tamque diversa Deformitate ipsam Lunam debonestari permisit; quid de ipsis fiet pro quibus hæc præostensa sunt, qui nec Timore Dei, nec Pavore Gehennæ, sive alia quâcunque de Causa Perditionis suæ via revertuntur?

In English thus :

“ **T**O the Venerable Lord in Christ, Adam Prior of Melrofs, and to
 “ the whole Convent of that Place, William the Unworthy Ser-
 “ vant of the Poor, belonging to Christ at Glenlus, wisheth Eternal
 “ Salvation in our Lord. As 'tis impossible that Truth can Err, so it
 “ is most certain that those things, which have been foretold by the
 “ Mouth of Truth, are already in part come to pass; and what remains
 “ will undoubtedly be accomplish'd. We are told by the Evangelist,
 “ That infallible Veracity has forewarned us, *That there shall be Signs in*
 “ *the Sun, and in the Moon, and in the Stars, and upon the Earth Trouble*
 “ *amongst the Nations with Perplexity, the Sea and the Waters shall Roar, &c.*
 “ Luke Ch. 21. V. 25. Hence 'tis plain, that since nothing, tho' ever
 “ so little, can fall out in this World without a Cause, the greater Ef-
 “ fects must needs owe their Rise to Causes more powerful. I have for
 “ these Reasons thought fit to transmit to your Holiness, in as few
 “ Words as I can, a very remarkable Sign or Appearance, nay rather
 “ many great and wonderful ones, which of late have been seen by those
 “ in Galloway. I am fully satisfy'd of the Ingenuity of those, who, to
 “ my self and a great many more in my Company, have asserted, that
 “ their very Eyes did see the Things I am about to relate, else I should
 “ not presume so far upon the Patience of so many Reverend and Wise
 “ Men, as I confidently do. A Religiose of our Order, a Man of un-
 “ contraverted Discretion and of a Sober, Chast and Exemplary Life,
 “ had occasion to be Abroad in the Country, on the Feast of St. Am-
 “ brose the Bishop, being the succeeding Day to Palm-Sunday, and that
 “ which preceeded the Nones of April and the 13th Day of the Moon;
 “ as he was walking in the Evening, he beheld the Moon full and round,
 “ when on a sudden a sort of a blackish or pale colour'd Rope seem'd to
 “ divide her in two equal Parts, and then spreading it self all over that
 “ Part that stood to the North, made its Surface look blacker and paler
 “ than the rest. This black Part of the Moon, in an instant, intirely
 “ separated and remov'd to the Distance of one Stadium (which is 125
 “ Geometrical Paces) from the other half, but with such Precipitation
 “ and Violence, that it sent forth from its Body a Train of Fiery Parti-
 “ cles that appear'd like a Dragon in the Air. Not long after this, the
 “ blacker Part of the Moon made a slow, and as it were a constrain'd
 “ Return to the other Part; for sometimes it withdrew as if afraid to
 “ advance, and at other times made forwards, as if push'd by Force;
 “ however both Parts came at last to rejoin in one, which was no soon-
 “ er done, but a Cloud overspread them both, and so the Phænomen
 “ disappear'd. But afterwards this Cloud was dissipated by the rising
 “ Wind, and the Moon appear'd a-new again, but had grown by this
 “ time to that Magnitude, that she seem'd as big as three full Moons,
 “ and still increasing in her Dimensions, was at last transform'd into the
 Ap-

" Appearance of a spacious Castle, visibly fortify'd with Turrets, Walls
 " and such like Out-works. This unprecedented amazing Spectacle
 " struck both the Religioſe and his Servant with Terror and Tremb-
 " ling ; the laſt asked the former, *What this could mean, and whether he*
 " *was not of Opinion, that the Day of Judgment was coming?* No, my Son,
 " reply'd the Religioſe, *but theſe are the Effects of Almighty Power, who*
 " *when he pleaſes gives Signs, and works Wonders and Prodigies.* I have often
 " heard, ſaid the Servant, *that the Sun and Moon may be chang'd and black-*
 " *ned by Pythoneſſes.* You miſtake it, my Son, answer'd the other, *'tis more*
 " *probable, that this portends ſomething ſtrange and terrible to Mankind.* In
 " the mean time, the Moon is from a Caſtle metamorphos'd into a large
 " tall Ship, of a moſt comely Fabrick : One Man only, but of a very
 " extraordinary Size, appear'd on Board, and ſeem'd to command the
 " Veſſel, which with full Sail and a brisk Gale made her way as it were
 " through the Iſland of *Man*, towards *Ireland*. After this, the Moon
 " is again transform'd, from the Appearance of a Ship, into that of a
 " Caſtle, ſo prodigiouſly big, that it ſtruck Terror in the Minds of the
 " Beholders : And now a Royal Standard appear'd in the Caſtle, like
 " theſe that are commonly carried in the Front of Armies, when a King
 " commands in Perſon ; and, which is more ſtrange, the very Fringes,
 " that hang from the Extremities of Martial Colours, were ſeen here to
 " yield to, and move with, the Wind. This Caſtle after ſome time eva-
 " niſh'd again, and the Moon re-aſſuming her Natural Form, continu'd
 " her uſual Progreſs. After this, a little and Cloudy-like Tower, ſenc'd
 " with ſmall Fortifications, appear'd for a very ſhort time above her,
 " and diſappear'd in an inſtant : And the Moon her ſelf, as if ſhe had
 " been injur'd, affronted and diſturb'd by ſo many, ſo frequent and ſo
 " violent Alterations, remain'd as yet Pale and Diſcolour'd ; till at length
 " ſhe regain'd her former Splendor. Now whether ſuch an unwonted
 " Spectacle, ſo ſtupendious a Prodigy and a Wonder ſo terrible, ought
 " to be buried in Oblivion, or plac'd in the Records of Time, I leave
 " it to your Holineſs to determine ; and if the Creator not only of the
 " Moon, but of all other things that exiſt in the Univerſe, and who
 " gives Laws to the Earth and Seas, was pleas'd to permit, as a Fore-
 " warning and Premonition to Sinful Man, that the Moon ſhould be
 " thus variously diſfigur'd and ſully'd ; What ſhall be the Fate of thoſe
 " upon whoſe Account theſe things are fore-ſhown, and who neither
 " for the Fear of GOD, nor the Terror of Hell, nor for any other Mo-
 " tive or Conſideration whatever, can be prevail'd upon to return from
 " thoſe Paths that lead to Perdition.

Having ſo often mention'd the Chronicle of *Melroſs*, which was writ-
 ten in this Period of time, I ſhall therefore give the Reader a brief Ac-
 count of the ſame.

THE CHRONICLE OF MELROSS; of which we
 have ſeveral MSS. Copies, both in *Scotland* and *England*, has been written
 by ſeveral Hands : But it ſeems, that the Principal Author was one of
 the Abbots of *Dundranan* in *Galloway* ; for at the end of all theſe MSS. is
 this Note, *Hæc eſt vera Copia Antiquæ Chronicæ de Melroſs in Scotia, in-*
choata per Abbatem de Dundranan ab Anno 735. continuata per varios ad An-
num 1270. The Learn'd Doct^r Gale has publiſh'd this Chronicle,

with Four other Ancient Histories, at the Theatre of Oxford, in the Year 1684. In this Chronicle there are several Matters of very great Import, as to the Affairs of Scotland, that are omitted by all our other Historians: But that which this Chronicle and all the other Chronicles of Religious Houses are most exact in, is in marking the Years of the Decease of their Abbots and Bishops. And since the Printed List of the Bishops and their Successors, in the Reverend Bishop *Spotiswood's* History, may be very much supply'd from this Chronicle, I shall give an Account of such of them as are mention'd there, and the Years in which they died, and how they succeeded to one another, from the Year of Our Lord 735. where this Chronicle begins, till the Year 1270. where it ends.

The First mention'd in this Chronicle is,

Anno DCCLXIV. *Fretbelwaldus*, Bishop of Galloway, died, to whom succeeded *Pictwinus*.

DCCLXXVI. *Pictwinus*, Bishop of Galloway, died, to whom succeeded *Ethelbert*, who was consecrated at York in the Year 777.

MCIX. *Turgot*, Bishop of St. Andrews, was consecrated by *Thomas* Bishop of York.

MCXV. *Turgot*, Bishop of St. Andrews, died at Durham.

MCXX. *Ædmerus* was consecrated Bishop of St. Andrews.

MCXXII. *John*, Bishop of Glasgow, went for Rome and Jerusalem,

MCXXIII. *John*, Bishop of Glasgow, was compell'd to return to his Bishoprick by Pope *Calixtus*.

MCXXIV. *Robert*, Prior of Scoon, was elected Bishop of St. Andrews, but was not ordain'd till a long time after.

MCXLVII. *John*, Bishop of Glasgow, died and was succeeded by *Herbert* Abbot of Kelso, who was consecrated by Pope *Eugenius* upon St. Bartholomew's Day.

MCLIX. *Robert*, Bishop of St. Andrews, died. *William* Bishop of Murray, and *Nicolaus* the King's Chamberlain were sent by King *Malcolm* to Pope *Alexander*, who gave them a very Honourable Reception.

MCLX. *William*, Bishop of Murray, return'd to Scotland in Quality of the Pope's Legate.

Arnold, Abbot of Kelso, was elected Bishop of St. Andrews upon St. Bricius's Day, and consecrated at St. Andrews by *William* Bishop of Murray Legate from the Apostolic See, the King being present at the Ceremony, with a great many Abbots, Noble-Men and Barons.

MCLXI. *Arnold*, Bishop of St. Andrews, was made Legate for Scotland, by Pope *Alexander*, and consecrated *Gregory* Bishop of Rosemorky.

MCLXII. *Arnold*, Bishop of St. Andrews, died, and the Church of St. Andrews was founded. *William*, Bishop of Murray, died upon the 9th of the Kalends of February.

MCLXIII. *Richard*, Chaplain to King *Malcolm*, was elected Bishop of St. Andrews.

MCLXIV. *Herbert*, Bishop of Glasgow, died, to whom succeeded *Engelramus* the King's Chancellor, who was consecrated by Pope *Alexander* in the City of Sens, upon the Day of the Apostles, *Simeon* and *Jude*.

MCLXV. *Richard*, Elect of St. Andrews, was consecrated Bishop at St. Andrews, upon the 5th of the Kalends of April being Palm-Sunday.

MCLXLX. Gregory, Bishop of *Dunkeld*, died, to whom succeeded *Richard* the King's Chaplain.

MCLXX. *Richard*, Elect of *Dunkeld*, was consecrated Bishop in the Cathedral Church of *St. Andrews*, by *Richard* Bishop of *St. Andrews*.

MCLXXI. *Simon de Toni*, a Monk of *Melrofs* and Abbot of *Kakeabala*, was Elected Bishop of *Murray*. *Edward* Bishop of *Aberdeen* Died.

MCLXXII. *Simon*, Bishop of *Murray*, was Consecrated at *St. Andrews* upon the 10th of the Kalends of *February*. *Matthew*, Arch-Deacon of *St. Andrews*, was Elected Bishop of *Aberdeen* upon the 4th of the Nones of *April*.

MCLXXIV. *Engelramus*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, Died upon the Day of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, to whom succeeded *Joceline* Abbot of *Melrofs*, who was Elected at *Perth* upon the 10th of the Kalends of *June*.

MCLXXV. *Joceline*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, was Consecrated.

MCLXXVIII. *Richard*, Bishop of *Dunkeld*, and *Richard* Bishop of *St. Andrews* Died; and *John*, surnamed *Scot*, was Elected Bishop of *St. Andrews*, and *Walter de Bidden* was Elected Bishop of *Dunkeld*.

MCLXXXI. *Joceline*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, enlarg'd his Diocese, and most sumptuously adorn'd *St. Kintigern* or *St. Mungo's* Church.

MCLXXXII. *Joceline*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, was sent to *Rome* to Negotiate the Affairs of the Kingdom.

MCLXXXIV. *Simon*, Bishop of *Murray*, Died.

MCLXXXV. *Andrew*, Bishop of *Murray*, Died at *Dumfermlin* upon the 3d of the Kalends of *January*.

MCLXXXVI. *Christian*, Bishop of *Galloway*, Died upon the Nones of *October* at *Holcultram*.

MCLXXXVII. *Richard*, Chaplain to King *William*, was Elected Bishop of *Murray* upon the Kalends of *March*, and upon the Ides of the same Month was Consecrated by *Hugh* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, at *St. Andrews*.

MCLXXXVIII. *Hugh*, Bishop of *St. Andrews*, Died.

MCLXXXIX. *Roger*, Chancellor to *William*, was Elected Bishop of *St. Andrews* at *Perth* upon the Ides of *April*.

MCXCIII. *Joceline*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, Mortify'd to the Monks of *Melrofs*, a Church as a perpetual Alms for their Praying for his Soul, and the Souls of his Predecessors and Successors.

MCXCV. *Gregory*, Bishop of *Rosemarkeny*, died, to whom succeeded, *Rymald* a Monk of *Melrofs*, who was Elected at *Dumfermlin* upon the 3d of the Kalends of *March*, and Consecrated upon the 4th. of the Ides of *September* by *John* Bishop of *Dunkeld*. *Joceline*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, Dedicated the Church Erected to the Memory of *St. Andrew*, at *Peebles* upon the 4th of the Kalends of *November*.

MCXCVII. *Joceline*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, Dedicated the Cathedral Church which he had Built a-new in the 24th Year from his Instalment in that Episcopal See, *Prid. Non. Julii*.

MCXCIX. *Joceline*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, Died at *Melrofs* upon the 16th of the Kalends of *April*. *Matthew*, Bishop of *Aberdeen*, Died upon the 13th of the Kalends *September*, and *William Malvoisin* was made Chancellor upon the 6th of the Ides of *September*.

MCC. *William Malvoisin* was Consecrated Bishop of *Glasgow*.

MCCII. Roger, Bishop of St. *Andrews* Died, to whom succeeded *William Malvoisin* Bishop of *Glasgow*; *Rodulphus* Bishop of *Brichen* was Consecrated.

MCCIII. *John*, Bishop of *Dunkeld*, Died, to whom succeeded *Richard de Prebenda*, Chaplain and Kinsman to the King. *Richard* Bishop of *Murray* Died, to whom succeeded *Bricius* Prior of *Lesnabagu*.

MCCVII. *John*, Bishop of *Aberdeen*, Died, to whom succeeded *Adam de Kaid* the King's Chaplain. *Florentius*, elect Bishop of *Glasgow*, upon License of the Pope, resign'd his Office. *William* Bishop of St. *Andrews* still continu'd beyond Seas. *Walter*, Chaplain to King *William*, was elected Bishop of *Glasgow* upon the 5th of the Ides of *December*.

MCCVIII. The New Cloister of *Dryburgh*, was Dedicated by *William* Bishop of St. *Andrews*, upon the 4th of the Ides of *September*. *Walter*, elect Bishop of *Glasgow*, having obtain'd the Pope's leave, was Consecrated upon *All-Souls Day*.

MCCIX. *John*, Bishop of *Galloway*, Died, to whom succeeded *Walter*.

MCCX. *Richard*, Bishop of *Dunkeld*, Died in the Month of *May* 1210.

MCCXII. *John*, Arch-Deacon of *Lotbian*, was elected Bishop of *Dunkeld* upn St. *Mary Magdalen's Day*.

MCCXIII. *Reynaldus*, Bishop of *Rofs*, Died (sometime a Monk of *Melrofs*) upon St. *Lucius's Day*, to whom succeeded *Andrew Murray*, but he resigning the same by the Pope's License, *Robert*, Chaplain to the King, was chosen in his Place. *Adam*, Abbot of *Melrofs*, was Elected Bishop of *Caithness* upon the Nones of *August*.

MCCXIV. *Adam*, Abbot of *Melrofs*, and Elect Bishop of *Caithness*, was consecrated Bishop by *William Malvoisin* Bishop of St. *Andrews*, in the Month of *May*, upon St. *Mamericius's Day*. The Church of St. *Mary* of *Harwick* was Dedicated by *Adam* Bishop of *Caithness*, upon the 4th of the Kalends of *June*. *John*, Bishop of *Dunkeld*, Died upon the Nones of *October*, to whom succeeded *Hugh Clericus de Sigillo*.

MCCXV. There went from *Scotland* to *Rome*, to attend the General Council at *Lateran*, *William Malvoisin* Bishop of St. *Andrews*, *Walter* Bishop of *Glasgow*, *Bricius* Bishop of *Murray*, and *Henry* Abbot of *Kelso*: Two of which, viz. the Bishop of *Murray* and the Abbot of *Kelso* return'd to *Scotland* immediately after the Council, the Bishop of *Glasgow* Three Years after, and the Bishop of St. *Andrews* Four Years, the other Prelates went not Personally to *Rome*, but sent their Legates.

MCCXVI. *Radulfus*, the 14th Abbot of *Melrofs*, receiv'd the Benediction from *Hugh* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, upon the 3d of the Kalends of *October*.

MCCXVIII. In the beginning of *January*, *William* Bishop of St. *Andrews* return'd from the General Council of *Lateran*. The Bishop of *Brichen* died, to whom succeeded *Gregory* Arch-Deacon of *Brichen*. There went from *Scotland* to *Rome*, to obtain their Absolution, *Walter* Bishop of *Glasgow*, *Bricius* Bishop of *Murray*, and *Adam* Bishop of *Caithness*, and the next Year return'd.

MCCXIX. *Biricius*, Bishop of *Murray*, Died, to whom succeeded *Andrew de Muravia*. The most Pious and Worthy Pastor and Father, *Adam* Bishop of *Caithness*, sometime a Monk of *Melrofs*, and a true Monk of the Cistercian Order, together with his Fellow Monk Dean of *Nembottle* call'd *Serlon* suffer'd Martyrdom at his Episcopal Manour call'd *Haukirc*, upon

upon the Third of the Ides of September being the Lords Day.
MCCXXXII. *Walter*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, Died in the 24th Year from his instalment in that See, to whom succeeded *William* Chancellor to the King.

MCCXXXIII. *Clement*, a Friar of the Dominican Order, was Elected Bishop of *Dumblane*, and Consecrated by *William* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, on the Day of the Translation of *St. Cutbert*, in the Church of *Wedal*; *Andrew Murray* Bishop of *Murray* Dedicated *St. Mary's* Church of *Newbottle* upon the 3d of the Ides of *March*. *William*, Bishop of *Glasgow* was Consecrated by *Andrew* Bishop of *Murray*, the Sunday after the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, in the Church of *Glasgow*.

MCCXXXV. *William*, Bishop of *Galloway*, Died upon the first Sunday of the *Quadragesima*, and *Gilbert* Abbot of *Melrofs* was elected in his Place, the first Sunday before the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, in the Cathedral Church of *Tork*.

MCCXXXVI. *Gilbert*, Bishop of *Dunkeld*, Died, and was Buried in *St. Columbanus's* Island, and *Gaufrid* the King's Chaplain was Elected in his Place.

MCCXXXVIII. *William Malvoisin*, Bishop of *St. Andrews*, Died, and *David de Benham* was Elected in his Place.

MCCXXXIX. *Gilbert*, Bishop of *Aberdeen*, Died, to whom succeeded *Radalph de Lamly* Abbot of *Aberbrothoc*.

MCCXL. Pope *Gregory*, having cited, from the several parts of Christendom, so many Bishops to appear personally at *Rome*, there went out of *Scotland*, the Bishops of *St. Andrews* and *Glasgow*, to the great Regret of many People.

MCCXLI. *William*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, and *David* Bishop of *St. Andrews* returned Home with the Bishops of *France* and *England*, having first Protested against the Legates who were their Leaders, in regard, that they could not, without manifest Danger of their Lives, go to the Apostolic See.

MCCXLII. *Andrew*, Bishop of *Murray*, Died.

MCCXLVI. *Matthew*, Abbot of *Melrofs*, received Solemnly the Benediction from *William* Bishop of *Glasgow* in the Church of *Melrofs*.

MCCXLVII. *William*, (or rather *Raldolph*) Bishop of *Aberdeen*, Died, to whom succeeded *Peter de Ramsay*.

MCCXLIX. *Gilbert*, Bishop of *Brichen*, Died, to whom succeeded *Robert* his Arch-Deacon.

MCCLIII. *Adam*, Bishop of *St. Andrews*, Died, to whom succeeded *Abel*, Arch-Deacon of *St. Andrews*. *Gilbert*, Bishop of *Galloway*, Died, to whom succeeded *Henry*, Abbot of *Holy-rood-house*.

MCCLIV. *Abel*, Bishop of *St. Andrews*, Died, after which *Gamelinus* Chancellor to the King, was Elected in his Place, by the Prior and Convent of *St. Andrews*, which was confirmed by the King and his Council.

MCCLV. By a Warrant from *Rome*, *William* Bishop of *Glasgow* consecrated *Gamelinus* Bishop of *St. Andrews* upon *St. Stephen's* Day, and *Henry* Elect Bishop of *Galloway* was Consecrated by *Walter* Arch-Bishop of *Tork*.

MCCLVI. *Gamelinus*, Bishop of *St. Andrews*, was thrust out of his Bishopric by the King's Council, because he would not go along with their Pernicious Council, and that he refused to give them a Sum of Money

Money for his Bishopric, whereupon he went straight to *Rome*, to make his Complaint to the Pope; the King and his Council, in his absence, seis'd upon the Revenues of his Bishopric. *Peter*, Bishop of *Aberdeen*, Died, to whom succeeded *Richard Pottun*.

MCCLVII. There arriv'd at *Rome* Legates sent from the Governours of *Scotland* to the Pope, who gave in a Complaint against the Bishop of *St. Andrews*: Upon which, the Pope having heard both Parties, pronounced Sentence in Favour of the Bishop, and declar'd that he was free from all the Crimes that were laid to his Charge; and past Sentence of Excommunication against all those who had seis'd upon the Bishop's Rents; ordering *Clement* Bishop of *Dumblane*, M. Abbot of *Melrofs*, and N. Abbot of *Jedewrth*, to make known to the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Sentence he had pronounced against them, by Ringing of Bells and lighted Torches; and that if this public Admonition brought them not to their Duty, then they should be Excommunicated one by one, every Counsellor being Nam'd; the first they did at *Stirling*, and the Counsellors noways relenting, the other was done in the Conventual Church of *Kambzkniele*.

MCCLVIII. *Gamelinus*, Bishop of *St. Andrews*, being call'd by the King from his Exile, was restor'd to his Bishopric. *Clement*, Bishop of *Dumblane*, died, to whom succeeded *Robert de Prebenda* Deacon to that Church. *William*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, died on the Vigil of *St. Martine*, and was buried on *St. Bricius's* Day, at *Melrofs*, near to the High Altar; to whom succeeded *Nicolaus*, Arch-Deacon of *Teviotdale*, who went, after the Purification, to *Rome* to be consecrated by the Pope.

MCCLIX. *Nicolaus*, Elect Bishop of *Glasgow*, return'd from *Rome*, without Consecration, because he could not purchase it without giving the Pope and Cardinals a considerable Sum of Money; and because he was greatly oppos'd by *Robert*, Elect Bishop of *Dumblane*, who thought to have purchas'd it for himself, but he was deceiv'd, for *John de Chyrum* was promoted to the Place by the Pope.

MCCLX. *John*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, was receiv'd by the King, and solemnly Enthron'd in his Episcopal See at *St. Andrews*.

MCCLXII. *Allan*, Bishop of *Argile*, died upon *St. Agnus's* Day, at *Jedewrth*. The Queen of *Scotland* was brought to Bed of a Son, whom *Gamelinus*, Bishop of *St. Andrews*, Baptis'd *Alexander*.

MCCLXVIII. *John*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, died in *France*, in the City of *Meaux*, and lies buried there; and *William Wiscard* was elected Bishop in his Place; but *Gamelinus*, Bishop of *St. Andrews*, dying, *Wiscard* (or *Wisbart*) was promoted to that See; and *Robert Wiscard*, his Nephew and Arch-Deacon of *Lothian*, was made Bishop of *Glasgow*.

MCCLXIX. *Albin*, Bishop of *Brechin*, died, to whom succeeded *William de Kilconcath* Reader to the *Dominicans* at *Perth*. These are the Bishops mention'd in this Chronicle.

Sir *George Mackenzie* has observ'd (a), That the Printed Chronicle of *Melrofs* is not so full and exact, as to our *Scots* Affairs, as the MSS. Copies we have of it: And the Learn'd Doctor *Jameston* has observ'd (b), That if any of these MSS. were to be publish'd, it should be done with Three different sorts of Notes or Observations; the First should be upon the Printed Chronicle at *Oxford*, shewing, that it cannot be the Genuine

(a) Antiq. of the Royal Line, Pag. 56. (b) See the Append. to Dr. Nicol. Scots Hist. Lib. Numb. III.

ruine Chronicle of *Melrofs*, since there are many Interpolations in it written by some *English* Man, who has been altogether ignorant of the *Scots* Affairs and of Chronology; and these Observations should be Printed in the Preface. 2dly. There should be other Notes, illustrating the Text of the Chronicle it self, and these should be plac'd upon the Margin. And lastly, there should be Notes, correcting the Text of the Chronicle, which should be plac'd at the Foot of the Page; of all which, that Learn'd Person has given us a Specimen. The Bishop of *Carlisle*, speaking of this Chronicle (c), says, "That the First Discovery that we have in it of a *Scotish* Author, is about the Year 1056. when the Affairs of *Malcolm Canmoir* came to be largely treated on; and yet (even a good while after this *A. D.* 1148.) the Monastery it self seems to have been in *English* Hands; the Chronicle telling us, that then *Walterus Frater Henrici Comitis Northimbrorum Simonis Comitis Northumptonæ factus est Abbas de Melrofs*, in the Year 1157. The Abbot of *Dundranan* (or some of his Country-men) was most probably the Scribe; this being the Account which he gives of the *Scots* King's Homage, *Rex Malcolmus Scotorum, veniens ad Regem Angliæ Henricum, apud Cestriam devenit homo suus, eo modo quo avus suus fuerat homo veteris Regis Henrici salvis omnibus Dignitatibus suis*. Which is the First time that any such *Salvo* is observ'd and recorded; nor is this Matter taken Notice of in the *Oxford* Edition, but only in the MSS. Copy, which they have in *Scotland*. Thus far he: But I doubt if this Learn'd Prelate's Argument, for proving this Monastery to be subject to the *English* in the Year 1148. be very concluding, since this *Walterus*, or *Waldevius*, as the Printed Copy calls him (d), was Uncle to King *Malcolm*.

The Abbots of *Melrofs*, with their Designations and Successions, are as follows. *Richard*, First Abbot of *Melrofs*, was install'd in the Year 1136, being the same Year, on which it was Founded by King *David*; to whom succeeded *Walterus* or *Walter*, Brother to *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland* and *Simon* Earl of *Northampton*, and Uncle to King *Malcolm*, in the Year 1148, and died upon the 3d of the Nones of *August* 1159; to whom succeeded *William* a Monk of the same Abbacy, in the same Year, upon the 5th of the Kalends of *December*, who demitted his Charge upon the 10th of the Kalends of *May*, in the Year 1170, and was succeeded by *Joceline*, Prior to the said Abbacy, who being made Bishop of *Glasgow* in the Year 1173, was succeeded upon the 11th of the Ides of *May* by *Laurentius* a Monk of the said Abbacy, and some time an Abbot in *Orkney*; to whom succeeded *Ernald*, in the Year 1179, who being translated to the Abbacy of *Rieval* upon the 6th of the Nones of *March*, in the Year 1189. *Reinerius* Abbot of *Kinlofs*, and sometime a Monk of *Melrofs*, was chosen in his Place, upon the 10th of the Kalends of *April*, who was succeeded by *Radulph* Abbot of *Kinlofs*, upon the 14th of the Kalends of *October*, in the Year 1194. But he being made Bishop of *Down* in *Ireland*, he was succeeded by *William* Abbot of *Couper*, in the Year 1202. who, dying in the Year 1206, was succeeded by *Patrick* Sub-Prior of *Melrofs*, upon the 6th of the Ides of *June*, who, dying the next Year, was succeeded by *Adam* Prior of *Melrofs*, who being made Bishop of *Caithness* in the Year 1214. *Hugh de Clippeston*, a Monk of *Melrofs*, was chosen in his Place, upon the Ides of *May*, who demitted

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his Place the next Year, and *William* Abbot of *Holmcultram* succeeded to him upon the 16th of the Kalends of *December*; who, being translated the next Year to *Rieval*, was succeeded by *Radulphus* a Monk of *Melrofs*, upon the 18th of the Kalends of *October*, who, dying in the Year 1219, was succeeded by *Adam de Karkurres* Abbot of *Newbottle*, upon the 8th of the Ides of *August*; to whom succeeded *Matthew* a Monk of *Melrofs*, in the Year 1246, who demitted the Place upon the Account of his being very Valetudinary, in the Year 1261. And *Adam de Macflon* Abbot of *Newbottle* was chosen in his Place, who was depos'd, for unjustly deposing his Son the Abbot of *Holm*, in the Year 1267; to whom succeeded *John de Ederham* a Monk of *Melrofs*, who, dying in the Year 1268, was succeeded by *Robert de Keldelech* a Monk of *Newbottle*, who had been Abbot of *Dumfermling* and Chancellor of *Scotland*, to whom succeeded *Patrick de Sellekirk*, who is the Twentieth and last Abbot mention'd in this Chronicle.

PETER RAMSAT Bishop of *Aberdeen*, was at first a Monk of *Aberbrothoc*, and succeeded *Radolph* the Tenth Bishop of *Aberdeen* in that See, about the Year of our Lord 1247 (a), and sat Ten Years, dying in the Year 1257, says *Spotiswood*, but *Dempster* says, that he died in the Year 1254. *Hector Boece*, in his Lives of the Bishops of *Aberdeen*, says, he was a Man seen in all sort of Learning, and that he was so kind to his Chanons, that he parted many of his Rents amongst them. This Prelate compos'd the Canons of the Cathedral Church of *Aberdeen*, out of which *Dempster* makes Two Books, the one which he calls *Variae Ecclesiae Sanctiones*, and the other *Decreta ad Sacerdotes*. These Canons were in MSS. in the Custody of the Learn'd D. *Jamison* lately deceas'd, under the following Title, *Constitutiones Ecclesiae Cathedralis Abyrdonenfis, Apostolica Auctoritate, per Reverendum in Christo Patrem, Colendissimumque Virum Petrum de Ramsay Dictae Ecclesiae quondam Pontificem, Editae Anno infra annotato. i. e. 1256.*

SIMON WHITE, of the Order of the *Templars*, to shun the Punishments that were inflicted upon those of his Order, says *Dempster* (a), fled to the East, where he publish'd a Vindication of those of his Order. This Order was first establish'd (b) in the Year 1118. by *Hugh de Paganis*, *Geofry de St. Omer* and Seven other Knights, who swore to the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, That they would live according to the Rule of the Chanon Regulars, and they were order'd to guard the Ways and protect the Pilgrims that went to *Jerusalem*. *Baldwine II.* King of *Jerusalem*, gave them at first a House nigh to the Temple, from whence they had their Name of *Templars*. The Council of *Troyes*, held in the Year 1128, approv'd of their Institution, and order'd, That for the future, they should wear a White Habit. Pope *Eugene III.* order'd them to wear above their Habit, for a distinguishing Badge, a Red Cross. At first they were Poor and few in Number, but by Degrees they so multiply'd, that they spread themselves over all the Christian World, and had in every Country a great Number of Houses and vast Revenues. Their Riches made them Arrogant and Proud; they shook off the Yoke of

(a) Vid. *Spotisw. Lib. 11. Pag. 102.* *Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Lib. XVI. Pag. 232.* (a) *Lib. 19. Pag. 697.* (b) Vid. *M. Du Pin, Nouv. Bib. des Aut. Eccles. Tom. II. Pag. 13. &c.*

of Obedience, that they had taken to the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, exempted themselves from the Jurisdiction of their Ordinaries, refus'd to pay their Tithes ; and such at length was their Power, that they became Formidable to all the Kings and Princes in Christendom. Whilst they were at *Jerusalem*, they employ'd all their Forces against the Infidels ; but that City being taken by *Saladine*, in the Year 1187, they retir'd at first to *St. John d'Acre*, and then to a Castle near to *Cesarea*, where they continued to make War upon the Infidels : But at the taking of the City of *Acre*, the most of them all were kill'd, in the Year 1191. there remaining only about Ten of them, who retir'd to the Island of *Cyprus*, from whence they made frequent Incursions upon the *Suracens*. At length, they seis'd upon the Island of *Tortosa* ; but the Sultan of *Babylon* immediately drove them out of that ; after which, they equipp'd a Fleet in *Sicily*, with which, they sail'd alongst all the Coast of *Greece*, which they burnt and plunder'd ; they took *Tbrace* and *Theffalonica*, ravag'd the *Hellefpont* and the *Peloponnese*, and at length took *Athens*, killing *Robert de Brenne* the Governour ; and in one word, they employ'd that Power against the Christians, which they design'd against the Infidels, not warring as their Predecessors did, upon a Motive of Devotion, but to enrich themselves, and at length, came to the height of committing the most abominable Villanies that ever were heard of. Yet for a time, their Crimes were conceal'd, till Two Knights of the Order being apprehended for their Crimes, were resolv'd to make a full Discovery of all, by involving their whole Order in their Misery ; the one was the Prior of *Montsaucon* in the Province of *Tboulouse*, an Apostate condemn'd and imprison'd by the Great Master of the Order ; the other was nam'd *Noffo-Dei*, a *Florentine*, condemn'd to most rigorous Punishments by the Prevot of *Paris*, *Philip le Bel*, who hated the *Templars*, and only wanted a fit Opportunity to destroy them, order'd, that these Two Criminals should be examin'd and their Depositions Recorded ; but they depon'd such horrid Abominations, that the King himself could hardly believe them. In the mean time, he resolv'd to make a more strict Inquiry into the Truth of them ; and because this was an aspersing an Order, that had spread it self over all Christendom, he spoke of it to Pope *Clement V.* when he assisted at his Coronation at *Lyons*, and afterwards caus'd his Ambassadors put him in mind of it at *Poitiers* : The Pope could not believe, that the Crimes that were imputed to them could be true, so incredible and impossible they seem'd to be ; the Great Master of the Temple and several of his Order supplicated the Pope, that they might be inform'd of the Accusations laid to their Charge, offering to submit to the most rigorous Punishments, if they did not vindicate themselves. Upon which, the Pope, by a Bull, upon the 23d of *August* in the Year 1306, intimated to *Philip le Bel*, that in a few Days he was going to *Poitiers*, to inform himself of all that could be laid to that Order's Charge, intreating, that he might send such Informations as he had against them. Upon this, the King being afraid, that upon such a Discovery, a Civil War might be rais'd in his Kingdom, by reason of the great Number of that Order that was there, he sent Letters to all the Judges in his Kingdom, ordering them to arrest all the *Templars* upon the same Day ; and that the thing might be kept the more secret, they were order'd not to break open their Letters till

the Night before they were to be arrested, which was punctually put in Execution : For all the *Templars* of the Kingdom were arrested and put in Prison, upon the 5th Day of *October*, in the Year 1307. The Great Master of the Order, *James Molay* of the City of *Besancon*, being then at *Paris*, was arrested amongst the rest, and all their Goods confiscate to the King. The next Day, His Majesty caus'd assemble the University of *Paris*, and acquainted them by *William de Nogaret*, who was the Principal Person employ'd in this Affair, of the Reasons that had mov'd him to imprison the *Templars*, and the horrible Crimes they were accus'd of; but the Pope, being highly displeas'd with this Procedure of the *French* King, emitted a Bull dated upon the 27th of *October*, in the Second Year of his Pontificate, wherein he complains, That he had imprison'd the *Templars*, Subjects to the *Roman* Church, *absque medio*, and seis'd upon their Goods, tho' it belong'd to Secular Powers to judge of Ecclesiastics; and says further, That he had the more Reason to complain of this Procedure, in regard that he had acquainted him, that he was going to inform himself of what might be laid to their Charge, and that he was still willing to send Two Cardinals to him to treat of that Affair with him, to the end the Prisoners and their Goods might be put in their Hands. In the mean time, the King commission'd *William* of *Paris*, of the Order of the *Dominicans* and the Pope's Inquisitor for *France*, to instruct the Process against them. The Crimes laid to their Charge, were, 1mo. That they oblig'd all those that entred into their Order, at their Reception, to deny *Jesus Christ*, and to spit Three times against a Crucifix. 2do. That they oblig'd them to kiss him who receiv'd them, on the Mouth, on the Navil and on the *Anus*. 3tio. That they oblig'd them to abstain from all Carnal Commerce with Women, but permitted them to use Sodomy with their Brethren. And Lastly, That they caus'd them adore an Head made of Wood, gilded and silver'd over, that had a great Beard, which they expos'd likewise at their General Chapters to be ador'd. The Inquisitor examin'd a Hundred and Fourty *Templars* of *Paris* in the Month of *November*, in the Year 1307. and the Three First Heads were own'd by the most of them all, and the last was acknowledg'd by some, but denied by others, and amongst them all there were only Three that vindicated the Innocency of the Order, by denying all that was laid to their Charge, viz. *James Molay* the Great Master of the Order, *Hugh Perraut* and *Guy* Brother to the *Dauphin* of *Vienna*. Amongst the rest, one of those who were examin'd call'd *Geofry de Gonneville*, and who had been receiv'd in *England*, said, That he having refus'd at his Reception to Abjure *Jesus Christ*, the Superior Swore to him, that *That* could do him no Harm, that it was the Custom of the Order, which was brought in, by one of their Great Masters, who being taken Prisoner by a Sultan, was only set at Liberty, upon the Condition, that he should introduce this Custom into the Order, but others said, that it was Introduced by *Romeline*, one of the Great Masters of their Order, and others by *Thomas Beraud* another Great Master of their Order. And Lastly, others said, That he was in Imitation of *St. Peter* who had deny'd *Jesus Christ* Three times, and most of them all said, That they had Repented, Confessed, and perform'd Penance for what they had done. *John de Cassanbas* Preceptor to the House of *Nogared*, near to *Pamiez*, declar'd, That when he was

receiv'd into the Order, they sent Two Knights to him to ask him, if he was willing to enter into the Order, he told them, that he design'd so, upon which they told him, that what he was going to do, was a great Enterprize, that it was hard to observe their Rule, and that he only saw the Exterior of it; but persisting in his Resolution he was brought before the Preceptor, who had a Book in his Hand, and being attended by Ten of the Order, he was desir'd to Kneel; which having done, the Preceptor desir'd him to tell what he was asking, and having Answer'd, That he was desirous to enter into the Order, he caus'd him put his Hand upon the Book, and Swear that he had nothing to hinder him from entering into the Order, such as Debts, Marriage, or any other Servitude; That afterwards the Preceptor told him, "*You must promise to GOD and to Us, that you live without any Property, that you will be Chast, and observe the Use and Custom of the Order, and that you believe in GOD the Creator, that he is Dead, and that he cannot Die,*" which he Swore; then they clothed him with the Habite, during which time, a Priest Read the 133 Psalm, *Behold how good and how delightful it is, &c.* which being done, the Preceptor Kiss'd his Mouth, then laying himself upon the Bench where he was sitting, he Kiss'd the Preceptor's Arms above his Habite, after which, the Preceptor sitting upon the Bench, the rest of the Brethren Kiss'd his Navil, then taking out a Box in which there was an Idol of an Humane Figure, he plac'd it upon a Chest and said, "My Brethren, behold a Friend of GOD's that speakes to him when he pleases; give Thanks to him for bringing you to that State which you so much desir'd, and that he has accomplish'd your Wishes. After which they ador'd that Idol three times upon their Knees, holding up the Crucifix as a Signal that they renounc'd it, and spiting against it, the Preceptor gave him a Cord to Tie about his Waste, and permitted him when he found any Lustful Desires to commit Sodomy with his Brethren; all which being done, he was led to another Place cloth'd with the Habite of the Order, and brought back again to the Preceptor, who taught him how he ought to behave in the Church, in War and at the Table; and another of them added to these Circumstances, that when the Preceptor did show them the Idol, he Kiss'd it, saying, *Talla*, which is a *Saracen* Word of Salutation.

At length, after this Order had been severely Treated, Examind and Tri'd in all the Parts in Christendom, the whole was remitted to a General Council which was call'd for that end at *Vienna* in *Dauphiny*, in the Year 1311. In the first Session of this Council, which was held upon the 16th of *October*, the Affair was brought before them, and some were for hearing them before they Abolished their Order, but others to the Contrair, were for admitting of no Delay, because it would be a great Scandal to the Church not to Abolish them after the Enormous Crimes they had been Convicted of; *William Durant* Bishop of *Mende* was of this Opinion, and gave in a Memorial to the Pope, for proving the Necessity of Abolishing that Order. Upon the 19 of *March*, in the following Year, the Pope call'd a Particular Meeting of several Cardinals and Prelates, wherein the destroying of the Order of the *Templars* was resolv'd upon, and the Bull was publish'd the next Session, held upon the 22d of *May* 1312, at which the King of *France* assisted. Their Lands were Conferred upon the Knights of *St. John* of *Jerusalem*; the

great Master of the Order and the *Dauphin's* Brother were Burnt alive at *Paris*, for maintaining their Innocency. Several Historians have endeavour'd to vindicate this Order from all the Calumnies that were alledged against them, whose Reasons and Replies made to them, may be seen in the Excellent Author above-cited, but what Defences our Author made for them, I know not, having never seen his Book, which *Dempster* calls *Templariorum Innocentia*, and says, that he flourish'd in the Year 1310. They had a great many Lands in *Scotland*, and one of their Principal Houses was at *St. Germans* in *Lothian*.

MATTHEW AMARBARICENSIS, so call'd from his Monastery in *Frisland* (a), where he was a Monk for several Years; but forsaking his Monastery, he undertook a Pilgrimage to *Rome*, but was forc'd to retire to the City of *Pisa*, where he spent the remainder of his Days, and wrote the History of that People in Elegant *Latine* Verse, which *Dempster* says, fell casually in 'his Hands at *Genoa*, and which he design'd to Publish. This History begins thus,

*Pisanas acies, Latio Victricia toto
Arma cano, invictasque Rates, Oriente subacto,
Quæ Sanctum Domini rursum asseruere Sepulchrum :
Captivosque iterum duxere in Vincla Tyrannos ;
Viribus, annisi Mahometi extinguere sectam.*

From this History *Dempster* says, he learn'd more of that People than from all the other Writings that he had seen about them. He wrote *Gesta Pisanorum* MSS. He flourish'd in the Year 1307.

LEWIS CERLEON, was an Author who flourish'd about the Year 1369 (a), and if we may believe *Dempster*, he was Banish'd from his own Country, and lived in Exile in *England* till a little before his Death, that he was re-call'd towards the latter end of the Reign of King *David II.* or the beginning of the Reign of King *Robert II.* which is all that he knew of him, but that there were Two Books of his, publish'd at *Basil*, viz. An Explanation upon the Epistles of *St. Paul*, and a Compend of Philosophy, besides which, he cites the Book of *Scoon*, for another Book he had written against the Tyranny of King *Edward*; *Ejus sunt*, says he, *Edwardi Angli Tyrannis Lib. Sconanus Codex. Epistolarum D. Pauli explanatio Lib. 1. Philosophiæ Compendium Lib. 1. Quæ ultima duo opera Basil. prodierunt.*

ADAM BLACATER,] this Gentleman was descended from a Good Family (a), and having finish'd the Course of his Studies at Home, he Travell'd thro' all *Europe*, and was for some time a Professor of Philosophy at *Cracow* in *Poland*, and afterwards at *Bononia* in *Italy*. And Lastly, he was made Rector of one of the Colleges of the University of *Paris*, where, in all Probability he Died, *Dempster* says, that he flourish'd about the Year 1319, and wrote a Dissertation against *Titus Livius*, which was Publish'd at *Lyons*.

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(a) Vid. *Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 1. Pag. 39, 40.* (a) Vid. *Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 3. Pag. 179.* (a) Vid. *Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 2. Pag. 124*

There never was an Historian who has been so much Commended as *Titus Livius* (b), for some Persons have given the same Elogy to *Livy*, as *Seneca* the Rhetorician ascrib'd to *Cicero*, viz. To have had a Wit answerable to the Greatness of the Roman Empire; and others have not been Content to have equall'd the Eloquence of this Historian to that Orator, but have proceeded so far, as to suppose, that if *Cicero* had attempted to write a History, he would have been inferior to him in the performance of it; and *Pliny* the younger, has left us a memorable Passage of his Fame, in one of his Epistles, where he says, that his Predecessors saw a Man, who came into *Italy* from the Extremities of *Spain*, (which was then counted the remotest Place on the Earth in the *West*) only to have the Satisfaction to see *Livy*. *Antonius Panormitanus* tells us (c), that in the Year 1451 *Alphonso* the Wise, King of *Arragon*, sent an Ambassador to demand of the Citizens of *Padua*, and obtain'd from them as a Precious Relique, the Bone of that Arm wherewith this their Famous Country Man had writ his History, causing it to be Convoy'd to *Naples* with all sorts of Honour, as the most Estimable Present that could be made him. Yet in the Age wherein he liv'd, *Afinus Pollio* arraign'd his Stile, which he call'd *Patavinity*, upon which, the Critics have had several Opinions, but the most common is, that this Roman Lord, accustomed to the Delicacy of the Language spoken in the Court of *Augustus*, could not bear with certain Provincial Idioms which *Livy* as a *Paduan* us'd, in divers Places of his History. *Pignorius* is of another Mind, and believes that this odious *Patavinity* had respect only to the Orthography of certain Words, wherein *Livy* us'd one Letter for another, according to the Custom of his Country, writing *Sibo* and *Quase* for *Sibi* and *Quasi*, which he proves by divers Ancient Inscriptions: Some think, that it consisted meerly in a Repetition, or rather Multiplicity of many Synonymous Words in one Period, contrair to what was practis'd at *Rome*; others Report, that the *Paduans*, having always been of *Pompey's* Party, *Pollio* that was a *Cæsarian*, or one of *Cæsar's* Faction, derided *Livy's* *Patavinity*, and accus'd him of having shown too great an Inclination for *Pompey*, which seems so much the likelier, because he was accus'd of the same Fault by *Augustus*. There are who likewise affirm, that *Livy's* Partiality for those of *Padua*, appear'd manifestly in those Books which are lost, where he was led by his Subject to an immoderate Praise of his Country-Men, which they say, *Pollio* call'd his *Patavinity*, but *M. La Moth. Le Vayer* thinks, that it only consisted in the Stile and Phrase, and proves it from *Quintilian* (d), who in all Probability, knew in his time the true Signification of it: He tells us, that *Vestius* was Reproach'd of having employ'd too many *Sabine*, *Tuscan* and *Prænestine* Words in his Writings, so that, says he, *Lucilius* thereupon Laugh'd at his Language, as *Pollio* did at the *Patavinity* of *Livy*.

Several other Learn'd Men have censur'd *Livy* for other Faults, *Justine* informs us, that *Trogus Pompeius* censur'd *Livy's* Orations for being Direct and too long; *Quintilian* observ'd, that he begins his History with Part of an Hexameter Verse, and *Mascardi* in the Fifth Part of his *Art of History*, rehearses many others which he found there, and the same Author Taxes him in another Place, of having been Defective in many important Circumstances, which we Read in *Appian*, and which

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(b) Vid. Notitia Hist. Select. Par M. La Moth. Le Vayer. (c) Lib. de Reb. Gest. Alphonf. (d) Lib. 1. Inst. Cap. 3.

he ought not to have omitted. *Seneca* the Rhetorician, says, that he was sway'd by Envy, when he prefer'd *Thucydides* to *Salust*, that he was much to Blame, for attributing to any Man a Greatness of Wit, without Goodness, believing them to be inseparable Qualities. Pope *Gregory* the Great, would not allow *Livy's* Works to be kept in any Christian Library, because of his Pagan Superstition. *Bodine*, *Benius*, and others, Censure his Stile, for being too Poetical in some Places, too Prolix in others, and often unlike it self. *Budæus* and *Henricus Galareanus* accuse him of Injustice to the *Gauls*, in all his Narrations, where he Treats of them and their Wars; but that for which our Author accuses him, is upon the Digression, in the Ninth Book of his First Decade, on the Subject of *Alexander* the Great, whose Renown, he says, oblig'd him to Reflect upon the Probable Success he might have had against the *Romans*, if he had attack'd them, where he makes a Question of equalling Ten or Twelve *Roman* Captains, to that Invincible Monarch; but Manages it with so much Disadvantage on one side, and so much Flattery on the other, that, as *M. Le Vayor* observes of it, it is very Disagreeable to any Judicious Reader; for nothing can be so unworthy of so great a Pen, as that of *Livy's*, as putting the Difference on the one side, betwixt the Senate of *Rome*, whose Senators he considers as so many Kings, and *Alexander* on the other, without considering that *Alexander* had in his Army under his Command, *Ptolemæus*, *Lyfimachus*, *Cassander*, *Leonatus*, *Philotas*, *Antigonus*, *Eumenes*, *Parmenio*, *Cleander*, *Polyparchon*, *Perdiccas*, *Clytus*, *Ephestion*, and others like them, more Renown'd and Experienc'd in Military Affairs, if we may judge by their Actions, than all those *Roman* Chiefs which he pretends to compare to them.

Our Author, as I have said, has written *Dissertat. pro Alexandro Magno contra T. Livy Locum ex Decad. Lib. 9. Prodiit Lugduni*.

THOMAS COLYNGHAM, a Cistercian Monk, and a Doctor of *Paris* (a), liv'd about the Year 1387; and wrote, says *Dempster*, a Book upon the *Eucharist*; the Original MSS. of which, was in the Bibliothec of *St. Victor*; and publish'd at *Paris*, by *John Chyen*, who was one of *Dempster's* Masters; and he says of it, *Ejus Opus serium & Grave de Eucharistia*.

BLIND HART (a), so call'd, from his being Born Blind, was an Author who flourish'd about the Year 1361, who wrote the Actions of *Sir William Wallace* in *Scots* Metre. This Work is divided into XII. Books, and each Book into several Chapters. The First Chapter of the First Book, is an Introduction to the whole, and gives an Account of his Parentage; The Second is upon the Battel of *Berwick*; The Third, upon that of *Dumbar*; The Fourth, How King *Edward* and *Cors-Patrick* came to *Scoon*, and depos'd *John Baliol*; The Fifth, How *Wallace* slew Young *Selbie* the Constable's Son of *Dundee*; The Sixth and Last, How he went to Fish upon the Water of *Irvine*. The First Chapter of the Second Book gives an Account, How *Wallace* slew a Churl with his own Staff at *Air*; The Second, How he slew Lord *Percie's* Stewart, and was imprison'd for the same at *Air*; The Third, How he made his Escape

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(a) Vid. *Dempst. Lib. 3. Pag. 185.* (a) Vid. *Dempst. Lib. 8. Pag. 349.*

out of Prison; And the Fourth and Last, is of the Battel of *Lowdon-Hill*. The First Chapter of the Third Book gives an Account, How *Wallace* reveng'd the Slaughter of his Father and his Brother on *Lowdon-Hill*; The Second, How the *English* and he concluded a Peace; and the Third and Last, How he slew a Buckler-Player in the Town of *Air*. In the First Chapter of the Fourth Book, he gives an Account, How *Wallace* won the Pile of *Gargunnock*; In the Second, How he went to *St. Johnston*, slew the Commander of that Town and won *Kinclevain*; In the Third, How he overcame the *English* at *Short-wood-shawes*; In the Fourth and Last, How he was sold to the *English* by his Leman or Concubine. The First Chapter of the Fifth Book gives an Account, How *Wallace* escap'd out of *St. Johnston*, and past to *Elchok-Park* and slew *Fawdoun*; In the Second, How he went to *Lochmaben*, where the *English* cut off his Horses Tails, and how he kill'd them in Revenge; In the Third and Last, How he gain'd the Castle of *Crawfurd*, and slew the Governour thereof. In the First Chapter of the Sixth Book, he gives an Account of *Wallace's* Marriage, and how *Heslrig* an *English*-Man kill'd his Wife in the Town of *Air*, and how in Revenge *Wallace* kill'd *Heslrig*, and expell'd the *English* out of the Town of *Lanerk*; And in the Last, of the Battel of *Bigger*. In the First Chapter of the Seventh Book, he gives an Account, how *Wallace* burnt the Barns of *Air*, and expell'd Bishop *Beik* out of *Glasgow*, and slew the Lord *Percie*; In the Second, How he slew *Macfadyean*; In the Third, How he took the Town of *St. Johnston*; And in the Fourth and Last, How *Wallace* laid a Siege to *Dundee*, and gave Battel to *Kirkingham*, Treasaurer to King *Edward*, and the Earl of *Warran*, at *Striveling-Bridge*. In the First Chapter of the Eighth Book, he gives an Account, How *Wallace* drove *Cors-Patrick* out of *Scotland*; In the Second, How *Cors-Patrick* brought into *Scotland* Bishop *Beik* and *Robert the Bruce*, and How *Wallace* gave them Battel, and drove them out of *Scotland*; In the Third, How he past with his Army into *England*, and remain'd there Three Quarters of a Year, and return'd again without Battel; In the Fourth, How he besieg'd the City of *Tork*; and in the Fifth and Last, How the Queen of *England* came and spok'd with him. In the First Chapter of the Ninth Book, he gives an Account, How *Wallace* went into *France*; In the Second, How he went to *France*, and fought with the *Red-River*, whom he overcame; In the Third and Last, How *Wallace* went to *Guyen*. In the First Chapter of the Tenth Book, he gives an Account, How *Wallace* took the Town of *St. Johnston*; In the Second, Of the Battel of *Black-Iron-side*; In the Third, How he gain'd the Castle of *Loch-Levin*; In the Fourth, How he gain'd the Towh of *Airtb*; In the Fifth, How he burnt the *English* at *Dumbartoun*; And in the Sixth and Last, How Sir *William Douglas* gain'd the Castle of *Sanquhair*, and How *Wallace* rescu'd him from the *English*. In the First Chapter of the Eleventh Book, he gives an Account of the Battel of *Falkirk*; In the Second, How he met and fought *John of Lyn* upon the Sea; And in the Third and Last, How *Edward* King of *England* came and conquer'd all *Scotland*. In the First Chapter of the Twelfth Book, he gives an Account, How *Wallace* conquest the Land of *Guyen*, and How he was made Lord thereof; In the Second, How he slew Two Champions; In the Third, How he slew a Lyon; In the Fourth, How he return'd to *Scotland*, at the Battel of *Elchok-Park*;

in the Fifth, The Siege of St. Johnstoun; and in the Sixth and Last, How he was betray'd by Sir John Monteith, and carried to England, where he was Martyr'd. With which he ends his Book, concluding with these Lines, relating to himself and his Performance.

Of Wallace Life who bath a better Feel,
 May shew furth more with Wit and Eloquence;
 For I to this have done my Diligence.
 After the Prose, given from the Latine Book,
 Which Master Blair in his time undertook,
 In fair Latine compyled to an End,
 With good Witness, which more is to commend.
 Bishop Sinkler, that Lord was of Dunkel,
 He got this Book, and confirmed it to himsel.
 For very Truth thereof he had no dread,
 Himself had heard great Part of Wallace Deed,
 His Purpose was to have sent it to Rome,
 Our Father of Kirk therein to give his Doom;
 But Master Blair and als Sir Thomas Gray,
 After Wallace, they lived many a Day.
 These two knew best of Sir William's Deed,
 From Sixteen Tears while Nine and Twenty yeed.
 Forty and Five Wallace of Age was call'd
 That time that he was to the Southeron sold.
 Though this Matter be nought to all Pleasance,
 His soothfast Deed is worthy to advance;
 All worthy Men that Reads this Rural Dyte
 Blame not this Book, though I be Imperfite;
 I should have Thanks since I no Travel spar'd,
 For my Travel no Man heght me Remard;
 Nor Charge I had of King nor other Lord,
 Great harm I thought this good Deed should be smor'd,
 I have said here, near as the Process goes,
 And feigned not, for Friend nor yet for Foes;
 For Cost hereof was no Man bound to me,
 In this Sentence I had no will to see;
 But in as much as I rehearsed nought,
 So worthy as Noble Wallace wrought.
 But in one Point, I grant I said amiss,
 These Two Knights should blam'd be of this
 The Knight Wallace, of Craigie righteous Lord,
 And Liddail too caus'd me make wrong Retord,
 On Aliartoun Mure the Crown he took one Day
 To get Battel as mine Author will say.
 These two caus'd me say on another wise
 To Mr. Blair me did part of surprise.

There has been very different Censures of this Author and his Performance, for John Majan (b) says, That he compos'd it out of what he heard amongst the Vulgar, and that he gave but very little Faith to
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such sort of Writers, and that he was but a Mercenary Writer. But if we may believe himself, in the Verses above-cited, he was very far from being Mercenary, and he compos'd his History from good Memoirs that are not now extant, and in the Preface to *Hart's* Edition, there is a Vindication of it out of the *Scoti-Chronicon*, &c. The Bishop of *Carlisle* (c) says, That this Author describes his Hero like a true Knight Errant, cleaving his Foes generally (*thorough Braun and Bane*) down to the Shoulders, and never striking off less than an Arm or a Leg. Which in my Opinion will be acknowledg'd by all that has read this Author's History, which can be excus'd upon no other Account, unless the Liberty of a Poet be allow'd to him. *Dempster* calls him another *Homer*, and *Joannes Major* acknowledges that he was excellently well seen in the *Scots* Poetry; but *Dempster* is mistaken as to his Age, in placing him in the Year 1361, for *Major* in the above-cited Place, says, That he wrote his Book when he was a Child. *Integrum Librum* (says he) *Guillelmi Vallacei, Henricus, a Nativitate luminibus captus, me.e Infantiae tempore, cudit.* But since this Hero liv'd in this Period of time, I have follow'd *Dempster*. The Title of his Book runs thus, *The Life and Acts of the most Famous and Valiant Champion Sir William Wallace of Ellerlie Maintainer of the Liberty of Scotland.* This Book being highly esteem'd amongst the Vulgar, has had many Impressions, but the best are these, viz. That Printed in the Year 1594, and *Andrew Hart's*, in the Year 1620, both Printed at *Edinburgh*, and that at *Glasgow*, in the Year 1699, &c.

ROBERT KEITH, or as *Francis Gonzaga* calls him (a), *Robert Cryth*, Flourish'd about the Year 1347. Having finish'd the Course of his Studies in *Scotland*, he enter'd into the Order of *St. Francis*, and applying himself to Theology, he became one of the most Consummate Theologues of his Age, says the above-cited Author. He died in *Flanders*, and lies buried at *Ipres*. We have nothing of his but an Harmony of the Evangelists, which was Publish'd in *Holland*.

HUGH SCOT (a)] This Author, after he had studied the *Belles-Lettres*, apply'd himself to the Mathematics, under the Famous *Michael Scot*; after which, he apply'd himself to Divinity, enter'd into the Order of the *Carmelites*, and was, for a long time, Abbot of one of their Cloysters at *Air*. He Flourish'd about the Year 1341. *Dempster* says, That he was the most Learn'd Mathematician of his Age, and gives us the following Catalogue of his Works. *De Judiciis Nativitatum MSS. in Petaviana Bibliotheca. De Conjunctione Planetarum. De Revolutione certa Stellarum. De XII. Domibus Caelestibus. Pro Astrologia. Apologia pro se.* Of all these Works, there are none extant but Three, That upon Nativities, the Apology for himself, and the Book of Astrology; the Two First were in MSS. says *Dempster*, in *Paulus Petavius's* Library, and that of Astrology was Printed.

RICHARD OLIPHANT, flourish'd about the Year 1363; having finished the Course of his Studies at Home, went to *Italy*; where he Studied Medicine for several Years at the University of *Padua*:

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(c) Scot. Hist. Liber. P. 246. (a) Fran. Gon. Par. III. Relig. Scraph. Orig. Pag. 848. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 3. Pag. 186. (e) Vid. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 8. Pag. 160.

But upon his returning to his own Native Country, he enter'd into the Order of the *Carmelites* at *Aberdeen*. After which, he was sent to Agent some of their Affairs at *Rome*, and in his returning, he fell sick at *Pavia*; upon his Recovery, he was made Professor of Theology to that University, where he taught for several Years, with great Applause, being one of the Learn'dest Men of his Order. *Dempster*, who gives us this Account of him (a), says, that it is to be found in his Life prefixt to his Scholastic Lectures. The Catalogue of his Works, according to the same *Dempster*, *Lecturæ Scholasticæ. Commentaria Sacra; utrumque Opus prodiit ex Veneta junctarum Officina. De Conciliis Occumenicis, & alia.*

RADULPH STRODE.] This Gentleman was brought up in the Monastery of *Dryburgh* in *Teviotdale* (a), founded by *Hugh Morvil* High Constable of *Scotland*, and travell'd thorow *England*, *Germany*, *France*, *Italy* and the *Holy Land*; and, upon his Return to his Native Country, died, towards the latter End of the XIV. Century. *Dempster* says, that he studied, for some time, at *Oxford*, and was esteem'd by the Famous *Chaucer* as one of the best Poets of his Age. This Author was one of those, who wrote against the Positions of the Famous *John Wickliffe*, Professor of Theology in the University of *Oxford*. This *John Wickliffe*, being Curate of *Luteworth* in the Diocess of *Lincoln*, was chosen by the Seculars, to be Principal of a College establish'd at *Oxford*, for the Scholars of *Canterbury*; but the Monks, who had crept into that College, design'd to have another chosen in that Place, but not being Powerful enough, they were expell'd the College by *Wickliffe* and the Seculars: Upon which the Monks appeal'd to *Simon Langham* Cardinal and Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who took them under his Protection, and order'd *Wickliffe* to quit his Place to a Monk call'd *Henry Woodbal*; but *Wickliffe* refusing to obey him, the Arch-Bishop sequestred the Rents of the College; upon which, *Wickliffe* and his Associates appeal'd to Pope *Urban V.* who, by one of his Cardinals appointed for examining that Affair, order'd *Wickliffe* and his Associates to quit the College, and to make Restitution to the Monks for what they had expended. This Sentence was confirm'd by a Bull of the said Pope given in the Year 1370. At this time, the Belief of the Pope and Church's Authority over Princes, in Temporals, was sufficiently establish'd in *England*, and the Jurisdiction of the Bishops was very great: *Wickliffe*, to be reveng'd of the Pope and Arch-Bishop, for the Treatment he had met with from them, resolv'd to write against both these. This being very acceptable, first to the King, whose Power was very much weakned by that of the Pope and the Bishops; then to the Nobility, that they might obtain the Possession of the Church Lands, and be freed from all Ecclesiastic Censures; and finally, the Writing against the Pope and Prelates their Jurisdiction was alike acceptable to the People, to whom the Exacting of *St. Peter's Pence*, and several other Impositions of the Church of *Rome*, were very grievous. Having a great many Profelytes, his Doctrine beginning to make a Noise, and spread it self Abroad; *Simon Sudbury*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, call'd a Council at *London*, in the Month of *February*, in the Year 1377, to which he cited *Wickliffe*, to give an Account

(a) Vid. *Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 14. Pag. 512.* (A) Vid. *Dempst. Lib. 17. Pag. 596. The Append. to the Ch. Hist. of Scotl.* (b) Vid. *Du Pin, Nouv. Bib. des Auteurs Eccles. Tom. 12. Pag. 127. &c.*

count of his Doctrines, who accordingly came, accompanied with the Duke of *Lancaster*, who then had the sole Government of the Kingdom; (King *Edward III.* being then near to his End, and much weakned both in Body and Mind) and a great many of the Nobility. At this Council, *Wickliffe* Defended himself so well, that he was Dismiss'd without any Censure; but Pope *Gregory XI.* hearing of *Wickliffe's* Doctrines, and of the Protection that he had; wrote to the Bishops of *England* to Arrest him, and if they could not get that done, to Cite him to *Rome*; and sent them likewise Nineteen Propositions taken out of his Works, which he Condemn'd as Heretical. These Letters coming to the Bishops after the Death of *Edward III.* they call'd a Council at *Lambeth*, towards the end of the same Year, and cited *Wickliffe* to appear before them, who obey'd; but the Nobility and People declar'd themselves so openly for him, that they durst not proceed further against him, than to enjoin him Silence: But he still continu'd to preach and write against the Usurpations of the Pope and Clergy, and added several new Propositions against the Sacraments of the Church. *William Courtenay*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, in order to suppress *Wickliffe* and his Party; Assembled a Council at *London* in the Month of *May*, in the Year 1382, consisting of Eight Bishops and many Doctors and Batchelors in Theology and Law, wherein they Condemn'd Twenty Four Propositions of *Wickliffe's* and his Disciples, Ten as Heretical, and Fourteen as Erroneous, and contrary to the Definitions of the Church. These Propositions, being Censur'd in the Assembly, held upon the 21st Day of *June*, they Cited before them Mr. *Nicolas Herford* and *Philip Rapington* a Chanon-Regular, Professors of Theology, for to declare what their Sentiments were concerning these Propositions; they, after a General Protestation of submitting themselves to the Decisions of the Church, and to obey the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, gave in a Declaration, wherein they acknowleg'd these Propositions to be Heretical in some Senses, but not in others: But these Restrictions noway pleasing the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who would have them Condemn them absolutely and simply; the Doctors of the Council, by his Influence, declar'd, That the Answers of these Two Theologues were Insufficient, Heretical, Deceiving, Erroneous and Malicious; and in consequence of this Declaration, they Summon'd them to give their Answers purely and simply: But they refusing to give their Answers, upon so short an Advertisement, were delay'd till the 27th of the same Month, and at the same time, they Cited one *John Ashton* Master of Arts at *Oxford*: But this Gentleman Answer'd with more Contempt than the other Two.. By the Acts of the Council, we know not what these Theologues did, but if we may believe the Historians of the Church of *Rome*, *Herford* and *Ashton* would not Retract what they had said, but that *Rapington* abandon'd them, and that *Wickliffe* came to the Council and made a Confession of Faith, in which he retracted his Opinions, and acknowledged the real Presence of *Jesus Christ* in the Eucharist. But whatever Truth be in this, it is certain that this Council Condemn'd *Wickliffe* and his Doctrines, and obtain'd a Declaration from King *Richard* against all those, who should Preach up his Doctrines, permitting the Arch-Bishops and Bishops to Arrest them. In consequence of this Edict, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the other Prelates caus'd Arrest all those who appear'd any way warmly

in Defence of *Wickliffe*. In the mean time *Wickliffe* Died, a small time after, at *Lutermorth*, upon the 31st of *December*, in the Year 1384.

The Works of *Wickliffe* spreading abroad, more than ever, after his Death, *Thomas Arondel*, who had succeeded to *William Courtney* in the Arch-Bishopric of *Canterbury*, call'd a Provincial Council at *London*, in the Year 1396; in which, he Condemn'd the following Eighteen Articles, taken out of *Wickliffe's Trialogue*. I. That the Substance of the Bread remain'd upon the Altar after Consecration, and that it did not cease to be Bread. II. That as *John* was *Elias* in Figure, and not Personally, the Bread is in Figure, and not Personally the Body of *Jesus Christ*, and that without doubt, these Words, *This is my Body*, &c. are to be understood in a Figurative Sense, as these Words, *John* is the *Elias*. III. That in the Chapter *Ego Berengarius*, it was determin'd, that the Eucharist is naturally true Bread. IV. That those who affirm, that the Children who Die Unbaptiz'd cannot be Sav'd, are presumptuous Persons and Fools. V. That the Collation of the Sacrament of Confirmation belongs not to the Bishops. VI. That in the times of St. *Paul* and the Apostles, there were but Two Orders in the Church, viz. That of Priests and Deacons, Pride having invented the other Degrees of Pope, Patriarch, Arch-Bishop, and Bishop. VII. That the Marriages made between Ag'd Persons, that are not capable to have Children, are not true Marriages. VIII. That the Causes of Divorce that are founded upon Consanguinity or Affinity, are Null, and meerly Human Constitutions, without Ground. IX. That in the Celebration of Marriage, 'tis better to make use of the Words, *I will take you to be my Wife*, than of these, *I do take you to be my Wife*, and if one be engag'd to a Woman by the first Words, and to another by the second, the first Marriage ought only to subsist. X. That the Pope, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Officials, Deacons, Arch-Deacons, Monks, Chansons, Mendicants, and Legates, were the Twelve Forerunners and Disciples of Antichrist. XI. That the Command given to the Priests of the Ancient Law, and to the Levites, to live upon the Oblations and the Tithes, is a Negative Precept, which always Binds. XII. That there is not a greater Heretick than a Priest, who teaches that it is lawful for Priests and the Levites of Grace, to have Temporal Possessions. XIII. That the Temporal Lords have a Power not only to take the Church-Lands from those Churches that made ill use of them, but that they were obliged to do it. XIV. That *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles, would have establish'd Corporeal Unction, if it had been a Sacrament. XV. That he who is the least in the Church, is the greatest before GOD, and the Vicar of *Jesus Christ*. XVI. That the Right to a Temporal Possession, is founded in Grace, and that all those that are in Mortal Sin, have Right to nothing. XVII. That all that is done in the World, is done by an Eternal Decree of GOD, and consequently could not but be done. XVIII. That we are not to Believe and Practise any thing that either the Pope or Cardinals enjoin, unless it can be clearly found in the Scriptures, and that all that is not to be found there, ought to be rejected as Heretical. Amongst those who were employ'd to Refute these Doctrines, our Author was one. The great Disorders that happen'd in *England* during the Minority of *Richard II.* were generally imputed to *Wickliffe's Doctrines*. The Cata-

logue of his Works, according to *Dempster*, is as follows, *Fabulæ Lepidæ versu. Consequentiarum Formulæ*, which I have seen in the Library of Oxford, under this Title. *Consequentia cum Comm. Alex. Sermonetæ & Declarationibus Gaetani & Quæstionibus Frachantiani*. By which it appears, that he was a very Eminent Lawyer, and this Book is Printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1517, in 4to. and his *Obligationes* are annexed to it, which *Dempster* makes no mention of. *Sophismatum Strophæ. Itinerarium Terræ Sanctæ. Panegyrica Versu Patrio. Summulæ Logicales. Phantasma Radulphi. Positiones & XVIII. Argumenta contra Wickliffum Hæreticum. Opusculorum. Lib. 1. Quæ falsa (says *Dempster*) prodierunt sub nomine Radulphi Feriburgi.*

IN the troublesome Times of the *Bruce* and *Baliol*, there flourish'd a Famous Poet, call'd *QUINTINE* (a), who went over to *France*, and liv'd at *Paris*, where he wrote and Publish'd in Elegant Verse, *Querela de Patriæ Miseria. Prodiit Lutetiæ, Typis Stephani Balland, Anno 1511.* *Dempster* says, that this Poet flourish'd about the Year 1320, I take this Author, to be the same with *John Quintine* the Theologue, of whom we have *Sermones Morales super Evangelia Dominicalia, totius Anni*, publish'd at *Colo.* 1608 in 8vo.

About the same time, flourish'd *Allan* a *Benedictine* Monk (a), commonly call'd *Allanus Turonensis* from *Touraine*, where it is suppos'd he liv'd for a considerable time. The Catalogue of his Works, as they are reckon'd up by *Dempster*, is as follows, *Historia Comitum de Galuveia. Foundationes Cœnobiorum. Rhythmi Latini*. The same Author says, that he had many Fragments of this Author's History of the Earls of *Galloway*, that it was learn'dly and Eloquenty Written, and that it comes till the Year 1350.

HENRY WARDLAW Bishop of *St. Andrews*.] This Reverend and Learn'd Prelate (a), was Born in the Reign of King *Robert III.* and having finish'd the Course of his Studies in the *Belles Lettres* and Philosophy, he apply'd himself to Theology, enter'd into Holy Orders, and was made Precentor of the Cathedral Church of *Glasgow*; after which, he went to *Avignon*, but what the Motives of his Journey were, our Historians tell us not, but only that he was at *Avignon*, when *Thomas Stewart*, Son to King *Robert II.* who had been Elected Bishop of *St. Andrews*, Died; upon which, he was prefer'd to his Place by Pope *Benedict XIII.* in the Year 1404. After which, the Pope sent him as his Legate to *Scotland*: For in a Charter, in the Year 1411, I find him design'd the Pope's Legate *cum plena Potestate*. Upon his arrival in *Scotland*, the first thing he set himself to, was to make a strict Inquiry into the Lives and Manners of the Clergy, and to Erect an University at *St. Andrews* for the further encouraging of Learning in the Nation. In Prosecution of this Design, he sent one *Alexander Ogilvy* a Master of Arts to *Rome*, to obtain the Pope's Bull of Confirmation, which was sent to him in the Year 1412, and upon Mr. *Ogilvy's* arrival with it at *St. Andrews*, it was receiv'd with Solemn Processions, Fires of Joy, Sounding

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(a) Vid. *Dempst. Lib. 15. Pag. 545.* (a) *Dempst. Lib. 28. Pag. 619.* (a) Vid. *Spotif. Hist. of the Ch. of Scot. Book 2. Pag. 56.* *Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 19. Pag. 665.* *Hest. Boeth. Lib. 17. &c.*

ding of Bells, and all the other Tokens of Gladness that could be expected. In the founding of this University he took his Model from that of *Paris*, and made Mr. *John Sheves* Official; Mr. *William Stephan* afterwards Bishop of *Dunblane*, and Sir *John Leister*, a Chanon of the Abbey, were appointed to Read Divinity; Mr. *Laurence Lindors* was ordain'd, to Read the Common Law, and Mr. *Richard Cornwall* the Civil; Mr. *John Gom*, Mr. *William Foulis*, and Mr. *William Croisser*, were chosen for Professors of Philosophy; "Persons," says Bishop *Spotswood*, worthy to "be Remember'd, for being the first Instruments that were imploy'd in that Service, and the Attendance they gave upon it, having no Allowance for their Labours.

After he had founded this University, his next Care was to Reform the Court; for at that time the *English*, who had come along with the Queen, had brought up amongst our Nobility the Custom of Feasting one another with Sumptuous Entertainments, and Dressing themselves up in gaudy Apparel; whereas before, they liv'd upon what was but absolutely necessary for sustaining of Nature, Cloath'd courtly, and brought themselves up in all such Hardships, as might enable them to endure all the Fatigues of War. For the abolishing of these *English* Customs, our Learn'd and Excellent Prelate caus'd the King call a Parliament at *Perth*, as we have observ'd in the Life of that Prince, where he deliver'd the following Speech. (b).

May it please your Majesty,

"**T**H O', by your returning to this Realm, many Noble and Excellent Things have been done, by Your Wisdom, as the establishing of Justice, Religion, Policy, and many Good Laws, for the Good of the Common Wealth, so that almost Nothing is omitted, or left undone, that any way tends to the Good of the Realm; yea, all our Ancient Customs are Preserv'd, and many New Graces and Favours bestow'd upon Us, and the more Pains and Labour that Your Majesty has shown, in doing of these Things, the more Care and Diligence We should show in observing of them. Yet there is now spreading amongst Us, such Pestilentious Customs, that if Care be not taken, to remove them, all that You have done will avail but little or nothing. Your Nobles, that are here Present, have desir'd me to Represent this Matter to You, not doubting but Your Highness's Wisdom will appear in this, as it has done on all other Occasions. There are several *English* Noblemen come alongst with You, who were your Friends in *England*, and no doubt deserve your Friendship; yet they have brought alongst with them the Customs of their own Country, which may prove very Dangerous to your Subjects, if they be permitted to use them: For tho' these Customs are noway blam'd in their Country, because their People have been brought up to them, yet I think it will be a great Sin in You, if you permit your Subjects to do the like. My Meaning is, about their costly and sumptuous Feasts, where they not only have more, but perswade Men to eat and drink more than is requisite for sustaining of Nature. Be pleas'd, Sir, to consider the Temperance of our Ancestors and their way of living, and you shall

" shall find nothing so opposite to it as this gluttonous way of Living
 " now brought in amongst us ; yet I know not, whether the *English* are
 " so much to blame for this as our selves, considering, how quickly
 " and willingly we have complied with it. But whatever may be the
 " Reason of these unhappy Customs prevailing so amongst us, it is to
 " be abhor'd, upon the account of the many Vices that follow upon it,
 " such as Intemperance, Lust, Sloth, Theft and Prodigality : For if
 " Temperance be the Nurse of all Vertues, then Intemperance is the
 " Mother of all Vice ; for this Reason it is, that we find Lust and Intem-
 " perance are so knit together, that they cannot be separated ; for he
 " that is a Servant to his Belly, must obey all the Desires of his Belly,
 " upon which follows Uncleanliness, the Deflowring of Virgins, Adultery
 " and Incest ; and all these infecting Vices, that our young Men com-
 " mit, arise only from the Excess of Meat and Drink ; and when once
 " a Man is given over to the Pleasures of his Belly, he gives himself up
 " to all manner of Slothfulness ; and the more that the Minds of Men
 " are fix'd upon this, the more impetuously do they commit all man-
 " ner of Vices : And when a Man has wasted his Patrimony in these
 " Excesses, there remains a Desire in them, even till their very Death,
 " after them, and then they are brought to the Misery of not having
 " where-withal to afford them.

Upon this Representation of the State of the Court, the King and
 Parliament took such effectual Measures for removing all such Abuses
 for the future, that no more Complaints of this Nature were heard of.

About this time, there was one *Paul Cram* apprehended at *St. An-*
drews, and burnt alive for Preaching up to the People the Doctrines of *John*
Wickliffe, and one *John Resby* an *English*-Man, was burnt alive likewise
 for the same Fault. Bishop *Spotswood* says, That *Resby* was burnt in the
 Year 1407, and *Paul Cram* in the Year 1432. But whatever be in this,
 'tis certain, that both of them suffer'd for the same Cause. This Bishop
 was one of the most Learn'd, Wise and Charitable Persons of his Age ;
 for in his time, says the above-cited Prelate (c), " He labour'd much to
 " have the riotous Forms, crept in amongst all sorts of Men, repress'd,
 " and was a Man most Hospitable. They report of him, that the Ma-
 " sters of his House, complaining of the great Numbers that resorted
 " unto him for Entertainment, and desiring that for the Ease of the
 " Servants he would condescend to make a Bill of Household, that they
 " might know who were to be serv'd ; he condescended, and when his
 " Secretary was call'd to set down the Names of the Household, being
 " ask'd whom he would first name, he answer'd, *Fife* and *Angus* (these
 " are Two large Countries containing Millions of People :) His Ser-
 " vants hearing this, gave over their Purpose of retrenching his Family,
 " for they saw that he would have no Man refus'd that came to his
 " House. The Bridge at the Mouth of *Eden* was his Work. So far he.
Dempster says, That he wrote a Book *De Reformat. Cleri, & Oratio pro*
Reformatione Conviviorum & Luxus. But I believe, that both these Books
 are nothing else but the Speech that he had in Parliament. He depart-
 ed this Life, in the Castle of *St. Andrews*, the 6th Day of April 1444,
 having govern'd that See 25 Years ; and was buried in the Wall betwixt
 the Chore and the Chappel call'd *Our Lady's Chappel*.

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(c) Vid. *Spotswood*. *episcopus*.

BERENGUIDDUS^(a), an Eminent Theologue and a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, flourish'd about the Year 1446. *Dempster* says^(b), That he saw a Book of this Author, in the College of St. *Benedict* at *Cambridge*, upon the *Apocalypse*; and that *James Lainy*, in one of his Epistles, gives him the Character of an Accurate Theologue and Eminent Preacher. The same *Dempster* (c) says, That he saw, in the King of *England's* Library, a Translation out of *Greek* into *Latine*, of the Emperor *Constantine's* *Geoponica* or Books of *Agriculture*, by an Anonymous Writer of the *Scots* Nation, about the Year 1451. For which, he appeals to the MSS. it self. This *Constantine* was *Constantine IV.* Emperor of *Constantinople*, surnam'd *Pogonatus*, who wrote 20 Books upon *Agriculture*, that were Publish'd in *Greek* at *Basil*, in the Year 1539. in 8vo, and Translated into *Latine* by *J. Cornarius*, and Publish'd at the same Place the Year before.

WILLIAM BAILZIE^(a), Doctor of Medicine.] This Gentleman, having finish'd the Course of his Studies at Home, went over to *Italy*, where he studied Medicine, and in a few Years became so Famous for his Knowledge in that Science, that he was first made Rector, and afterwards Professor of Medicine in the University of *Bologna*, about the Year 1484. We have still extant of this Author a Book in Defence of the *Dogmatic* or *Galenic* Physicians, against the *Emperics*: For the Physicians in all Ages have had their Differences and Sects, as well as the Divines.

The *Emperic* Physicians are so call'd from the *Greek* Word ΕΜΠΕΙΡΙΑ, which signifies *Experience*, because they said, That the whole Art of Medicine depended upon *Experience*: For those of this Sect said^(b), That there were Three sorts of Experiences, by which a Physician might come to know, what did contribute and what did not contribute to a Man's Health; The First and most simple, was that which arose from *Hazard* or *Chance*: For Example, a Man, having a great Pain in his Head, falls upon a Stone, which opens the Frontal Vein, by which he loses a great deal of Blood, and by this he finds himself cur'd of his Disease: And under this Head, they ranked the Experiences that Nature of it self effectuated, without the Assistance of any Remedy; as in the following Case, A Man, in a violent Fever, finds himself cur'd by a Bleeding at the Nose, by a Sweat or by a Loosness. The Second sort of Experiences are, when Things are done with a Design to see what the Success will be; as when a Man is bitten by a Serpent, or any other Venomous Animal, he applies to the Wound, the first Herb that he meets with; or, when a Man is in a Fever, he tries to cure himself by drinking as much Water as he can; or, Lastly, when a Man tries a Remedy that he has dream'd of, which was very frequently done by the Heathens. The Third is that, which the *Emperics* call'd *Imitatory*, which has Place, when, after having observ'd what *Hazard*, *Nature* and *Design* has done, an Attempt is made to see, if the same thing will have still the same Success; and this is that, which they call'd properly the Art of Medicine, when it was reiterated many times, and found to have still the same Success. They call'd *Observation* That, which

(a) Vid. *Dempst. Lib. 2. Pag. 101.* (b) Vid. *Dempst. Lib. 2. Pag. 101.* (c) Vid. *Dempst. Lib. 1. Pag. 58.* (a) Vid. *Dempst. Lib. 2. Pag. 94.* (b) Vid. *Hist. de la Med. par M. Le Clerc, Part 2. Lib. 2. Chap. 2. Pag. 55.*

which every Man had experimented himself, by seeing it with his own Eyes; and *History* That, which was put in Writing; that is to say, that *Observation* was nothing else, but what each particular Person had seen in the whole Course of the Disease, either in respect to the Signs or Accidents of the Disease, or to the Remedies; whereas *History* is a Narration or a Register, of all that has been observ'd by these particular Persons; which Register being compleat, or comprehending all the Diseases of Men, by it, Medicine is brought to its highest Pitch. When a new Disease happens, where, neither our own Experience, nor the Observation of others can afford us any Assistance, or if we chance to be in a Place, where, what has been experimented cannot be had, then they had Recourse to *that* that came nearest to the Case, and which we now call a *Succedaneum*, and which the Interpreters of *Galen* call *Transitus ad simile*. Thus, for Example, in the Maladies of the Arms, they made use of that which had Success on the Legs; and if any sour or sweet Remedy, that was usual to give in the Patient's Case, could not be had, then they made use of that which came nearest to it: So that *Observation*, *History* and the *Substitution of a like Thing*, were the Three Pillars of their Art. It is against this Sect of Physicians, that our Author has made his Ingenuity and Parts to appear; *Celsus* (c) has summ'd up all, that in a manner can be said against them by the *Dogmatical* Physicians; and *Galen* and our Author, with a great many others since, have written upon this Subject; and I shall, from them, give the Reader an Account of their Principal Arguments on both sides. And First, the *Galenists* say, That the Knowledge of the *Secret Causes* of Diseases is necessary, as well as the *Evident Causes* of them; for we must know, How the *Natural Actions* are perform'd, and the various *Functions of the Human Body*, which necessarily suppose the Knowledge of the *Interior Parts*. They call'd *Secret Causes*, these that relate to the Elements or Principles, of which our Bodies are compos'd, and that which makes us either Healthful or Diseas'd: 'Tis impossible, said they, that one can know how to cure a Disease, if he be ignorant of the Cause of that Disease; for without doubt, we must act one way, if the Causes of all Diseases in general, proceed either from the Excess, or Defect of one of the Four Elements, as some Philosophers have believ'd; and another way, if we believe them to proceed from the Spirits, according to *Hypocrates*; Another way, if they proceed from the Humours, as *Herophilus* believ'd; Another way, if the Blood is transfused from the Veins, appointed for containing it, into those that are allotted for the Spirits only; upon which an Inflammation follows, and that this Inflammation produces that extraordinary Motion of the Blood, which we observe in Fevers, according to the Opinion of *Erastistratus*; And Lastly, we must act quite another way, if it be caus'd by the stoppage of *some little Bodies* in the Capillary Vessels, as *Asclepiades* affirms. All which being suppos'd, it must necessarily be acknowledg'd, that the Physician that is not deceiv'd in the First Origine of the Causes of Diseases, will succeed best in the Cure of them.

The *Dogmatical* or *Galenic* Physicians, did not deny, but that *Experiences* were likewise necessary; but they affirm'd, that these Experiences could not be made, nor never were made, but by *Reasoning*; And

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(c) Vid. Cels. de Re Medica.

they said further, That it was probable that the First Men, or at least those who first practis'd Medicine, did not advise their Patients to take that which came first into their Imagination, but that they thought upon it more than once, and that afterwards Experience, and Use made them know; if they had Reason'd justly, or if they had Conjectur'd well: And 'tis but of small Import to say, that the most Part of Remedies were at first tried, providing that it be acknowledg'd, that the Experiences that were made by them, were the Result of the Reasoning of those, who first tried them. They said moreover, that often *New Diseases* were observ'd to arise, in the Cure of which, Use and Experience could teach us nothing; so that it was necessary to take Notice from whence they sprang; without which, there was no Man that could know why he should make use of one thing more than another. These were the Réasons given by the *Dogmatical Physicians*, for inquiring into the *Secret Causes* of Diseases: And as to the *Evident Causes*, that are easily discover'd and known to any one, and where the whole Knowledge consists; for Example, in knowing if the Disease proceeds from being Over-heated, or from too much Cold; or from too long Fasting, or too much Eating, and the like; They acknowledged, that it was necessary to be inform'd in such Cases, and to make suitable Reflections accordingly; but they did not believe, that we were to stop there, for they said, in regard to the *Natural Actions*, that it was necessary for us to know, Why and How we receive the Air into our Lungs, and Why it goes out after 'tis receiv'd; Why we take Food; What is the Cause of the Pulsation of the Arteries; What is the Cause of Watching and Sleep, &c. They affirm'd, that there was no helping of the Disorders of these Functions, unless we can give a Reason for all these things: As for Example, in the *Preparation of the Aliments*, they are either grounded, say these Physicians, in the Stomach, as *Erastistratus* believ'd; or they putrify there, according to the Opinion of *Plistonicus*, Disciple to *Praxagoras*; or they are boil'd in the Stomach, by a particular Heat, according to *Hippocrates*; or all these Opinions are equally false, according to *Asclepiades*, who affirm'd, that the Aliments were distributed thorow the Body, in the same State they were in when taken in at the Mouth. Upon these different Opinions, it must be acknowledg'd, that if *Hippocrates's* Opinion be true, the Patients or Sick Persons must have other sort of Viſtuals given them, than is required by any of the other Opinions: For, if the Meat be ground or bray'd in the Stomach, we are to make Choice of these, that are most easily bray'd; if they Corrupt, we are to make choice of those that most easily Corrupt, and so of the rest. And Lastly, They said, that since the most considerable Pains and Diseases proceed from the *Internal Parts*, 'tis impossible to afford any Remedy, without knowing the Parts, and consequently, that it is necessary to open the *Bodies of Dead Persons*, and to Examine their Entrals; and that it would be more to the Purpose, if the Physicians would imitate *Herophilus* and *Erastistratus*, who Dissected the Criminals alive, who were Condemn'd to Death, and given to them for that end; by which, these Physicians had the Satisfaction of discovering, before these poor Wretches Died, what Nature had formerly conceal'd, and to consider the Situation, the Colour, the Figure, the Greatness, the Order, the Hardness, the Softness, the Eminencies, the Smoothness, the Roughness, and the Cavities of each Part;

Part ; it not being possible, that when any one suffers any Pain within his Body, to know what his Disease is; if he know not precisely the Situation of the Entrals, and that a Diseased Part, cannot be Cur'd without knowing where it is ; so that when the Entrals of a wounded Person comes out at the Wound, he that is Ignorant of the Natural Colour of the Part, when in Health, cannot discern, that which is in a good State, from that which is corrupted or alter'd, and consequently knows not how to Cure it : But on the contrary, that Remedies can be safely and assuredly apply'd to the offended Part, when one has the Knowledge of the Natural State of it ; and that it is no Cruelty to search for Remedies for an infinite Number of Innocents, by making a small Number of Wicked and Condemn'd Persons to Suffer.

The *Empericks*, on the contrary, said, That they only pretended to know the *Evident Causes* of Diseases, esteeming the Questions relating to the *Secret Causes*, or *Natural Actions* Superfluous, because even Nature it self was incomprehensible, neither, said they, can this Truth be deny'd, if one but Reflects upon the Diversity of the Sentiments of those who have Disputed concerning these Matters; the Philosophers, nor the Physicians themselves not agreeing about them, why ought we to believe *Hypocrates* more than *Herophilus*, or *Herophilus* more than *Asclepiades* ? For, if we are only to look to their Reasonings, each of them seem equally Probable, if to their *Cures*, we shall find that they have had all of them Success ; so that one knows not whom to believe. That if *Reasoning* were sufficient to make a good Physician, then the Philosophers would be the best Physicians, but we find the contrary to be true, that the practice of Physicians is different, according to the different Natures of the Places; for, that Method which will be Successful at *Rome*, will not prove successful in *Egypt* ; which could not be, if the Causes of Diseases were every where the same. That oftentimes the Causes were Manifest, as it is in the Case of Wounds, but that it does not follow from thence, that the Remedies that ought to be apply'd are equally apparent and easy to be found. If then, from the Knowledge of Causes that are Evident, the Practice of Physic cannot be Regulated, much less can it be done by the *Secret*, *Obscure* and *Doubtful* Causes. And if these last Causes be Uncertain and almost Incomprehensible, is it not better to rely upon that which has been often Try'd and Experimented with Success, as 'tis done in all other Arts ? For a Labourer or Husband Man, or any other Crafts-man, is not accomplish'd in his Trade by disputing, but by Use and Experience : And we may certainly conclude, that all these *Difficult Questions* tend noway to the Improvement of Medicine, because those who have very different Opinions about the Causes of Diseases, have very good Success with their Patients, the Reason of which is, that in their Practice they do not rely upon the *Secret Causes* of Diseases, but upon their own Experience, and what they had often formerly found Successful ; for Physic had its first rise, not from Reasonings, but Experience. It has been observ'd, say they, of some Sick Persons, that some have taken in the beginning of their Disease a great deal of Food, because their Appetite had not fail'd them, whereas others have taken nothing, because they had no Appetite ; and it was found, that those who abstain'd from Meat, were soonest Cur'd : Some have Eaten in the Access of a Fever, others a little before it, and others

after they were freed of the Fever: And it was observ'd, that those who abstain'd till the Fever was over, were soonest cur'd, and the like oftentimes happening, there were *Observations* made by Knowing and Judicious Persons, of what prov'd always most Successful, and who advis'd other sick Persons to do the like. So that Medicine had its Rise, from the *Essays* that were made, sometimes for the Good; and sometimes to the *Prejudice* of the sick Person; so, upon their Expences, that which was *Pernicious*, was known from that which was *Healthful*, and the Remedies for each Disease coming by Degrees thus to be known, Men began to *Reason* and inquire, why these Remedies had such and such Effects: So that Medicine had not its Rise from Reasonings, but these Reasonings follow'd upon it. The *Emperics* ask'd at the *Dogmatical* Physicians, if these Reasonings taught them the same Things that Experience taught them, or the contrary? If they taught them the same things, they were altogether Superfluous, and if they taught them what was contrary to Experience, they were prejudicial and Fallhoods: That we are not to think, that a *New set of Diseases* may arise, that requires a *New Art of Medecine*; but that if a new Disease happens, we are not to inquire about it by running immediately to obscure Causes, but in such a Case, a Wise Physician ought to Examine to which of all the ordinary Diseases it comes nearest, and to make use of such Medicines as he found Effectual in that Disease. They said moreover, that they were very far from affirming, that a Physician should not Reason upon the Nature of Diseases, or that an Animal without Reason could practise Medicine, tho' they were perswaded that the Conjectures that were taken from hidden and obscure Causes, tend nothing to the Improvement of Medicine; for it is of no import to know what is the Cause of the Disease, but how to cure the Disease; for Example, it is of no great import to a Physician, to know why we Breathe, or how we Breathe, but rather to inquire and search after the Remedies for the *Cough*, the shortness of Breathing, and the other things that attend a bad Respiration; That 'tis not necessary to amuse our selves in searching after the Reason why the Arteries beat, but to know the State of the Patient's Health from the various Alterations in their beating; which is only to be known by Experience: And in Answer to all the other Questions that the *Dogmatical* Physicians propos'd, they said, that they might be Disputed with an equal Probability on all sides, and that ordinarily those who had most Wit and greatest Eloquence gain the Prize; but it is not fine Discourse that Cures the Sick, but Remedies. And lastly, They Reason'd against the pretended Advantage that the *Dogmatical* Physicians said was to be found by Dissections, in regard that the Passions of the Mind, an irregular Diet, and a Thousand other Accidents, made such considerable Alterations in the Body of Man, that little could be learn'd from the sight of the Internal Parts of the Body of a Man, either Expiring or Dead, that could contribute much to the Cure of any Disease, there being nothing more Ridiculous, than to imagine that a Man's Entrails are in the same state when Dying or Dead, that they were in when alive.

Thus, these Two Sects of Physicians run into Extremes, and these were the Principal Arguments made use of by the Ancient Physicians on both Parts. What the Moderns have said upon this Subject is nothing else but Consequēces drawn from the same Topicks, as may be
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seen in Mr. *Le Clerc's* History of Medicine. *Dempster* says, That our Author before his Death, return'd to his own Country, and he is very honourably mention'd by *Joannes Nicolaus Paschasius Alidosius*, in his Book of the Professors of *Bologna*, Pag. 38. He wrote *Apolog. pro Galeni Doctrina contra Empyricos*, which *Dempster* makes two Books; this was publish'd at *Lyons*, in the Year 1552 in 8vo. and, if I be not Mistaken, he is the same with *William Bailzie*, who wrote the Book *De Quantitate Syllabarum Græcarum & de Dialectis*, which was publish'd at the same Place, in the Year 1600, in 8vo.

RICHARD COLVEIL, or *Colueil* (a), Arch-Deacon of *Lothian*; Doctor and Professor of the Canon Law in the University of *St. Andrews*; flourish'd about the Year 1430; he began to Teach in the Year 1411. and wrote several Books upon *Gratian*.

This *Gratian* was a Monk of *St. Felix* in *Bologna*, born at *Chiufi* in *Tuscany*, who collected all the Ancient Canons of the Church, the Decrees of the Popes, and the Passages of the Fathers, concerning the Rights and Privileges of the Church; which Collection was so well receiv'd, that it no sooner appear'd (which was about the Year 1151.) than it was Taught publicly in the Schools. This Collection in the Ancient MSS. is Entitled, *Concordantia Discordantia Canonum*; Or, *A Concordance of Disagreeing Canons*, and 'tis divided into Three Parts. The First Part (b), Treats of what belongs to Right in General, and the Ministers of the Church, under the Title of *Distinction*. The Second Part, Treats of diverse particular Cases, where many Questions are Treated of, upon which account, 'tis Entitled the *Cases* or *Causes*. And the Third Part Treats of *Consecration*, and all that belongs to the Divine Service, and to the Sacraments; and this is the General View of his Work. But in particular, in the First Part, he Treats of the various Divisions of Right; Of the different sorts of Laws, Civil and Ecclesiastic; Of the Authority of Councils and their Canons; Of the Decretals of the Popes; Of Holy Orders; Of the Qualities, that they that are Ordain'd ought to have; Of the Form and Ceremonies of Ordination; Of the Conduct and Duties of Clergy-men; Of the Power of the Pope and Bishops; Of the use of the *Pallium*; And, in one Word, of all that has a Relation to the Ministers of the Church; and it consists of 101 Distinctions.

The Second Part contains XXXVI. *Causes*, each of which contains many Questions; and each Question is divided into so many Chapters. This Part Treats of Simony; Of Appellations; Of those who Possess their Benefices, tho' depriv'd of them; Of the Qualifications requir'd in Witnesses and Accusers; Of Elections; Of the Government of Churches; Of Censures; Of Testaments; Of Burials; Of Usury; Of what ought to be observ'd in Relation to Mad-men; Of Sentence pronounc'd against the Forms; Of Monks and Abbots; Of their Rights; Of those who Beat a Clergy-man; Of Commendums; Of Oaths; Of War; Of Heresies; Of those who break the Canons of the Church; Of Sorcerers; Of Marriage and its Impediments; Of the Degrees of Consanguinity, and of Rapes. In the XXXIII. Cause, he maintains, in a Dissertation of Penances; in VII. Distinctions, That Confession is not of Divine Right, nor absolutely Necessary, for the Remission of our Sins.

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(a) Vid. *Dempster. Lib. 3. Pag. 186.* (b) Vid. *M. Du Pin, Nov. Bib. det. Aut. Tom. 9. Pag. 219.*

The Third Part contains V. Distinctions, The First is, concerning the Consecration of Churches; The Celebration of the Mass and the Divine Service. The Second is, upon the Eucharist. The Third is, upon the solemn Feasts of the Year, and upon Images. The Fourth is upon the Sacrament of Baptism and its Ceremonies. And the Last is, upon Confirmation of Fasts, Labour, and some other Points of Discipline. And these are the Principal Heads of *Gratian's* Book, which our Author not only Taught and Explain'd to his Schollars, but likewise wrote several Treatises upon it; for the Text of *Gratian*, as at first wrote by him, was full of gross Mistakes and false Citations: Sometimes he cites such Fathers and Councils as never had a Being, and sometimes mistakes a Father for (c) a Council, and a Council for a Father: And having probably never seen many of the Decrees and Councils that he had occasion to use, nor trac'd his Authorities to their Fountains, 'tis no wonder if he falls into a great many Mistakes, especially in the Names of Persons and Places: But that which is worse, is, that there are several things in him, and in the Gloss, that are not agreeable to the Precepts of the Gospel. Thus *Gratian* having begun his Book very properly, by distinguishing between the several sorts of Right, and having said that *Jus* was so call'd, because it was *Just*, the Gloss upon this, very Learn'dly observes, that there is a Right that is neither Equitable nor Just, *Quantoque est aliquod Jus, quod non est æquum nec justum*; and then produces Instances that are neither pertinent, nor prove the Point, and concludes, That in all Cases, upon a Reason and for Public Good, Rigour is induc'd against Natural Equity, and in some Cases without a Reason. The Decree, in case of Two Evils, the one of which is unavoidable, *Gratian* allows us to choose the less, *Dist. 13.* which imports a Necessity of Sinning. But That, which is in the 34th Distinction, is yet worse, where 'tis said, *That he that has not a Wife ought to keep a Concubine; Qui non habet Uxorem loco illius Concubinam habere debet*; as it is in some of the Old Impressions, and in that which Pope Gregory XIII. caus'd Print at Rome, in the Year 1580. with an express Prohibition of Printing it otherways, the Matter is only thus mended, *That he that has not a Wife, but has a Concubine in place of her, should not be excluded from the Sacrament. Is qui non habet Uxorem & pro Uxore Concubinam habet, a Communionem non repellatur.* But I shall not insist further upon *Gratian's* Mistakes, which would make a very large Digression, and because, as a late Ingenious Author has observ'd (d), the Gloss upon the Decretals says, *Modicum quid, non nocet*; for which the Gloss cites the Decretals, where *Modica Res* is said not to induce Simony, and yet the *Modica Res* there mention'd is a Horse. This Author wrote *Paratitla Decretalium*, which *Dempster* says, our Famous Lawier *Henry Scrimzeor* confesses he saw, and *Alexander Chassaneus*, a Lawier at Paris, had lately procur'd a Copy of it. *Reductio Locorum. Decreti Gratiani.* This Book is mention'd, says he, in the *Bibliotheca Juridica. De Censuris. Tractatus de Præscriptionibus in Materia Beneficiali. De Judice delegato. In Titulum de foro competenti Commentarius.* Which, he says, is much commend-ed by the Famous Lawier *Eguinarius Baro. Orationes.* We know nothing about the time of his Death.

GEORGE

GEORGE DEMPSTER was Born at *Brechin* (a), and having finish'd the Course of his Studies at Home, went over to *Italy*, and was made a Professor of Philosophy at *Pavia*, about the Year 1495. Dempster says, that he had his Book *De Rebus ad Novariam Gestis*, which was Publish'd at *Venice*, in the Year 1541. Which is all that we know of him.

BERNARD GORDON (a), was descended from the Noble and Ancient Family of the *Gordons*: Having finish'd the Course of his Studies at Home, he went over to *France*, where he apply'd himself to Medicine, was created Doctor, and practis'd for a considerable time there; which makes the late Publisher of *Vander Linden* (b) and some others, fall into the mistake of thinking, that he was a *French-Man* born. This Gentleman, after he had practis'd Physic for a considerable time, with great Success and Applause, was, at length, made Professor of Medicine at *Montpelier*; and he himself tells us, That after he had taught for 20 Years, then he ventur'd upon Writing his *Lilium Medicinæ*, wherein he treats, of the Manner and Method of Curing of the most of the Diseases incident to Human Nature. Besides this Book he has written several other small Treatises, viz. A Book of the *Indications in Curing of Diseases*; A Book upon the *Diet and Remedies that are to be us'd in Acute Diseases*; A Book of *Prognostics*; A Book of *Urinæ*; A Book of the different sorts of *Pulses*; A Book upon the *Method of Preserving one in Health from their Infancy till their Death*; And a Book upon *Fevers*. In all these Treatises, our Author follows the Reasonings and Practice of *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, for the most part. *Pascalis Gallus* (c) says of him, That the University of *Montpelier* never had a more Learn'd or Happy Practitioner than he. *Georgius Abrahamus Mercklinus*, in his *Lindenius Renovatus* says (d), That he died about the Year 1305. But Dempster says, That he was living about the Year 1492. The Catalogue of his Works; *Opus Lilium Medicinæ, inscriptum de Morborum prope omnium Curatione, septem Particulis distributum, una cum aliquot aliis ejus Libellis: viz. De Indicationibus curandorum Morborum; De Victus Ratione & Pharmacorum Usu in Morbis Acutis; De Prognosticis Tractatus, Quinque Particulis Distributis; De Urinis & Cautelis earum; De Pulsibus. Accesserunt præterea Pharmacorum, quæ hodie in frequenti sunt Practicantium usu, aliquot Schemata, omnibus Medicinam facere volentibus, omnino necessaria, per Remalcum Fuchium, Venetiis apud Octav. Scotum, 1494. in Folio. Parisiis, apud Ponatum Le Preux, 1542. in 8vo. Lugduni, apud Guil. Rovillum, 1559. in 8vo. De Urinis Tractatus Ferrariæ, 1487. in Folio. De Conservatione Vitæ Humanæ, a die Nativitatis usque ad ultimam Horam Mortis, Tractatus, nunc demum editus Opera Joachimi Baudisii. Lipsiæ apud Joh. Rhambæ 1570. in 8vo. adjectis de Phlebotomia & Floribus Dietarum Libris. De Febris, Liber. Extat Operis Veneti de Febris, Pag. 208.*

HENRY, a *Benedictine* Monk, was Prior of *Kelso*, says Dempster (a); but if he was Prior of *Kelso*, he must have been a *Cistercian* Monk, for that Priory belong'd to them, unless Dempster's Meaning be, that he might be call'd a *Benedictine*, in regard that the *Cistercians* are nothing else,

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(a) Vid. Dempst. Lib. 4. Pag. 236. (a) Vid. Dempst. Lib. VII. Pag. 319. (b) Vid. Lindenius Renovatus, Pag. 128. (c) Bib. Medica. (d) Ubi sup. (e) Vid. Dempst. Lib. 8. Pag. 360.

else, but the *Benedictine* Order reform'd, as they call it. This Monk, having apply'd himself to the *Belles-Lettres*, became exquisitely well seen in *Greek* and *Latine*; and having travell'd thorow *France*, *Germany* and *Italy*, he became acquainted with the most Learn'd Men of his Age, and particularly with the great *Marcilius Ficinus* and *Politianus*. At length, returning into *Scotland*, he was made Abbot of *Kelso*, and flourish'd about the Year 1493. He apply'd himself chiefly, it seems, to the *Belles-Lettres*, and the innocent Diversions of a Rural or Country Life. He has left behind him what sufficiently justifies this Character; for *Dempster* tells us, That he has Publish'd a Book in *Greek Verse*, at *Florence*, in Praise of the Blessed Virgin, which he Dedicated to *Laurentius de Medicis*, the great Patron of the Muses, in that Age; That he translated into *Scots*, *Palladius Rutilius Taurus Æmilianus's* XIII. Books, upon Rural Affairs; That he Publish'd, at *Lyons*, a Book of *Botony*; and that he had Illustrated several Things in the Books of Rural Affairs, written by *Narro*, and *Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella*, which was extant in MSS. in the *Dominican's* Library at *Bologna*. The Catalogue of his Works, *De Beata Virgine Versus Græcos, Florentiæ publicavit & Laurentio Medici inscripsit. Palladium Rutilium de Re Rustica Scoticè vertit. Synopsis Herbaria editum Lugduni, Excerpta è Columella & Varrone Ext. MSS. Bononiæ in interiori Bibliotheca Dominicanorum.*

HENRY LICHTON.] This Gentleman was Born in the North of *Scotland*; and having finish'd the Course of his Studies in the *Belles-Lettres* and Philosophy, he apply'd himself to Theology, enter'd into Holy Orders and was made (a) Parson of *Duffus*. After this, he apply'd himself to the Study of the Laws, and was first made Batchelor and then Doctor of both the Laws. The Bishopric of *Murray*, falling vacant, in the Year 1414, by the Death of Bishop *Innes*, our Author was prefer'd to that See, and sat 10 Years Bishop there. Upon the Death of *Gilbert Greenlaw* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, in the Year 1424, he was translated to that See, where he apply'd himself very carefully to his Pastoral Charge; but the Estates of the Realm, meeting in a solemn Convention, for putting a Period to the then Confusions, he was sent, with some others, in Commission to *England*, to treat for the Redemption of King *James I.* as we have observ'd in the Life of that Prince. This Business being happily perform'd, he return'd with the King to *Scotland*, and was in great Favour with him, being a Person extremely Zealous in Reforming all Public Abuses, and a Man of a very Charitable Disposition; for he greatly advanc'd the Fabric of the Church of *Aberdeen*, and bestow'd large Sums for Perfecting that Work: He built also the Chappel call'd *St. John's* Chappel, within the Cathedral, and was therein buried himself, in the Year 1441. Seventeen Years after his Translation. *Dempster* says, That this Learn'd Prelate digested in a Body, the *Canones Ecclesiarum* Scoticarum, which, undoubtedly, is the Ancient MSS. in the King's College of *Aberdeen*, call'd the *Statuta Generalia Ecclesiæ* Scoticanæ; which the Bishop of *Carlisle* says, was written in the time of his Predecessor Bishop *Greenlaw* (b), and they are in Number 87, of which 76 have Rubrics or Titles, and 11 are without them. There

(b) Vid. Spotisw. Lib. II. Pag. 10, & Pag. 104. & 107. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Lib. XI. Pag. 441, &c. (b) Vid. Scot. Hist. Lib. Pag. 212.

There is a Bull of Pope *Honorius III.* prefix'd to these Canons, for the holding of Provincial Councils, giving Authority to choose a *Conservator*, who should supply the Defects of a Metropolitan. Besides this, in the King's College of *Aberdeen*, there is a fair Original Chartulary of the Charters of Kings, Bulls of Popes and Grants of Private Persons; together with their Capitular Orders and Constitutions, which begins at the Foundation of that See, and is continued down to the time of Bishop *Gordon*, the last Roman Catholic Bishop. They have likewise another fair Original Register, of all the Jewels and Chalices in Gold and Silver, with other Plate and Vestments, anciently belonging to this Cathedral. *Dempster* tells us likewise, That this worthy Prelate wrote *Catena Aurea Patrum*, which was Printed at *Venice*.

ALLAN OGILBY (a).] This Gentleman, having finish'd the Course of his Studies at Home, travell'd thorow all the Eastern Countries, and stay'd, for some time, at *Constantinople*, and from thence he went to *Venice*, about the Year 1471, where he became very Famous for his Knowledge in Medicine and the Oriental Languages. And here it was, that he wrote a Book upon the Vertues of Herbs, and another upon Baths, both which Books, after they had lyen long in MSS. were, at length, Publish'd at *Venice*; and *Dempster* says, that he had an imperfect MSS. Copy of this last Book; he wrote, says he, *De Virtutibus Herbarum. De Balneis, Lib. 3. MSS. hoc opus sed imperfectum apud me est.*

WILLIAM SETON, a Chirurgeon, flourish'd about the Year 1495 (a), and wrote a Book *De Curatrice Chyrurgia*, mention'd by *Paschalis Gallus*, *Bib. Medica Pag. 123.*

JAMES KENNEDY, Bishop of *St. Andrews*.] This Noble and Learn'd Prelate was Son to *John Lord Kennedy* (a), and *Mary Countess of Angus*, Daughter to King *Robert III.* In his Youth, he was brought up in all the Parts of Literature, and having apply'd himself to the Study of Theology, he enter'd into Holy Orders; and upon the Account of his Birth and Quality, it was not long e're he was preferr'd to the Bishopric of *Dunkeld*, where he sat for Two Years; and upon the Death of *Henry Wardlaw* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, in the Year 1444, he was elected in his Place, by the Prior and Chanons, upon *St. Jerome's Day*, in the Year 1445, he being then himself at *Florence* with Pope *Eugenius IV.* Upon his Return to *Scotland*, he found the Kingdom in great Confusion and Disorder, by Reason of the Minority of King *James II.* his Cousin German: For at that time, *William Earl of Douglass*, who had got into the young King's Favour, being a Man of an Ambitious, Factionous, Popular, Subtile and Vindicative Temper, had the Government of the whole Affairs of the Nation, having turn'd out the Governour *Sir Alexander Livingstone* of *Calendar*, and the Chancellor *Sir William Creichtoun*, whom he caus'd to be Denounc'd Rebels in a Parliament, holden at *Striveling*; and Orders were given to Sir

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(a) Vid. *Dempst. Lib. 14. Pag. 511.* (a) Vid. *Dempst. Lib. 17. Pag. 591.* (a) Vid. *MSS. Genral. of the Nob. of Scotland, Hawthorn. Hist. of the 5 James's, in James II. Spotswood Lib. 2. Pag. 57. Dempst. Lib. X. Pag. 417. Hist. MSS. Episc. S. And. &c.*

John Foster of *Corstorphine* and others of the *Douglafs's* Friends, to bring all their Moveables to the Use of the Exchequer; Demolish their Houses, and to invade all their Friends and Adherents with Fire and Sword. In Prosecution of which Order, the Castle of *Barentoren* was besieg'd, taken and demolish'd, with several other Houses and Villages, belonging to the Governour and Chancellor. On the other hand, these Two Rulers wasted the Earl of *Douglafs's* Territories and his Adherents, burning *Straw-Brock*, *Abercorn*, *Blackness*, *Corstorphine*, &c. Our Prelate, finding by this means, that the Kingdom was like to be ruin'd by the unlimited Ambition of the Earl of *Douglafs*, join'd himself to the Chancellor and Governour; by which means, their Party was so strengthened, that the Earl began daily to lose Ground: For which Cause, he resolv'd to be reveng'd upon the Bishop; and for that end, he instigated the Earl of *Crawfurd* his Ally, and *Alexander Ogilby* of *Innermarity*, to invade the Bishop's Lands and plunder all his Vassals in *Fife*; which they did, without the least shadow of a Pretence. Whereupon, the Bishop betook him to his Spiritual Arms and Excommunicated them; but they had no Respect to his Excommunication, but on the contrary, they nursed Divisions and Animosities, where ever they came, amongst the Nobility, Gentry and Commons; so that nothing was done by Law or Justice, but by meer Force: For *Alexander* Earl of *Crawfurd*, put to Death *John Linton* of *Dundee*; *Robert Boyd* of *Duchal* and *Alexander Lyle* slew *James Stewart* of *Auchinmintie*, *Patrick Hepburn* of *Hails* surpris'd the Castle of *Dumbar*, and *Archbald Dumbar* surpris'd the Castle of *Hails*, which the Earl of *Douglafs* laid Siege to, and oblig'd him to surrender upon Honourable Terms. The Castle of *Creighton* was taken, plunder'd and a Garrison plac'd in it. But all this time, the Chancellor kept out the Castle of *Edinburgb* by the Advice of our Prelate, nor could he be prevail'd with, either by Intreaties or Threats, to surrender it upon any Account. The Earl of *Douglafs*, finding this, laid Siege to the Castle, but the Bishop found means so to supply it with Necessaries and Intelligence, that after Nine Months Siege, the Earl was forc'd to Capitulate with the Chancellor upon the following Conditions.

I. That the Chancellor should be restor'd to Grace, Place and whatsoever had been withheld from him, by his Enemies at Court.

II. That an Abolition and Abrogation of all former Discontentments should be granted.

III. That the Besieged should pass out Bag and Baggage free.

After this, at a Parliament at *Perth*, by our Bishop's Influence, the Chancellor was purg'd by an Assize of his Peers, of what was laid against him; His Lands and Goods seisd upon, either by the King or the *Douglasses*, were restor'd to him and his Followers; He was repon'd to all his former Dignities and Places, notwithstanding of all Edicts, Proclamations and Confiscations, which were declar'd Null. Our Prelate having perform'd this Master-Piece of State, the Earl fell upon another Stratagem, for ruining the Bishop and the Chancellor; he sent over secretly to *Charles VII.* King of *France*, to propose a Marriage betwixt the young King and *Mary* Daughter to the Duke of *Guelders*. This was no sooner propos'd, than Ambassadors were chosen to that Effect; and the Earl, the better to counterfeit his apparent Reconciliation with the Chancellor, appear'd very Zealous and Warm for the Chancellor's being chosen.

chosen one of the Ambassadors, as being a Man of approv'd Wisdom, and well seen in all Matters of State, tho', at the Bottom, his only Design was to have him remov'd from Court, that thereby he might have the sole Management himself.

This design of the Earl's taking, the Chancellor was sent over Seas with the Bishop of *Dunkeld* and *Nicolaus Otterburn*, who were no sooner gone, than the Earl preferr'd all his Friends to Offices of State, and Dignify'd his Brethren with new Titles of Honour: For *Archibald* was made Earl of *Murray*, by the Marriage of a Lady of the House of *Dumbar*, who was Heireis of the Lands, and the King's Ward; *George* was Created Earl of *Oromond*, and *John* Lord *Balvenie*. But that he might have the Authority of Law for what he did, he procur'd a Parliament to be call'd at *Edinburgh*, under the Pretence of Consulting about the King's Marriage, and, being a Man of great Power and Interest, the molt of the Commissioners that were chosen, were of his Faction; by which means, he ratify'd all that he had done: And, for the further securing himself against the Bishop and Chancellor, he entred into an Offensive and Defensive League with many Noblemen, Barons, and Gentlemen of the Kingdom, and Forfeited *Alexander Livingston* late Governour, *Alexander* his Eldest Son, *Robert Livingston* Treasurer, *David Livingston*, *James Dundas*, *Robert Bruce* of *Clackmannan* Knights, for *Peculate* and Converting the Prince's Treasure to their private Use. Upon which, they were taken and committed to sundry Prisons in *December 1447*. The Governour, *James Dundas* and *Robert Bruce* being brought to *Edinburgh*, were Fin'd, and remitted back Prisoners to the Castle of *Dumbarton*: But *Alexander Livingston* the Governour's Son, a young Gentleman of Excellent Hopes, *Sir Robert Livingston* Treasurer, and *Sir David Livingston*, had their Heads cut off at *Edinburgh*, to the great Regret of the People. But all this time, he durst not Grapple with our Prelate, of whom he was more afraid than of all the Men in the Kingdom.

Not long after this, the Chancellor arriv'd with *Mary* Daughter to *Arnold* Duke of *Guelders*, and *Nice* to the Duke of *Burgundy*, a Lady Young, Beautiful and of a healthful Constitution, accompany'd with a great many Strangers. She was met by the King, and a great Number of the Nobility, who brought her to *Edinburgh*, where she was Married to the King in the *Abby Church of Holy-rood-house*. The Nuptial Solemnities were hardly finish'd, when a War broke out betwixt *Scotland* and *England*. The *English* being encourag'd by *Magnus Red-Beard*, whom the *Scots*, by reason of the length of his Beard, call'd *Magnus* with the *Red Main*. I say, the *English*, being Encourag'd by this Man, who, from his Youth, had been Train'd up in the Wars of *France*, and who requir'd no more for his Service done to the Crown of *England*, than what he might by his own Valour Conquer of *Scotland*, Fought the *Scots* upon the River of *Sark*, where, after a long and Bloody Battel, *Magnus Red-Beard* being Kill'd, the *English* fled, having lost in the Battel and Pursuit about Three Thousand Men, and amongst the Prisoners taken, were *Sir John Pennington*, *Sir Robert Harington*, and the Lord *Percy*, who, saving his Father the Earl of *Northumberland*, was taken himself. On the *Scots* side there was none of any Note that was Kill'd but *Craiggy Wallace*, who was one of the Principal Persons to whom the Victory was owing, he dying of his Wounds a few Days after. The Earl of *Dou-*

glafs and his Followers, to whom this Victory was ascrib'd, were by this means brought in as great Favour with the King as ever: So hoping that it was not in the Power of all his Enemies to turn him out of his Prince's Favour, and the Year of Jubile approaching, he resolv'd to go to *Rome* for his Diverſion; ſo ſubſtituting one of his Brothers Procurator for his Affairs, accompanied with his Brother Mr. *James*, a Man of great Learning, brought up in the *Sorbonne* Divinity, and Expectant of the Biſhopric of *Dunkeld*, *James Hamilton* of *Cadzow*, the Lord *Grahame*, the Lord *Seton*, the Lord *Olipbant*, the Lord *Salton*, and a great many other Gentlemen; he embarked for *Flanders*, where they ſafely arriv'd, and from thence went to *France*, and from *France* to *Italy*, where he was very Honourably Receiv'd and Entertain'd. But the Earl's Enemies taking the Advantage of his Abſence, gave in to the King Grievous Complaints againſt him. At firſt, the King was very unwilling to give ear to them, but at length, they were ſo Importunate, that the King Summon'd his Brother and Procurators to Answer for what was laid to his Charge; but his Brother refuſing to compear, an Order was iſſu'd out to apprehend him, and accordingly he was apprehended, brought before the King's Council, and upon Trial, it was found, that he could not Answer to the Complaints given in againſt the Earl: Yet the King, out of Lenity, Pardon'd them, upon Condition that they ſhould reſtore to the Complainers all that had been wrongouſly taken from them, which he promiſing to do, he was permitted to return Home, without any further Trouble. Upon his return, he call'd his other Brethren together, and their Vaſſals, to Conſult what ſhould be done, who all unanimouſly agreed, that no Reparation ſhould be made for what had been done, it being almoſt impoſſible. Upon which, the Council cited the Earl of *Douglafs*, his Brethren and Vaſſals, to appear before them upon ſuch a Day. The Earl being at a great Diſtance, it was impoſſible for him to appear; and his Brethren and Vaſſals not thinking themſelves in Security, refus'd to Answer the Citation; upon which, they were Denounc'd Rebels, and Warrants granted to Invade and Spoil their Lands, as public Enemies to Authority and the preſent Government: For this effect *William* Earl of *Orkney* was ſent to *Galloway*, *Douglas-dale* and *Liddisdale*, to uplift the Earl's Rents; but he having too weak a Power with him, was forc'd to return with ſome Diſgrace. Upon which, the King, to Vindicate his Authority, rais'd an Army, and Marches in with them himſelf, to the ſame Territories, and took all the ſtrong Fortreſſes and Caſtles, Demoliſh'd the Caſtle of *Douglafs*, plac'd a Garrifon in *Lochmaben*, and gave the Places that he ſpar'd, with the whole Goods and Moveables, to the Perſons whom they had Injur'd. Upon hearing of this, the whole Train of the Nobility and Gentry, that attended the Earl at *Rome*, deſerted him; ſo that he, who the other Day appear'd with the Splendor of a Prince, had now hardly the Retinue of a private Gentleman. Upon this, he resolv'd to throw himſelf at his Sovereign's Feet, not doubting but that upon a fair Repréſentation of his Caſe, he would be again receiv'd into Favour; which accordingly happen'd, for he no ſooner arriv'd in *Scotland*, than he obtain'd his Prince's Pardon and Favour, and had all reſtor'd to him and his Vaſſals, that had been taken from them; and the King, to teſtify that it was not a feign'd and diſſembled Réconciliation upon his Part, beſtow'd the greateſt Truſt of the

the Nation upon him, making him Lieutenant General of the Kingdom; but such was his unlimited Ambition, that not content with this, he went privately into *England*, upon a pretence of Repairing the Loss, that he and his Vassals had sustain'd, by the Incursions of the *English* in his Absence. But our Prelate suspecting, since he had not so much as ask'd the King's Leave, there was something or other that he was Contriving with the Factious Nobility in *England* against the King and the Government: He therefore advised the King to be aware of it. The King being perswaded of the Truth of what the Bishop conjectur'd, the Earl was in as much Disgrace as ever; upon which he had presently Recourse to his wonted Refuge, the King's known Clemency; and upon the Intercession of the Queen, and many of the Noblemen, and after a solemn Oath, that, for the Future, he would never do any thing that might in the least disoblige the King, his Fault was forgiven him. But the King, not fully relying upon the Promises of a Man, who had so often broke them, thought it fit to deprive him of all his Offices, and bestow'd them upon the Earl of *Orkney* and the Chancellor Sir *William Creighton*, who had always behav'd themselves as Loyal Subjects. The Earl, being highly incens'd at this, taking it as the greatest Affront that could be done him, was resolv'd to be Reveng'd both on the King and his Councillors. So, one Morning, as my Lord *Creighton* was going Home from *Edinburgh*, the Earl caus'd some of his Followers Way-lay him: But the Chancellor, being a Man of great Courage and Conduct, Slew the First Man that Assaulted him, and Wounded another, and then he and his Attendants broke through the midst of their Enemies, having only receiv'd some Wounds, and came safely to *Creighton* Castle. The Earl, to justify this Attempt of his, Suborn'd one of his Friends to Witness, that he heard *Creighton* say, *That Scotland could never be at Quiet, so long as any of the Family of the Douglasses were left alive, and that the Safety of the King and Kingdom, the Concord of the Estates and the public Peace, did Depend upon the Death of that one Man. For he being of a Turbulent Nature, and Supported by many and great Affinities, and Irreconcilable by any Offices of Respect and Advancements to Honour, 'twere better to have him taken out of the way, that so the Public Peace might be Confirm'd and Settled; That Wise Princes suffer'd Houses to grow as Men do Spider-Webs, not taking Notice of them, as long as they are small, but when offensively increas'd, they swept them wholly away.*

Creighton, having got his Wounds drest, Two Days after, came to *Edinburgh*, attended with a Number of his Friends and Followers, where he had almost surpris'd the Earl of *Douglas*, and a few of his Friends, who were then at *Edinburgh* with him: But they having made their Escape, the Earl, to strengthen his Party, enter'd a-new into a League with the Earls of *Crawfurd*, *Ross*, *Murray*, *Ormond*, the Lord *Balveny*, the Knight of *Cadzow*, and many Barons and Gentlemen, who Subscrib'd and Swore solemnly, never to Desert one another during Life; That they should take the Injury that was done to one of them as done to all, and Revenge it as their common Quarrel. After this, the Earl became so Insolent, that he had no Regard to the King's Authority. Upon which, our Prelate advised the King to see if he could reduce him by fair Means; for by this time, he was able to raise an Army of Forty Thousand Men. The King, who in all his Troubles and Difficulties,

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had found the good Effects of the Bishop's Advice, sent a very obliging Letter to the Earl, wherein he desir'd him to meet him at *Siriveling*, that Affairs might be calmly and peaceably Accommodated betwixt them ; but the Earl being Conscious of the Crimes that he had Committed, refus'd to come, unless he got a public Assurance under the Great Seal, for safe coming and returning ; which being granted him, he came to *Siriveling* Castle, where the Court then was, Accompanied with many of his Confederates, and a powerful Retinue. The King, having receiv'd him very graciously, gave him a very Sumptuous Entertainment, and towards the Evening, the Gates of the Castle being shut, and all remov'd, except some of the Councillors and Guards, the King took the Earl aside into his Bed-Chamber, where he told him, " Of the Loyalty and Valour of his Ancestors, and of his own Indulgence towards their Family, and especially towards himself ; who having committed many Hainous Offences, either through the Rashness of his Youth, or by the Perswasion of Wicked Men, he had freely Pardon'd ; always hoping, that either by his Courteous Clemency towards him, or else by the Maturity of his Age, he would be Reform'd ; and as yet, says he, I Dispair not, but it may be so ; and if you Repent of what you have impiously committed, the Door of my Clemency shall never be shut against you. This last League (proceeded he) with *Crawsurd* and *Rofs*, as it is not Creditable for you, so it is Ignominious to me ; and therefore, tho' I take it very ill that you enter'd into it, yet I put it in your Power, and as yet give you Liberty to Cancel and Break it off, which, tho', by my Prerogative I may Command, yet I had rather, by fair Means, perswade you so to do, that seeing all Mens Eyes are upon you, you may avert all Cause of Suspicion with greater Diligence, To this the Earl Reply'd, That for his Favours, he should strive with all Obsequiousness to deserve them ; That as he had the Honour to Command others who Obey'd him, he knew very well how to be Commanded and Obey his Prince, and in what Disobedience consisted, and that as none of his Subjects enjoy'd more Lands and Honours than himself, there should not one be found, who more willingly would engage all his Fortune and Person for the Honour of his Prince ; That they who laid Snares for his Life, being so near His Majesty, for the Surety of his Person, he could not come to Court except upon a Public Assurance and well Accompany'd. For the Wrongs committed by his Followers and Vassals, he would give what Satisfaction should be requir'd ; and as to the Bond of Mutual Friendship betwixt him and some Noblemen, they would have adhered together without any writting, that they were forc'd to it in their own Defence, not with any Design of Offering, but of Repelling Injuries ; That he was infinitely oblig'd to his Goodness, in not Condemning him before he was heard, and for that he had not lent a Credulous Ear to his Enemies Mischievous Devices. The King reply'd, That Effects and not Words made the Affection and Submission of Subjects known ; and could there be any greater Surety for him, than to rely on the Laws of the Common-wealth and Country, especially (continued he) in a Country where Laws and not Faction rule, and where a Man's own Goodness is able to preserve him ; but such Men as you are, raise these Factions, to the Sub-

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" version of all Laws and Authority : And for Subjects to make an Of-
 " fensive and Defensive League against all Persons, is to disclaim all Go-
 " verment, and do what they please without Controlment, commit
 " Treason in the highest Degree, and make your own Swords and
 " Power justify your Proceedings ; which though you first use against
 " mean Persons, and conceal the Progress of your Actions, your last
 " Aim is likely to level at the Crown. Consider, my Lord, you are
 " Born under a Monarchy, which admitteth no Sovereignty but it self,
 " and 'tis Natural to Princes to maintain it to the height, and in no Case
 " to suffer it to be shaken by their Subjects : Take your Prince for your
 " best Protection, and an Innocent Life ; Renounce that Union and
 " League with your Peers, which when not commanded, approv'd or
 " permitted by your Prince, subsisteth not in Law, nor in Reason, being
 " forbidden under severe Penalties ; and let it not be heard any longer, that
 " ever such an unjust League was, and so you shall have conferr'd upon
 " you our wonted Clemency, and not our deserved Justice. The Earl
 " reply'd, That the League being drawn up by the Consent of many
 " Lords, Barons and Gentlemen, it could not be Cancell'd or Rentounc'd
 " but by their common Consent ; neither was it the King's Interest or
 " his to have it otherways done. But, says the King, You, to show
 " good Example to the rest, shall begin, neither shall any Traitor liv-
 " ing reject or disown my Authority, in my Presence, if it be possible
 " for me to hinder him. Upon this, the Earl desir'd him to remem-
 " ber, that he came to Court upon a Public Assurance ; to which the
 " King answer'd, That a Public Assurance could not so warrant any
 " Man, but that he might fall by his own private Misdemeanour, and
 " desir'd him to consider, that a mean Courage in a King was an Impu-
 " tation upon him, and that he could neither offend GOD nor wrong
 " his own Fame in revenging himself upon the Enemies of the State.
 " By this time, the Earl being as much heated with Passion as the King,
 " and trusting much to his own Power, told him plainly, *That he Could*
 " *not, nor Would not break it.* Upon which, the King said, *If thou Wilt*
 " *not break it, I Will ;* and immediately struck his Dagger into his Breast.
 Those that stood at the Door, hearing the Noise, rush'd in and se-
 conded the King's Blow, leaving the Earl dead upon the Place, with
 many Wounds, on the 22d of February 1452.

The Earl had then Four Brethren in *Striveling*, whom, as we have
 said, a great Number of the Nobility and Gentry had accompanied
 thither ; they having heard of what was done, run immediately to
 Arms, and there was nothing to be heard and seen through the whole
 Town but Noise, Clamour and Confusion. But the Nobility having
 at length got them appeas'd, commanded them that Night Home to
 their Respective Lodgings, and the next Day they met, to consult what
 they were to do. James, who was now Earl of *Douglafs*, was for Be-
 sieging of the Castle, with what Force they then had, and to cause more
 Forces to be rais'd immediately, that they might bring the King and
 his Council to the Punishments they deserv'd ; but they found that
 impracticable, because they were not prepar'd with Materials for so
 great an Enterprize, but they took the King and Council's *Safe Conduct*,
 which they fastned to a Cord, tied to a Horse's Tail, and dragg'd it
 through the Streets ; and when they came to the Cross or Market-Place,

they Proclaim'd the King and those that were with him, *Truce-breakers, Perjured Persons and Enemies to all good Men.* And tho' the Town had done them no Prejudice, yet such was their Madness, that they order'd *James Hamilton of Cadzow* to burn it, which he did. After which, they rang'd over all the Country, plundering and killing all the King's Faithful Subjects, where ever they came. The King, on the other hand, wrote Letters to all the Cities of the Kingdom and the Clergy, Vindicating what he had done.

Our Prelate, amidst all these Confusions, was call'd to give his Advice, which was, that a Parliament should be call'd to meet at *Edinburgh*, for settling the Affairs of the Nation. This was no sooner propos'd, than embrac'd by the King and his Council; and a Herauld was order'd to summon the Earl of *Douglafs* and his Adherents to compear before the Parliament Indict'd at *Edinburgh*: But the Earl was so far from obeying him, that the next Night he caus'd a Libel to be hung on the Church Doors, wherein he said, That he would neither trust his Life to the King, nor yield him any Obedience. This Parliament having met at *Edinburgh*, the late Earl's Four Brethren, *James, Archbald, George and John*, with *Beatrice* the late Earl's Wife and *Alexander* Earl of *Crawford*, were declared Public Enemies to the Government. Many Persons were Advanced to be Noblemen, and Rewards assigned them out of the Rebels Estates, by which means, the King began to appear a little more Formidable to them than he was; for in the beginning of these Troubles, he was reduc'd to such Extremities, that he was once upon the Thought of making his Escape to *France* by Sea, had he not been diverted by our worthy Prelate, who told him "That to leave the Kingdom was to give all over to the Insolency of his Rebels, and for fear of burning, to leap into the Fire it self; That, besides the high and long continued Title of a King, which the best Part of his Subjects yet Reverenc'd, he had sufficient Friends and warlike Men, who, appearing in a Field with him, would raise a just Fear in the Hearts of those who so hainously dar'd to disobey him; That God would be present to Revenge injur'd Majesty, and turn their Hopes to Dispair; That the Common People were ever changing, and a little Time would make all of them return to their Duty, except such as were guilty of other Offences, or such, whose Poverty made them fear a Beggary Peace as their greatest Punishment; That his chiefest and principal City stood good for him, which Example the other Towns would undoubtedly follow; That Rebellion was like Thunder, the Noise of which, if observed duly, was often more terrible than the Blow, and dissolved ordinarily in Tears of Repentance and fair Weather; That when a Prince cannot suppress and stop all the Evils in his State, his Prudence is manifested in tolerating the least, and with Leisure and Time to abolish and extirpate the greater, making a Vertue of Necessity.

By these and the like Speeches and Advices, he not only diverted this Prince's Design, but encourag'd him to act so Valiantly, Wisely and Prudently, that he overcame the *Douglasses* and quieted all the other Factions in the Kingdom; and, if he had not been cut off in the Flower of his Age (being then but 29 or 30 Years) by the Splinter of a Canon at the Siege of *Roxburgh*, in all Probability, he would have proven one of the most Accomplish'd Princes of his Age.

Upon

Upon the Death of this Prince, which happen'd in the Year 1460, *James* his Son, a Child of Seven Years of Age, was Crown'd at *Kelfo*; his Education and Government was committed to the Queen his Mother; and *Andrew Stewart* Lord *Annandale*, the Lord *Cassils*, Earl of *Orkney*, the Lord *Boyd* Chancellor, the Lord *Grabame*, the Bishops of *St. Andrews*, *Glasgow* and *Dunkeld*, were declar'd Governours of the Realm. But in effect the whole Power was Devolv'd upon the Bishop of *St. Andrews*. About which time, *Henry* King of *England* and his Queen, (being overthrown in Battel by *Edward* Earl of *March*, who was thereupon declar'd King of *England*, under the Name of *Edward IV.*) fled into *Scotland*, where they were receiv'd by our Prelate with great Splendor and Magnificence; for which Reason, he caus'd the City of *Berwick* to be deliver'd to the *Scots*, which had been in the Hands of the *English* ever since the Days of *Edward I.* The Government of the young King, the Protection of the King of *England*, and several other Momentuous Affairs that concern'd the Nation, requiring that a Parliament should be call'd, they met at *Edinburgh*. At this Parliament there was a full Meeting of the Nobility and Barons, but the Body of them was divided into Two Factions, Part of the Nobility follow'd the Queen, but the Major Part, by far, follow'd the Bishop of *St. Andrews* and *George Douglass* Earl of *Angus*. The Queen lodg'd in the Castle, the Bishop and Earl lay at the Abby of *Holy-rood-house*. Now the Cause of this Dissention was, That the Queen thought it but just and equal for her, to have the Tutelage or Guardianship of her own Son; but the other Party thought it more fit that One should be chosen out of the Parliament for so great a Charge. Upon the Third Day of the Assembly the Queen came down from the Castle with her Followers, and before the other Party could meet, caus'd her self to be declar'd *The King's Tutor, and Governess of the Kingdom*. When our Prelate heard of this, he came to the Cross or Market-Place, and there in a long Speech, he told the Multitude who were assembled thick about him, "That he and his Party did aim at nothing but the Public Good, and the Observation of their Ancient Laws; but their Adversaries were led, each one by his private Advantage; and that, if he had Liberty to dispute the Point, he would make what he had said evidently appear. After which, he retir'd with his Party to his Lodging, but was not gone far from the Market-Place, before he heard that the other Party was coming down Arm'd from the Castle. The Earl of *Angus*, looking upon this as an Intolerable Affront and a Daring of his Party, had immediately enter'd with them into Blood, had it not been for the Bishops of *Glasgow*, *Galloway* and *Dumblane*, who compos'd the Matter so far, that they obtain'd a Truce, between the Two Parties, for a Month. After which, they met again in Parliament, where the Queen told them, "That, seeing she had not enter'd upon the Government the Year before, by Force, or against the Minds of the Nobility, but was chosen to that Dignity by their unanimous Consent, she had but us'd her own Right, and therefore she hoped they would not degrade her, especially since no Crime was imputed to her, as to her Mal-Administration. If, said she, as it is usual, Degrees of Affinity be regarded in Pupillages, there is none nearer than a Mother; If the Safety of the King were Ey'd, none could be more Faithful; For, if the King should die, other Men

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may

“ may have their various and distinct Hopes, but she could hope for, or expect nothing, but a lonely Mansion in Solitariness and Tears. And, if they had Respect to the Good of the Public, she was a Stranger, and concern’d in no Interest of Feuds or Friendships, and That was especially to be Ey’d in such who sat at the Helm of Government; That so their own Lives might not only be free from actual Vice, but also that they might have as few Temptations and Incitements as may be, to those Lusts which do disturb and hurry the Mind, and perverts their Judgments. Some had Assistance of Parents, Kinsmen, Allies, by whose Aid they might hope for an Excuse for their Offences, or, at least, an easier Pardon. Yea, sometimes the Rulers were compell’d to square and accommodate their Actions to such Mens Wills and Humours. As for her self, her Hope of Defence was in Innocency alone; she had but One Son to Eye, and both their Benefits and Advantages were Combin’d and Twisted together. And unless she had Respect to these Things, she would choole much rather to live a quiet and happy Life in Retirement, with the Love of all his Subjects, than to undergo the Enmity of Evil Men, by punishing of their Crimes; yea, and sometimes to incur the Displeasure of the Good too. Neither was it a new thing for a Woman, to desire the Regency of another’s Kingdom, since that not only in *Britain*, but even in the Greatest and most Powerful Kingdoms of the Continent, Women have had the Supreme Power, and their Reigns have been such, that their Subjects never repented of their Government. When she had thus spoken, our Prelate rose up and deliver’d his Mind in the following Speech, as ’tis related by *Buchanan*, and thus done into *English* by the Translator of his History (b).

IT is my Desire, Noble Peers, that they whose Aims are at the Good of all, in general, might freely declare their Minds without Offence to any one particular Person: But in our present Circumstances, when things spoke for Public Advantage, are Distorted to the Reproach of those Private Persons, who speak them, it is a very difficult thing to observe such a Mean between disagreeing Heats and different Opinions, as not to incur the Offence of one of the Parties. As for me, I will so temperate and moderate my Discourse, that no Man shall complain of me, without first confessing his own Guilt. Yet, I shall use the Liberty of Speech, received from our Ancestors, so modestly, that, as, *on the One* side, I desire to prejudice no Man; so, *on the Other*, neither for Fear nor Favour, will I pretermitt any thing, which is of Use in the Debate before us. I see that there are *Two* Opinions which do Retard and Impede our Concord; The *One* is, of those, who Judge, that in a Matter relating to the Good of All, an Election out of All is to be made; and as we all meet to give our Suffrages in a Business concerning the Safety of the whole Kingdom; so, it is equal and fit, that no Man should be excluded from the Hopes of that Honour, who seeks after it by Honest and Virtuous Ways. The *Other* is, of such, who count it a great Injury done to the Queen, who is so Noble a Princess, and so Choice a Woman, if she be not preferred before all others in Tutelage of her Son, and the Administration of the Government of the Kingdom.

Of

(b) See Buchanan, Hist. in Engl. Lond. 1690. book 12. pag. 401.

Of these Two Opinions, I Like the Former best, and I will shew you my Reasons for it, by and by : In the mean time, I so far approve the Design of the Latter, that they think it below the Queen's Grandeur, that any single Person should Vie with her for this Point of Honour, lest her Authority, which ought to be, as it indeed is, accounted Venerable, should be lessen'd by Coping with Inferiours. And, indeed, I would be quickly of their Mind, if the Dispute lay here, about the Honour of *One*, and not the Safety of *All*. But, seeing that this Day we are to make a Determination about That which concerns the Lives and Fortunes of all Private Men, and the Safety of the Whole Kingdom too ; it is fit that all single Interests, and Concerns, should stoop and truckle under That. And therefore, I earnestly advise those, that are of this Opinion, so to Consult the Dignity of the Queen, That, in the *Interim*, they forget not the Reverence they owe to the Laws, to the old Customs, and to the Universal Good of their Country ; If they can shew, by any Statute, That it is Lawful and publicly Expedient, that the Guardianship of the King, and the Regency of the Kingdom, ought to be in the Queen's Hands, I will pass over into their Opinion. But if their Orations be Pernicious to the Public, I hope the Queen, *First* ; and *next*, all Good Men will pardon me, if (always saving the Majesty of the Queen, as Sacred, so far as by Law, and the Custom of our Ancestors, I may) I do not conceal my Opinion, or rather, if I speak out that with Freedom, which it were the greatest Impiety in me to conceal. To begin then with the Laws ; There is a Law made 500 Years ago, by King *Kenneth*, a Prince no less Eminent for his Wisdom and Prudence, than for his Military Performances ; and it was Assented and Yielded to by all the Orders of the Kingdom, and Approved of, even to this very Day, by the constant Observance of so many Ages, *That, when the King was in his Minority, the Estates or Parliament should Assemble and Choose some One Man, Eminent for Wisdom and Power, to be his Guardian, and to Govern the Kingdom, whilst he was yet unable to Weild the Scepter with his own Hands.* Tho' this Law be referred to *Kenneth*, as the Author of it ; yet, it seems to me, that he did not so much Enact it *First*, as thereby Revive and Confirm the Ancient Custom of the *Scots*, by a *New* Sanction. For, our Ancestors were so far from Committing the Supreme Power into the Hands of a Woman, that, if you look over all our Chronicles, you shall not find so much as the Name of a *Woman Regent* Recorded therein ; for, why, pray, should they mention such a Name, of which they thought they had no need at Present, and hoped they should never have any for the Future. For those Females, which other Countries call *Queens*, we only call *Wives* (or *Consorts*) of our Kings ; neither do we Entitle them to any Higher Name ; for, I judge, our Wise Ancestors had this in their Eye, That, as often as they heard their Names mentioned with the Adjunct of *Husband*, they might remember, that they were Obnoxious and Subject to Men. And therefore, to this very Day, a Woman was never admitted to the Regency, or the Administration of Public Affairs. The same Course hath been also constantly observed in lesser Magistracies, both as to their Appointments and Executions. For, tho' many Honours and some Seigniories amongst them have come by Inheritance to some Women, by reason of their great Deserts from their Country ; and have also been allotted to them as Dowries ; yet

it was never known, since the Memory of Man, that any Woman did ever Preside in any Public Council, or in any Court of Judicature, or to have taken upon her any of those Offices, which are Appropriated to Men. Which Custom, seeing our Ancestors, tho' not bound by Law thereunto, did constantly observe, only by the Impulse of Nature, if we their Posterity should cast the Common-Wealth into an apparent Danger, by opposing a Law, Received by the Votes of all, and Approved by so long an Usage, Who will free us from the Brand (I will not say, of Temerity, but) even of Madness it self? Especially since we have been warned by Examples near at hand; For the *Saxons*, by reason of the Wickedness of one Woman, viz. *Fihelburga*, made a Law, That after that time no Woman should be called *Queen*, nor should sit in Public next the King in any Seat of Honour. I beseech you therefore, consider seriously, how much they degenerate from their Prudence, who against a Law so Ancient, and as Advantageous to Women, as Honourable to Men, would put the Reins of Government into their Hands, to whom our Ancestors never gave so much as a Royal Name; and from whom our Neighbours, after they had given it, took it away. Other Nations, I grant, have been of another Opinion; with what Success, I shall declare, after I have first answered those, who Dare not Calumniate this Law openly; but, in the Carpet-Conventicle of Women, do Implead it as unjust. But whosoever he be that finds Fault with it, he seems to reprehend, not some Sanction only, approved by the Suffrages of Men; but even Nature it self, i. e. That Primary Law, imprinted in our Hearts by GOD Himself; I say, Nature it self, whom our Law-maker had, as a Guide and Directress of all His Councils; when He proposed and enacted this Law. For Nature, from the beginning, hath not only distinguished Men from Women, by the Strength of Mind and Body, but hath also Appropriated distinct Offices and Vertues to each Sex, the same indeed for Kind, but far different in Degree; for, how is it less uncomely for a Woman to Pronounce Judgment, to Levy Forces, to Conduct an Army, to Give a Signal to the Battel, than for a Man to Teaz Wool, to Handle the Distaff, to Spin or Card, and to Perform the other Services of the weaker Sex: That which is Liberality, Fortitude and Severity in Men, is Profusion, Madness and Cruelty in a Woman. And again, That which is Elegant, Comely and Ornamental in a Woman, is Mean, Sordid and Effeminate in a Man: They that endeavour to confound and mix these things, which Nature of her own accord hath distinguish'd, do they not seem to you, not only to disturb, but also to overthrow the State of the Kingdom, which is founded upon so good Laws and Customs? This they do, when they would obtrude on us the Government of a Woman, which our Ancestors did not so much as once Name. For the Maker of that Law (as I told you before) doth not seem so much to induce a new Sanction in the Enacting thereof, as only to commit to Writing the perpetual Usage of our Ancestors, that it might be transmitted to Posterity; and, that which hath been always observ'd by the Guidance of Nature, in the making a King, to have Consecrated the same thing to be observ'd by Public Authority, in choosing a Guardian for a King under Age. They which go about to Undermine and Infringe this one Law, what do they thereby but endeavour to overthrow all the other Laws, Rites and Customs

of our Ancestors? I speak, (that I may prevent all Calumny) not that I think all Laws are Immutable, as if they were Enacted to last for ever; No Laws are of different Sorts and Kinds: Those that are accommodated to the Vicissitude of Times, are subject to the Inconstancy of Fortune, and are wont to last so long, as the Necessity doth, which impos'd them; and those which are obtruded on Men by the Wills of Tyrants, are commonly Disannulled and Abrogated with their Authors. But as for that Instinct or Impress of Nature, which is, as it were, a Living Law, Ordained by GOD, and deeply Imprinted and Engraven in Mens Hearts, That, the Consent of no Multitudes, nor no Mens Decrees, can Abolish: For (as an Excellent Poet is reported to have said) *It was not born Yesterday or to Day, but it grew up together with Dame Nature it self, and lives and dies together with it.* And seeing the Law, of which we now speak, is of that sort, and a Principal one too, he doth not oppose the Dignity of the Queen, who desires, that she, of her own Accord, would prescribe to her self those Bounds, which Nature it self hath Appointed, her Sex Requires, Custom Allows, and the Laws, made by the Consent of almost all Nations, do Approve: But they, who would have her forget her Sex and Station, do perswade her to break thro' all Bonds of Law, and to disturb the Order of Things Appointed by GOD, Received by Use, and Allowed in all Cities and Countries well Govern'd; And certainly, whosoever slights that Order, will be grievously Punished, not by Men only; but by GOD Himself, who will Revenge His own Law. For, if good Laws threaten a Man with Death, who shall cloath himself with a Woman's Apparel, and a Woman, if she wear the Habit of a Man; what Punishment can be inflicted on them, too great for their Offence, who, by a preposterous Flattery, would overthrow the whole Force of Nature, and the Everlasting Constitution of GOD Himself? Will you understand, how these Flatterers do not speak what they cordially mean? In a Public Assembly, to give a Vote, to be President in a Court of Law, to Enact or Abrogate a Law: These are great Things in themselves, yet they are but a small Portion of the Government. Why do they not bring their Wives hither to us to Consult? Why do not these also Preside in Judicatures? Why do they not Perswade or Disswade Laws? Why do they not themselves look after their Domestic Affairs at Home? And, why do they not send their Wives Abroad to the War? But if they would impose those Regents upon us, whom they themselves dare scarcely trust in the Management of their own Household Affairs, much less think them fit for the least Part of any Public Business, consider, I pray, how they contradict themselves; but if they themselves are Conscious of their own Infirmary, if they speak as they think, and so are restrain'd by Modesty rather than Judgment; yet, let them hope well of others, who both can and will perform their own, i.e. the Services proper for Men. But if (as I rather judge) they think, by this kind of Compliance, to Gratify the Queen, I advise and admonish them, to lay aside that false Opinion of a Princess of so great Prudence, as she is, nor that they would believe her to be so Ignorant of Things, as to account That to be an Increase and Accession of Dignity (to her) which would be the Foulest imaginable in other Women. I enter upon this Part of my Discourse very unwillingly; for, seeing our Noble Princess hath so well deserved

of the whole Kingdom; that it is fit she should hear nothing, which might justly offend her Ears and Spirit. I will not mention those things, which Ill Men do commonly alledge in contemning and undervaluing of That Sex, I shall rather insist on those Virtues, which are proper to the Queen: And tho' These are Many and Eminently Illustrious; yet none of them have procur'd greater Praise and Commendation to her, than her Modesty. For, That is esteem'd so proper to her Sex, that, even in a private Person, it doth either cover, or at least much extenuate other Faults. But, in our Princess, none of whose Words or Deeds, in regard of the Eminency of her Stock and Condition, can be conceal'd; it doth shine out so Illustriously, that her other Virtues become much more acceptable and commended, upon the Account thereof. And therefore I shall need to say but a few Words in reference to her, save only to warn and encourage her, to persist in that way to Glory and Honour, which she hath already entered upon; and that she would not give Ear to the Flatteries of any, so as to be forgetful of her self; but that she would rather tread the Sure and Experienc'd Way to Immortal Renown, than by running on unsafe and craggy Precipices, to hazard the Splendor of her former Glorious Life.

But my great Business is with you, (My Lords) who, either out of Envy, are afraid that your Betters should be preferred before you, or else, by wicked Ambition, do lay the Foundation of your future Favour with a good Princess. I will therefore, Most Noble Queen, under the shelter of your Prudence, speak, and speak freely my Thoughts in this Case. Such Persons do not Accost or Court you, but your Fortune; And whilst they think upon the Queen, they forget that the same Person is a *Woman*. When I name the Word *Woman*, I do not use it reproachfully, but I mean a Person to whom Nature hath given many Blandishments and Eminent Endowments; but withal, hath mingled them (as she usually doth in the most Beautiful and Precious Things) with some Allay of Infirmary; and therefore would have her to be under the Guardianship of Another, as not sufficiently able to protect her Self. So that she is so far from having an Empire over Others allotted to her, that the Laws, in Imitation of Nature, do command Women to be under the perpetual Tutelage of their Parents, Brethren or Husbands. Neither doth this tend to their Reproach, but it is a Relief to their Frailty, for that it keeps them off from those Affairs, for which they are unfit. It is a Courtesy, which consults or makes Provision for their Modesty; not a Scandal, detracting from their Honour. I will not call to Remembrance, how difficultly they are restrained by the Diligence of Husbands and the Authority of Parents; neither will I mention, how far the Licentiousness of some Women hath proceeded, when the Reins have been loosed on their Necks. I shall confine my Speech only to what the present Case offers; yea, what it doth exact and require, and which, without Dammage to the Public, cannot be concealed: If there be any thing of private Inconveniency in the Sex, let their Husbands and Kin look to That, I shall only briefly touch what may be Publicly Prejudicial. Greatness of Mind was never requir'd in this Sex; it is true, Women have other proper Virtues, but as for this, it was always reckon'd amongst *Virile*, not *Female*, Endowments: Besides, by how much the more they are obnoxious to Commotions, Passions, and other

Efforts of Mind, by Reason of the Imbecillity of their Nature, by so much doth their Extravagancy, having once broke thro' the Restraints of the Law, straggle further away, and is hardly ever reduc'd and brought back again within its due Bounds; in regard, Women are alike Impatient, both of Diseases and Remedies too: But if any of them seem more Valiant and Courageous, they are so much the more Dangerous, as being liable to more Impetuous and Vehement Passions; For they, who, out of Tediumness of their Sex, have put off the Woman, are very willing to extend their Liberty, even beyond the Precincts of Manly Cares too: If you once exceed, and pass over the Bound and Limits, set by Nature, whatsoever is beyond is Infinite, and there is no Boundary left either for Desire or Action. Moreover, there is a further Accession to this Infirmary of Nature; by how much the less Confidence one hath in himself, so much the more easily he interprets the Words and Actions of others to his own Reproach, he is more vehemently Angry, and more hardly Appeas'd. Such a Party doth also execute Revenge more immoderately, and doth punish his Despisers with greater Hate: Now, that all those Things are unfit for, yea contrary to Magistracy, there is none of you are Ignorant of. And if any Man think that I devise these things of my own Head, let him consider, what great Disturbances there were not long ago, when *Joan of Naples* Reigned. Look over the Histories of Ancient Times. I will not mention *Semiramis* of *Assyria*, nor *Laodice* of *Cappadocia*; those were Monsters, not Women. I shall only mention, That *Zenobia Palmyrena*, so much spoken of, the Subduer of the *Parthians*, and Defender of the *Roman* Empire, was at last Overcome, Taken and Triumphed over: And so she her self and her Kingdom, which was Enlarg'd and Increas'd by her Husband *Odenatus*, was Lost in a Moment.

Neither may I pass over in Silence, what is principally to be regarded in the Management of other Mens Affairs; That the Chief Command is not to be intrusted to such sort of Persons, who are not Accountable for their Mal-Administration: I do not at all distrust the Disposition, Faithfulness, nor Care of our Queen, but if any thing be acted amiss (as it often happens) by the Fraud of Others; and Matters be carried otherwise, than the Public Good, or the Dignity of her Place doth require; What Must can we exact from the King's Mother? What Punishment can we require? Who shall give an Account for Miscarriages? The highest Matters will then be manag'd in the Meetings of Women; in the Nursery or Dressing-Room: You must *There*, either Each Man in Particular Subscribe to Decrees, or All in General Make them; and she, whom you scarce now restrain, tho' she be without Arms, and Obnoxious to you by Laws and Customs, when you have, by your Authority, put Power into her Hands, you will certainly feel her Womanish Willfulness and Extravagance. Neither do I speak this, as if I did fear any such thing from our Queen, who is the Choicest and Modestest of all Women; but because I think it base and unseemly for us, who have all things yet in our own Hands and Power, to place the Hope of our Safety, which we may owe to our selves, only in another's Power, especially since both Divine and Human Laws, the Custom of our Ancestors, yea, and the Consent of all Nations, throughout the whole World, make for us. 'Tis true, some Nations have endured Women

to be their chief Magistrates, but they were not Elected to that Dignity, by their Judgment and Suffrage, but were cast upon them by the Lot of their Birth and Nativity ; but never any People, who had freedom of Vote, when there was Plenty of Able Men to choose, did ever prefer Women before them. And therefore, most Eminent Patriots, I advise, and earnestly intreat you, That, according to the Laws of your Country and the Customs of our Ancestors, we choose One ; or, if you think fit, more, the Best out of the Noblest and Best, who may undertake the Regency, till the King arrive at that Strength, both of Body and Mind, as to be able to Manage the Government himself: And I pray GOD to bless your Proceedings herein.

The Parliament having taken into their Consideration the Reasons alledg'd by both Parties ; Two of each Faction were Chosen for the Guardianship of the King, who were to manage all Public Affairs with Fidelity, to Collect and Expend the King's Revenue, and to undertake the Charge of the Royal Family. Of the Queen's Side, were Chosen *William Grabame* Lord *Grabame*, and *Robert Boid* Lord *Boid* ; of the other, *Robert Sinclair* Earl of *Orkney*, and *John Kennedy* Lord *Kennedy* ; to these were added the Two Bishops of *Glasgow* and *Dunkeld*. The Queen was allow'd to be present at the King's Education, but she was not to meddle with any thing of the Public. As for her other Children, which were Four, viz. *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, *John* Earl of *Mar*, and Two young Ladies, she had the Charge of them her self. This Decision of the Parliament was so Afflicting to the Queen, that it threw her into a deep Melancholy, of which she died ; and, having call'd her Son to her when she found her self dying, she is said to have spoke to him thus.

" That Providence, which brought me upon the Earth, and set a
 " Crown on my Head, doth now Recal and Remove me to a better
 " Kingdom ; and my Happiness is not in this a little, that I leave this
 " Life without Change of that Estate, in which I peaceably liv'd :
 " Death now sheweth me, as in a Mirrour, the Frailty of all Worldly
 " Pomp and Glory, which before, by the Marble Colours of false Great-
 " ness, was overshadow'd and cover'd from me. My Grievs have been
 " many, few my Contentments, the most Eminent of which was the
 " Hopes I conceived of you and my other Children ; and now my great-
 " est Regret is, that I leave you before I could see my Wishes accom-
 " plish'd towards you. My only Care was to have you brought up in
 " all Virtue and Goodness, but Heaven has bestow'd that Care to more
 " Prudent Governours : Always, take these Motherly Directions from
 " me, who can leave you no better Legacy. Be earnest to observe the
 " Commandments which are prescribed to you by Religion, for this
 " supporteth the Scepter of Princes, and a Religious King cannot but
 " have Obedient Subjects. What an unreasonable thing is it, that a
 " King will have a People to acknowledge him for their Sovereign Prince
 " upon Earth, and will not acknowledge GOD for his Supreme Lord
 " in Heaven ? A King who Rebelleth against GOD, all subordinate
 " Creatures should rebel against him. Love my Children, and, laying
 " aside the Port and Majesty of a King, Receive them with the Affection
 " of a Brother. Endeavour to make your Subjects obey you, more
 " out of Love than Fear, or make your self Belov'd and Fear'd both
 toge-

“ together, seeing Love alone of it self is often Cause of Contempt, and
 “ Fear alone begets Hatred: Remember, you Govern not the Soft, Ef-
 “ feminate People of the South, but a Fierce Warlike Nation of the
 “ North, which oftner use to be intreated than commanded by their
 “ Princes. Be sparing to lay Subsidies upon them, which maketli ma-
 “ ny Mal-contents, and live upon your own, suffering others to enjoy
 “ what is theirs. Beware of Flatterers, and of Exalting undeserving Per-
 “ sons above your Ancient Nobility. Suffer not your Prerogatives to
 “ be called in Question, but, foreseeing the Danger, rather give way
 “ to All, that with Reason is demanded of you. Moderate your Passions,
 “ He shall never govern a Kingdom well, who cannot govern himself,
 “ and bring his Affections to be subject to his Reason. I am afraid that
 “ Envy and Malice arm themselves against you, which to overcome
 “ Endeavour to be Martial your self; for a Prince that is not Martial in
 “ himself, shall never be freed of Rebellion amongst his Subjects; A
 “ strong Arm should hold the Ballance of Justice. When Dissention a-
 “ riseth, be not a Loyerer and Sluggard, but with all Celerity suppress
 “ it in the Infancy. Rebellion is like Fire in a City, which should be
 “ quenched, tho’ with pulling down of the Neighbouring Houses. O-
 “ thers will instruct you in the Art of Government with greater Curio-
 “ sity and Wisdom, but not with the like Love and Affection. I wish
 “ these Counsels of mine be Engraved in your Heart and Conscience,
 “ after my Death, for a Perpetual Testimony of my Sincerity in your
 “ Education; and, if, by the unjust Counsel of others, ye be brought
 “ to Practise ought contrary to these Instructions, Remember ye cannot
 “ shun Inevitable Dangers, both to your State and Person. Then find-
 “ ing herself very weak, she said, *But now I find I am Warned from Above*
 “ *to deliver this frail Body to the Rest of a desired Grave.* So, taking her Leave
 “ of him, she not long after Expir’d, and was Buried in the Trinity Col-
 “ lege at *Edinburgb*, (which she her self had Founded) in the Year 1466:
 “ And upon the 10th of *May*, the same Year, died our Excellent Prelate,
 “ who has this Character given him by *Buchanan*: “ Not long after, says
 “ he, *James Kennedy* departed this Life maturely enough for himself, if
 “ we respect his Age; but his Death was so Lamented by all Good
 “ Men, as if in him they had lost a Public Father. For in that Man,
 “ besides the Virtues above-mentioned, there was a high Degree of
 “ Frugality and Continence at Home, yet great Splendor and Magnifi-
 “ cence Abroad. He exceeded all former Bishops, yea and all those
 “ which have sat after him in that See, to this very Day, in Liberality
 “ towards the Public, and yet, notwithstanding his own Ecclesiastical
 “ Revenues were not very great, he left One Eminent Monument of
 “ his Munificence behind him, and that was the Public Schools at *St.*
 “ *Andrews*, which he Built with great Expence, and Endowed with large
 “ Revenues. - - His Death made his Virtues more Illustrious, and in-
 “ creased Mens Desire after him; for when he, who was a Perpetual
 “ Censor and Corrector of Manners, was once removed out of the way,
 “ the Public Discipline began by Degrees to grow weak and remiss, and
 “ at Last, to be so corrupt as to bring almost all Things with it self to
 “ Ruin. Bishop *Spotiswood* says of him, That upon his Accession to the
 “ See of *St. Andrews* “ He did put all things in such Order, as no Man,
 “ then living, did remember to have seen the Church in so good an
 “ Estate;

“ Estate ; for, partly by his own Ensamples; partly by the strict Observance of Discipline, he induced them all to live as became Men of their Profession : And as he was to the Clergy a Pattern of Virtue, so was he a great Supporter of the King and Kingdom, by his Wise and Prudent Counsel. But none of those Characters agree with his Haranguing the Mob in the Public Market-Place, nor his having such a Virulent Discourse against the Queen Mother, for Pleading for the Guardianship of her Child, and against the Government of all Women in general, which has made some suspect, that all this is but a meer Contrivance of *Buchanan*, to make the Bishop of his own Opinion, in opposing the Government of Women and in Fostering of Factions; and this seems the more probable, in regard that none of our other Historians speaks one Word of it.

Besides the Building of *St. Salvator's College* in *St. Andrews*, which he Provided with most costly Ornaments and large Revenues, he built a Ship for the King's Service, of such Bigness, that she, by far, exceeded all the other Ships that were then in *Europe*; but she was unfortunately lost by a Storm, upon the Coast of *Germany* nigh to *Bamberg*. *Dempster* tells us (c), That there was an Anonymous *Scots* Poet at that time, who wrote an Elegant *Latine* Poem upon this Ship-wrack, which begun thus.

*Immanes Ventorum Animas, violentaque Ponti
Fura trucis caeco laxavit carcere nuper
Neptunus, duris illisa est Borgia Jaxis.*

He likewise Erected a Stately Tomb for himself, within the Chappel of *St. Salvator's College*, where he was Buried, having govern'd that See for 22 Years. The Catalogue of his Works, according to *Dempster*, are, *Monita Politica*, which he says, *Justus Lipsius* saw. *Hist. sui Temporis*. This History of his own Time he says, was never Publish'd, and he makes no mention of the Speech against the Government of Women.

I N G R A M L I N D S A Y (a), Bishop of *Aberdeen*, was descended from the Noble and Ancient Family of the *Lindsays*, and Born in the Reign of King *Robert III.* He was brought up in all the Parts of Literature, and applying himself to Theology and the Study of the Laws, he enter'd into Holy Orders, and was Created Doctor of the Canon Law, in the Year 1441. Upon the Death of *Henry Lighton* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, he was advanc'd to that See, being then very old and infirm. At this time there was one *Alexander*, who expected to have been preferr'd to that See, and finding the Bishop very infirm, he resolv'd to trick him handsomely out of his Life, not doubting but he would be preferr'd next, and the Method that he took, was, he told him what Abuses had crept into his Diocess amongst the Clergy, and That if he had but the Authority of the Apostolic See, for Reforming of them, it would tend very much to the Good of the Church and his Reputation. The Bishop, noway doubting of the Sincerity of his Advice, embark'd in a Ship bound for *Marseilles* in *France*, and from thence went by Sea to *Rome*; who, after some Months stay there, instead of dying by the Fatigue of the Journey, as *Alexander* expected, return'd more healthful than be-

(c) Vid. *Dempst. Lib. IX. Pag. 391.* (a) Vid. *Dempst. Hist. Lib. 9. Pag. 393.* *Spotifw. Lib. 2. Pag. 104.* *Hector. Boet. Vit. Episc. Aberd.*

before, and died at *Aberdeen* in the Year 1450. having Govern'd that See 17 Years. He was much Lamented by the Citizens, who Lov'd him dearly, and Buried him in the Cathedral Church with great Solemnity. Arch-Bishop *Spotiswood* gives him this Character. "He was, says he, a Man constant in his Promises, of a Spare Diet, but very Hospitable, for he Entertained great Numbers both of Learned Men and others, especially the Eldest Sons of Noblemen and Barons in the North Parts, and notwithstanding of his Age and Public Employments, was ever at Study when he could find any free Time from those Cares. A little before his Death he fell in the King's Displeasure, for denying Admission to some who were meer Ignorants, or for their Years, Incapable. But this did not much trouble his Mind, as being noway conscious to himself of any just Offence offered. *Dempster* says, That he wrote *In Sextum Decretalium accuratas & erudito Viro dignas Enarrationes. In Clementinas. In Epistolas Pauli Commentaria.* The Two First Books, he says, were Publish'd, but that *That* upon St. Paul was only Begun and not Finish'd.

DAVID STEEL.] In the Reign of King *James I.* there liv'd one *David Steel* (a) a Deacon, who wrote in Verse the Life of King *Robert III.* which is still extant in MS. and wherein several things are Recorded of Moment. He tells us, That *Henry IV.* of *England* Challeng'd Homage from King *Robert*, for his Crown of *Scotland*, as Holding of That of *England*;

*Estir the Right of Brutus King
Quilck had all Ingland in Governing.*

Which King *Robert* absolutely refus'd to do; for, says he,

*Scotland evir yit hes bene free
Sin Scota of Ægypt tuick the See.*

A Privilege, *England* could noway boast of, having been Four Times Conquer'd by the *Romans, Saxons, Danes* and *Normans*; and in all their Attempts upon *Scotland* of that Nature, they never fail'd to miscarry: But if they would try it once more, King *Robert* proposes the Deciding of the Controversy, Sixty by Sixty of the Royal Blood of both Kingdoms; or Fourty to Fourty, or Twenty against Twenty, or, Lastly, they Two themselves by single Combate; concluding thus,

*I proffer me to prief on the
At we and Scotland yit are free
And of the Paip nathing we hauld
But of the Kirk our Faith of Auld.*

The Catalogue of his Works, *The Rign of the Roy Robert made by Dean D. Steel MS. inter Poemata D. Rob. Maithland. P. S. Pepys Armig.*

MAGNUS MACCULLOCH (a) was Secretary to *William Schevez* Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews*, and wrote a Continuation of *Forden's History*, about the Year 1482. Which is all that we know of him.

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(a) See Dr. Nicol. Scots Hist. Liber. (a) See Dempst. Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot. Lib. 12. Pag. 482. Guil. Cave, Hist. Liter. Pars 2. Pag. 511.

him. The Catalogue of his Works, *Scoti-Chronici Transcriptio & Continuatio Ext. MS. in Bib. Reg. Lond.*

THADÆUS, Abbot of the Scots Monastery at Ratisbonne, flourish'd about the Year 1457 (a); who, at the Desire of Conrad, a Person of Note and Quality, wrote from the Scots Chronicles a Fragment concerning the Lives of St. Kilian, St. Virgilius, St. Lullus and others, which Canisius Publish'd. Joannes Gerardus Vossius is inclin'd to believe; (b) that he is the same with the Thadæus, who wrote in Verse the Life of the Emperor Frederic I. and who is one of the Authors cited by Cuspinianus in his History of the Roman Emperors, since they both liv'd at the same time. The Catalogue of his Works, *Fragmentum Chronici ejus extat apud Canis. Tom. 4. Antiq. Lect. Ingolstadii, 1603. in 4to.*

WILLIAM BRUCE] This Gentleman, who liv'd about the Year 1479 (a), was one of the Attendants of Antonius Spinola in his Embassy from the Crim of Tartary to the King of Poland; who, having spent a great Part of his Life amongst the Turks and Tartars, has oblig'd the World with a Relation of their Customs and Manners, and of the best Method of making War against them. Both which Books are still extant. The Catalogue of his Works, *De Bello adversus Turcas Gerendo Consilium, Lipsiæ 1595: 8vo. in Fol. De Tartaris Diarum, Francofi 1598. in Fol.*

ANDREW WINTON a Chanon Regular, was Born in the Reign of King Robert II. Having finish'd the Course of his Studies, enter'd into Holy Orders, and became a Chanon of the Order of St. Augustine at St. Andrews. In the Reign of King James I. he was made Prior of the Inch within Loch-Levin, and at the Desire of Sir John Weems, he wrote a General History, under this Title, *The Chronicle Original, &c.* This Book is still extant in the Lawier's Library at Edinburgh, among Sir James Balfour's Manuscripts. It is a thick Folio, written in a fair legible Hand; The Titles of all the Chapters, and Two or Three Words of the First Verse of each Chapter, and the First Letter of each Line, and the Names of the Remarkable Persons are done in the In-side of the Page, and in many Places of the Book several Latine Verses, all are done in Vermilion.

The Book beginneth with a Table of the Chapters, and consisteth of 212 Chapters, it is divided into 9 Books; the Contents of the Chapters of each Book are prefix'd. The Book is a General History, and the First Part treats most of Foreign History, except where, by the Order of Time, he bringeth in what relateth to Scotland; the Other Part is most the History of Scotland, except, where, upon Occasion, he hath some Touches of Foreign Affairs, 'tis (as the Author owneth it to be) Translated from the Latine Historians he had seen: And considering the Time that he liv'd in, he deserves Praise for his Skill in History, altho' he seemeth to have been over Credulous. The History beginneth at the Creation, is carried down to the Imprisonment of King James I. taken by the

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(a) See Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 18. Pag. 613. (b) Voss. de Script. Lat. Lib. 3. Pag. 569. (c) See Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. Lib. 2. Pag. 87. Sam. Purch. Perigr. Lib. 4. Cap. 15. Balduin. Bib. Histor. Pag. 124. (d) See the Prologue to his History, Dr. Nicolson's Scots Hist. Lib.

English, as he was upon his Voyage by Sea to *France*; It giveth an Account of the Death of King *Robert III.* and of the Earl of *Marr* his going Abroad through *England*, 1407. It concludeth with the Account of the Siege of *Liege*, the Destruction of the Town, and who were slain at the Siege.

Sir *James Balfour* hath, with his own Hand, added several Remarks; which does much Illustrate the History of these Times, particularly the Rise of the Family of the *Cummings*, their Lineages, Marriages, and the Lands they possess'd.

The First Book containeth the History from the Creation to the Patriarch *Abraham*; The Second Book hath the History from *Brutus* his coming into *Britain*, which he makes to be, in the Time of the Judges over *Israel*; The Third Book continueth the History from the Building of the City of *Rome*, which, he saith, was when *Achaz* was King of *Judab*, and in the Time of the Prophesteing of the Prophet *Isaiab*; The Fourth Book continueth the History till the Incarnation of our Saviour, when *Oct. Augustus* was *Roman* Emperor; The Fifth carrieth on the History, till the Time that the *Scots* put the *Picts* out of *Scotland*, (as he says) in the Days of *Charlemagne*, for which he referreth to the Records and Chronicles; The Sixth continueth the History, till the Time that King *Malcolm III.* Married *St. Margaret*; The Seventh bringeth the History down till the Death of *Alexander III.* The Eighth continueth it to the Coronation of King *Robert Bruce*; The Ninth continueth the History of the said King *Robert* and his Posterity. There are several Particulars Recorded here, which are not found in our Printed Histories, and many Histories are fully related here, which are slightly touch'd in the Prints. There is an Account of the Battels of *Largs*, *Halidownhill*, *Otterburn*, *Roslin*, *Duplin* and *Cocklaw*. The History of Pope *Joan*, who prov'd to be a Woman, taketh up a Chapter here, but has been vitiated, and several half Lines deleted, to marr that History, which may be made up by Mr. *James Kirton's* Copy, in which I found them intire. In the --- Chapter, there is an Account of our Kings and Saints, from the old Chronicles of *Scotland*; and to this Chronicle of *Andrew Winton* is join'd *Brevis Chronica*, which begins at the Rise of the Nation; and giveth an Account of the most Remarkable Passages of our Histories, in a compendious Way, and cometh beyond the Year 1170. to the Field of *Otterburn*. I see nothing in it which sheweth the Author, or Time when it was written. The Catalogue of his Works, *The Chronicle Original of Scotland*, Ext. MS. in Fol. in Bib. J. C. Edinb.

JOHN SHIRLEY.] Towards the Beginning of the Reign of King *James II.* about the Year 1438, there liv'd one *John Shirley*, (a) who wrote, or rather, as he himself says, Translated, from the *Latine*, the Life of King *James I.* which is still extant, under this Title; *A full and lamentable Chronycle of the Dethe and false Murdre of James Steward last King of Scotys, nought long agoone Prisoner in England yn the Tymes of the Kings Henry the Fyfte and Henry the Sixte, Translated out of Latyne in owre Moders Englishe Tong, bi youre simple Subget John Shirley.* 4to. MS. D. R. Thoresby. PP. babe 88.

WILLIAM SHEVEZ Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*.] This Prelate was Born in the Reign of King *James II.* We are told by our Historians (*a*), That he pass'd the Course of his Studies in his own Country, and went over to *Flanders*, where he studied Mathematics, Medicine and Theology, under one *John Spernick*, in the University of *Lovain*, a Person Famous for his Knowledge in these Sciences; and that, upon his Return to *Scotland*, the Court being madly addicted to Astrological Predictions, by his great Knowledge in that Science, he obtain'd not only the Favour and Love of many of the Nobility, but likewise of King *James III.* who, upon the Vacancy of the Arch-Deaconry of St. *Andrews*, recommended him to *Patrick Grabame*, who was then Arch-Bishop.

The Bishop, taking Exception at his Studies, absolutely refus'd to admit of him; upon which, *Shevez* applied himself to *John Locky*, Rector of the University, a Man who was the Bishop's sworn Enemy, and pretended to have an equal Jurisdiction with him. This Man, having forc'd a Quarrel with the Bishop, had the Boldness to denounce the Sentence of Excommunication against him; but the Bishop, contemning the Sentence of an Inferior, carried himself both in Private and in Public as he us'd to do; upon which *Locky*, *Shevez* and the other Bishops of the Kingdom, who were all of them the Arch-Bishop's Enemies, made their Complaint to the King, that he despis'd the Censures of the Church; and the King, being *Shevez's* Friend, upon the Account of his great Knowledge and Learning, the Bishop was discharg'd from coming into any Sacred Place, his Goods declar'd Confiscate, his Servants remov'd and others appointed in their Places.

The Bishops, to witness their Gratitude to the King for this, presented him with a Sum of Money, which they had collected amongst the Inferiour Clergy. The Arch-Bishop, finding himself in these Circumstances, by distributing of Money amongst the Courtiers, obtain'd the King's Favour, and was Reconcil'd to *Shevez*, whom he admitted to be Arch-Deacon: And now, thinking that all his Troubles were over, he retir'd himself to his House of *Monymail* in *Fife*, where he was scarce well settled, when the Bankers of *Rome*, stirr'd up by his Enemies, charg'd him with the Payment of the Money he was owing for his Bull of Privileges; he not being able to give them Satisfaction, (for the most of his Rents had been taken up Yearly by the King's Factors, and what he could purchase amongst his Friends, he had bettow'd amongst the Courtiers, for Procuring his Reconcilement with the King) was of new Excommunicate, his Person Arrested, his Rents Lifted by the King's Officers, and a Guard appointed to attend him in his own Castle at St. *Andrews*.

These Hard and Cruel Dealings made him fall into a Distemper of Mind; upon which, he was committed to the Custody of *Shevez*, who was declar'd his Coadjutor: But this did not satisfy the Malice of his Adversaries; for, at *Rome*, he was Accus'd of Heresy, Schism, Simony and a Number of other scandalous Crimes. Whereupon one *Hufman* was sent Legate to *Scotland*, in the Year 1477, before whom he was
Exa-

(a) Vid. Spotisw. Hist. of the Church of Scotl. Book 2. Lesly, De Gest. Scot. Lib. 8. Buch. Hist. Scot. Lib. 12. Hawthornden's History of the V. James's; De Episc. & Arch. Fam. And. Hist. MS.

Examin'd and Depriv'd, as guilty of Schism, Heresy, Simony, and several other Crimes, and Sentenc'd to Perpetual Imprisonment.

Immediately, upon the Arch-Bishop's Deprivation, *Shevez* Posted to *Rome*, where he got the Sentence approv'd, and himself made Arch-Bishop, and upon his return to *Scotland*, was Consecrate in the Abby of *Holy-rood-house*, upon the Passion Sunday in Lent, in the Year 1478, the King being present, and a Number of the Nobility; at which time likewise he was made Legate and Primate of the Realm, and the Old Arch-Bishop was sent to *Inchcolm*, where he was committed Clois Prisoner, under the Custody of Four Keepers, and was after Transported to *Dumfermlin*.

The King, as we have said, being extremely addicted to Astrological Predictions, the Arch-Bishop amus'd him with a Prediction, wherein he told him, That he was in great Danger from some of his nearest Friends and Relations; but this he knew not from the Stars, but from the Secret Correspondence that was betwixt the Nobility and Clergy; however, those Prophecies incens'd the People both against the Arch-Bishop and the King, as having given themselves over intirely to the unlawful Art of *Necromancy*. Which when the Old Arch-Bishop heard, he wrote a Letter to the King from his Prison, wherein he told him, "That the Misery of his Imprisonment was not so Grievous unto him, as the sad Reports which he had heard of His Majesty's Estate, and that he could hardly believe them, but by his long Imprisonment; He could not but believe that *Shevez*, his Greatest Enemy, was in Great Esteem with him, tho' he was the Great Cause of all his Calamities, by Trusting to his Divinations, and making him Jealous of his own Brethren and best Friends; That it was no Wonder that those Arts Produced Distrust and Dissentions, since their Precepts proceeded from the Father of Lies and Discord; That to Foment Discord amongst Brethren, was ill Policy and worse Religion; To enquire about Future Events by the Stars, was great Ignorance, and that such Responses left Men always in a Wilderness of Doubts; That there was no other Difference between *Necromancy* and *Astrology*, but that in the One, Men run voluntarily to the Devil, and in the Other Ignorantly; That we cannot attain to the Knowledge of the Secrets above, and tho' we did, that we could not Divert the Wisdom of Heaven, which is not to be Resist, but Submitted to; That never any had Recourse to those Arts, but had Fatal Ends, Almighty Providence permitting That to befall them out of His Justice, which before the Unlawful Inquiry, was scarce Contingent; And that he should rest upon the Almighty's Providence, and then all Things would Succeed well with him, the Favours of GOD being able to Extricate him out of all his Difficulties.

But the King taking no Notice of this Good Advice, *Shevez* continu'd still in great Favour at Court, and the Old Arch-Bishop being Transported from *Dumfermlin* to the Castle of *Lochleven*, Died in his Imprisonment, after he had enjoy'd the Title rather than the Dignity, for Thirteen Years.

About this time, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, the King's Brother, was Imprison'd in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, for Treasonable Practices; who having made his Escape to *France*, and from thence coming over to *England*, prevail'd with *Edward* King of *England* to send his Brother the Duke of *Glocester* with an Army to Invade *Scotland*; and having gain'd the then Factious Nobility to his Party, the Duke of *Glocester* enter'd

the Country peaceably, with an Army of Twenty Two Thousand and Five Hundred Men. The Nobility, having calmly Submitted themselves to the *English* Army, committed the King to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, under the Custody of the Earl of *Atbol*, and Constituted Governours of the Kingdom, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany* the King's Brother, the Earl of *Atbol* his Uncle, *William Shevez* Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews*, *Andrew Stewart* Lord *Evandale* Chancellor, and *Colin* Earl of *Argile*.

These Persons Govern'd the Kingdom for Nine Months, and concluded a most Dishonourable Peace with the *English*: But the Duke of *Albany* being daily Importun'd by the Queen, and finding that he was not so much Respected as the other Governours, by the Assistance of the Citizens of *Edinburgh*, set the King at Liberty; upon which, the Arch-Bishop and the other Governours fled in great Terror and Amazement to their several Habitations.

We do not find, during all this King's Reign, that the Arch-Bishop was any way Troubl'd for those Treasonable Practices. In the beginning of his Son's Reign, there arose a Controversy betwixt him and *Robert Blacader* Bishop of *Glasgow*; for that Prelate, having obtain'd from Pope *Alexander VI.* the Erection of the See of *Glasgow* into an Arch-Bishopric, with the Jurisdiction over the Bishoprics of *Galloway*, *Argile*, and the Isles. Upon the 9th of *October* 1488, *Shevez* refus'd to Acknowledge him for an Arch-Bishop; upon which, both the Clergy and Noblemen went into Factions, some Inclining to the One, and some to the Other; but this Controversy was at length Agreed, tho' both Parties were Dissatisfy'd, *Glasgow* being Declar'd to be a Metropolitan Church, and the Honour of Precedency reserv'd to *St. Andrews*. Some Writers say, that this Arch-Bishop was induc'd to Dimit his Bishopric in Favours of Mr. *Andrew Stewart* Provost of *Lincolnden*, the King's Uncle, and to content himself with the Bishopric of *Murray*, to which the other was provided; but this seems to be an Absolute Mistake, for *Shevez* Died Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews* in the Year 1496, and was Buried in the Cathedral Church before the High Altar.

This Prelate, is said to have been one of the best Scholars of his Age, and for his Knowledge in Theology, Mathematics, and Medicine, is highly Commended, but he Sully'd all those Excellent Qualifications by his Ambition and Sinistrous Dealings, in acquiring the See, and abusing his Prince's easy Nature, by Sham Predictions, and by's Ingratitude in Intriguing and Joining with his Factious Nobility.

The Catalogue of his Works, *Psalter cum Notis propria Manu scriptis* Ext. MS. apud Guil. Gordonium de Balcolmy.

JEROME LINDSAY (a), Brother to *Alexander* Earl of *Crawfurd*, was Born in *Fife* in the Reign of King *James I.* and brought up according to his Quality in all the Liberal Sciences, but more especially in the Laws, to which he apply'd himself with great Vigour of Mind, and for his Knowledge in them, was made a Doctor both of the Civil and Canon Laws: But Affecting a Religious Life, he enter'd into the Order of *St. Francis*, and he and the Lord *Oliphant*, upon their own Expences, built a Cloyster for that Order, in the Town of *Pertb.* He flourish'd about the Year 1452, and is honourably mention'd by *Francis Gonzaga*

(a) Vid. Dempst. Lib. 1. Pag. 445. Gen: of the Nob, MS.

Gonzaga (b), Dempster says, that *Jordanus* calls his Book *De Legum Antiquarum Abrogatione*, a very useful Book, and that he wrote besides, *De Regularitate & de Vi Excommunicationis*.

NICOLAUS DEIDONANUS, so call'd from the Town of *Dundee*, the Place of his Birth (a), was Born towards the latter End of the Reign of King *Robert III.* or the beginning of King *James I.* Having finish'd the Course of his Studies in the *Belles Lettres* and Philosophy, apply'd himself to Theology, enter'd into Holy Orders, and became a Monk of the Order of *St. Dominic*. After which, he went over to *Germany*, where he was made Professor of Theology at *Cologne*. Whilst he was in this Station, he wrote a Book upon the Method of Interpreting the Sacred Scriptures, and Another concerning the Authority of Councils; both of which, are still Extant. He Died, in the Year 1460. Bishop *Lefly*, Lib. 8. Pag. 310. speaking of the Learn'd Men in the time of King *James II.* says of him and *John Eldmair*, *Prætor hos erant Nicolaus Deidonanus & Joannes Eldmair intimæ Sacræ Theologiæ Cognitione imbuti* The Catalogue of his Works, *De Methodo Interpretandi Sacras Scripturas*, Colon. 1613; in 8vo. *De Autoritate Conciliorum*, Ibid.

THOMAS, the XXII. Abbot of *Wirtzburg* (a), Govern'd that Abbacy for Twenty Years, and Died in the Year 1438. Dempster says, that he wrote a Book concerning the Founding of Fifteen Monasteries in *Germany*, for the Scots; *De Fundatione Quindecim Monasteriorum in Germania pro Scotis Peregrinis*, which he acknowledges he never saw, but that it was Commended by *Ninian Wingate* Abbot of *Ratisbonne*.

WILLIAM TURNBULL Bishop of *Glasgow* (a).] This Reverend and Learn'd Prelate was Descended from an Ancient Family, and Born towards the latter End of the Reign of King *Robert III.* having finish'd the Course of his Studies, he enter'd into Holy Orders, was made Lord Privy Seal, and afterwards Bishop of *Dunkeld*, upon the Death of *John Ralston*, if we may believe Dempster: *Spotiswood* says (b), that Mr. *Thomas Lauder* succeeded to *Ralston*; but in an Old Charter which I have seen, *Henry Douglass*, a Son of the Earl of *Douglass*, is mention'd as Bishop of *Dunkeld* betwixt *Ralston's* Death, which happen'd in the Year 1450. and *Lauder's* Accession to that See. But whether our Prelate was prior to *Douglass*, or not, I know not; but 'tis certain, that he was preferr'd to the See of *Glasgow*. Bishop *Lefly* (c), Places his Death either in the Year 1454 or 55, but Dempster, with greater Probability, makes it about the Year 1457; for I find his Successor *Andrew Moorhead* mention'd in a Charter, in the Year 1458. This Excellent Prelate obtain'd a Bull from Pope *Nicolaus V.* for Founding an University at *Glasgow*, *Ut Studium Generale vigeat tam in Theologia ac jure Canonico & Civili*, (as the Words of the Bull are) *quam Artibus & Qualibet aliâ Facultate, quodque Doctores & Magistri ibidem, omnibus & singulis Privilegiis, Libertatibus, Honoribus, Immunitatibus, Exemptionibus, per Sedem Apostolicam vel Aliis quomodo libet Magistris, Doctoribus & Studentibus, in Studio nostræ Civitatis Bononiensis concessis, Gaudeant & Utantur.* The Persons Founded were a Rector, a Dean of Faculty, a Principal or Warden, who

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(b) Orig. Seraph. Reliq. Par. 3. Pag. 829. (a) Vid. Dempst. lib. XIII. Pag. 505. (c) Dempst. Lib. 18. Pag. 615. 144) Dempst. Lib. 18. Pag. 623. (b) Lib. 2. Pag. 114. (c) Lib. 8. Pag. 306.

who was to Teach Theology, Three Professors to Teach Philosophy. Afterwards some Clergy-Men profess'd the Laws there, they being induc'd to that Profession, rather from the Commodiousness of leading a Collegiate Life, than by any considerable Salary. King James II. bestow'd considerable Revenues upon it, and Endowed it with large Privileges and Immunities, as it appears from his Letter under the Great Seal, upon the 12 of the Kalends of May, 1453, where these Words are, *Ommes & Singulos Rectores qui pro Tempore fuerint, Facultatum Decanos, Procuratores Nationum, Regentes, Magistros & Scholares in hac Universitate Studentes, sub Nostrâ firmâ Pace & Custodiâ, Defensione & Manutenentiâ Suscipimus, eosdemque Rectores, &c. ab Omnibus Tributis, Exactionibus, Taxationibus, Collectis, Vigiliis, Custodiis, Eximimus, & Postea eximendos Statuimus*: Bishop Lesly speaking of this Prelate's Death, says of him, *Hoc Tempore D. Turnbullus, Episcopus Glasgoensis, Pietatis & Doctrinæ Laude præstans Collegium Pecuniis Prædisque satis amplum, ad Literarum Studia excitanda, fovendaque erexit: Cui extremum Manum imposuisset, atque ad Amplitudinem multo majorem Evexisisset, nisi istius Consilium Pietatis ac Studii in Ecclesiam plenum, Mors importuna pervertisset*. Dempster says, That at the Erection of the University, he had an Oration to them, and that he made the Statutes of the University; both which are very Probable. We have Observ'd, in the Life of Bishop Kennedy, That he was made one of the Six Governours of the Realm. The Catalogue of his Works, *Oratio ad Accademiae suæ Professores. Accademiae Glasguensis Statuta*.

THOMAS WISHART was Born about (a) the Reign of King Robert III. who having finished the Course of his Studies, went over to Paris, where he was made a Professor of Philosophy in that University; and having afterwards apply'd himself to the Laws, he was made *Doctor Utriusque Juris*. He flourish'd about the Year 1417, and Died there, and was Buried in the Church of St. Genevieve, in the 68 Year of his Age. Dempster says, that he wrote a *Martyrology*, wherein he Inserted all the Scots Saints; which was Publish'd at Paris.

These being all the Authors that have fallen within the Compass of my Knowledge, from the 500 to the 1500 Tear of Our LORD, I shall Conclude this Volume with an Account of some of our Chartularies, Register-Books and Anonymous Writers.

IN the Old Monasteries of Scotland, there were Three Sorts of Register Books. As I. A General One, which, by Way of Annals or Chronicle, gave the Yearly Occurrences, relating to the Public; as the Book of Pasley. II. Their Obituaries, wherein were Recorded the Times of the Death and Places of Interment of their Chief Benefactors, Abbots, Priors, and other Great Men of their Respective Houses, and of this kind is the Book of Kinlofs. III. Their Chartulary or Register properly so call'd, wherein were Recorded the Charters of the Kings, and Bulls of the Popes, which had passed in their Favour, and the more private Grants of Inferior Benefactors, such as the Book of Dumfermlin, &c.

[*Liber Monasterii de Dumfermlin*] This Book is a large Folio all Parchment. The first Eleven Leaves are in a modern Hand, except the First Page, and seem to be Rights granted in Favour of Private Persons

Persons; I Judge this has been added when the Book was new Bound. In the 11th. Leaf begins an Index, in an Alphabetical Order, relating to the following Charters. In the 14th Leaf are *Bullæ Papales*; The 15th Leaf begins with Charters of Private Men, and are continu'd to the 35th Leaf: All this, before were in a Modern Hand, and seem to be added to the Book at the Binding; Leaf 35. the old Records of the Monastery, in an old Character much suddled, begin and continue for 7 Leaves. Then follows the Charter granted by King *David*, with *David Rex* marked on the Head of the Page, for 4 Leaves; Then *Malcolmus Rex*, for 2 Leaves; *Willielmus Rex*, 3 Leaves; *Alexander Rex*, 2 Leaves; Then *Alexander Rex Filius Alexandri Regis*; the 19th Leaf on the Back-side has *Robertus Rex*; then *Carta Roberti Episcopi Sancti Andreæ*, Fol. 22. and so goeth on. Then follow the Charters granted by the Abbots of *Dumfermling*; Charters by King *James II.* *Carta Roberti Regis de Custuma Magna*; Next are the Charters by the Bishops of *Dunkeld*; Then Charters of *Malcolm Earl of Athol*; *Bullæ Papales*, Fol. C. 11. *Charta Episcopi Sancti Andreæ*; Followeth some latter Charters; And in the last place, *Charta Archiepiscoporum Sancti Andreæ*.

R*egistrum Monasterii de Arbrothock.*] This Book is a *Folio* of the Lesser Sise, done in Parchment, in a fair legible Hand, it consisteth of 167 Leaves. The First Charter is for a Tenement in the Town of *Carrale*, (which I take to be *Crail*) by *Henry Abbot of Arbroth*, in the Year 1288. In the 166th Leaf, *Carta Erectionis Villæ de Torre in Burgum, jacent. infra Vice-Comitatum de Kinkardin*, granted by *James King of Scotland*, *Anno Millesimo Quadringentesimo Nonagesimo Quinto, Regni Nostri Octavo*: The Grounds of this Erection are, his Devotion to *St. Thomas*, and his Love to the Venerable Father *David Abbot of the Monastery of Aberbrothoc*, for the Alimenting and Supportation of the Foreigners, and of his Lieges, who shall lodge in the said Town, coming from beyond the Mount to our Town of *Aberbroth*, or other Northern Parts of our Kingdom. The Last Charter 167, is, *Commissio data certis Procuratoribus . . Limitationem Terrarum Ecclesiasticarum de Aberkerdor*, by *David Abbot of the Monastery of Arbroth*. The Book beginneth with the *Tabula Secundum Literas Alphabeti omnium in hoc Registro contentorum*, where the Number of the Leaves is marked, where each Writ is contain'd. This Index consisteth of 6 Leaves and a Part of a Page.

L*iber Arbrothenfis.*] This Book is a pretty thick *Quarto* in Parchment: It consisteth of several Treatises bound together. The First concerneth the Rights of the Abby of *Arbroth*, and consisteth of Thirty Leaves, in an old Character. It beginneth with a Charter of King *David*, and Fol. 29. there is a Charter of *Adam Abbot of Arbroth*, in the Year 1245. and on the Back-side of the Thirtieth Leaf, the Index beginneth and taketh up Seven Leaves and a Page. In the Second Treatise follows the Charters of several of our Kings, marked upon the Head of the Page, and divided in Chapters; it beginneth with *David Rex Scotorum*. Then King *William's* Charters reach from Fol. 30. to the middle of the Book, and then do begin the Charters granted by King *Alexander*, and continue till the 146th Chapter. The Third Treatise containeth the Grants by the Bishop of *St. Andrews*. The Fourth

containeth the Grants and Charters from the Bishops of *Brechin*, from Chap. 173. to Chap. 196. The Fifth Treatise containeth *Aberdeen's* Charters, from Chap. 196. to Chap. 203. The Sixth Treatise, at the 211th Chapter, begins the Charters of the Bishop of *Dumblane*, and continues to Chap. 216. The Seventh, containeth the Charters of the Bishop of *Dunkeld*, from Chap. 216. to Chap. 219. The Eighth, containeth the Bulls of Popes, from Chap. 220. to Chap. 227. The Ninth, containeth King *Robert I.* his Charters, in 13 Leaves. The Tenth, Charters granted by Noble-Men. The Eleventh, Charters granted by the Abbots of *Arbroth*. The Twelfth, some Charters of Private Men. The Thirteenth, A Charter from King *James*, Anno 1436. The Fourteenth, One from *Alexander Cuming* Earl of *Buchan*, in Anno 1289. The Fifteenth Treatise, containeth One from King *David*, the 15th Year of his Reign.

Antiquum Registrum Monasterii Sanctæ Trinitatis de Scona.] This Book is a thin *Quarto*, with the Records in Parchment, the Character is Old, yet Neat, it consisteth of 30 Leaves. The First Writ we meet with is a Bull of Pope *Honorius*, directed to the Abbot of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity at *Scone*, and his Brethren, as well present as to come, subscribed by the Pope, some Cardinals and Bishops, dated the Year of our Lord 1226, the 11th Year of his Pontificate, with the Seal the Mark of it. Several other Popes Bulls to the 9th Leaf. The 9th Leaf beginneth at a Grant of *Robert* King of *Scotland*, dated at *Scone* the 20th Year of his Reign, with some others continued to the 13th Leaf. Then follow several of King *Alexander's*. Then those of Noblemen, with them are mix'd some Charters granted by King *Malcolm* and King *Robert*. Then some by the Bishop of *St. Andrews* and the Abbots of *Scone*, &c.

Liber Cænobii de Balmerinoch in Fife.] This Book is a fair MS. in a Large *Quarto*, in Parchment, belonging to the Right Honourable *John Lord Balmerinoch*. Who the Author was, is uncertain, but it is most presumable he hath been an Abbot or Monk in the same Abby, and hath written his History in the Reign of *David II.* for, relating the Title of King *Robert Bruce* to the Crown, and mentioning his Daughter *Margery*, he takes Notice of her Son *Robert* as Steward of *Scotland*, Anno 1349, without Designing him, either Earl of *Strathern*, which Title he got in 1356, or King, which he was in 1370. on the Death of his Uncle King *David II.* Moreover, he mentions *Elizabeth Mure*, as only Wife to the above Lord *Robert Stewart*, which proves, our Author wrote before the *Stewart* Married his Second Wife *Euphan Ross* Countess Dowager of *Murray*, which by the bye, plainly shows, That the Blot of Bastardy thrown upon *Robert III.* is of a Modern Date, and not Vouch'd by our latter Historians, from the properest Authorities. This Author's chief Design seems to have been an History of *Scotland*, from the Death of *Alexander III.* to his own Time; taking in such antecedent Particulars, as had a necessary Relation to the Subject and Period of Time he was engag'd upon. To give his Reader a clear View of Affairs, he deduces the Genealogy of the Royal Family, from *Malcolm III.* and Queen *Margaret*, and is more Exact and Particular, as to the Pedegree of the Two Principal Competitors, viz. *Bruce* and *Baliol*, and their Descendents, than any I have hitherto observ'd. He is very Exact in his Chronology, as
to

to the Death of the Excellent King *Alexander*; The Constituting of the Six Governours; The Death of *Duncan* Earl of *Fife*, and Queen *Margaret*; The Competition of *Bruce* and *Baliol*, &c. The Battels of *Berwick*, *Dunbar*, &c. the Resignation of *Baliol*; Submission of the *Scots* to King *Edward*; The Attempts of *Wallace* and his Successors in Office; The Death of *Cuning* by King *Robert*, whose repeated Misfortunes, in his Entry to the Government, he relates, and ends his History, as to that King, with his Victory obtain'd over *Cuning* Earl of *Buchan*, and *Philip* Moubray, at *Inverury*, in Anno 1308. And then glanceth at the Coronation of King *David Bruce*, and concludes his Book with an Account, That *John Stewart* Earl of *Angus*, *Thomas Randolph* Son and Heir to the Earl of *Murray*, and other Nobles, were Knighted at that Solemnity.

L*iber Sanctæ Mariæ de Dryburgh.*] This Book is a *Quarto*, written on Lombard-Paper, in a Modern Hand, and easily read, a thick Volume written all over; it consisteth of 112 Leaves, and beginneth with a Confirmation by King *Malcolm*, of some Donations by *R. de Moravilla*; also a Confirmation by *Ric. Moravilla*, *Constabularius Regis Scotorum*, *Sup. Piscationibus de Berwick*, & *Decimis Molendinorum de Lauder & Saulton*. *Resignatio Joannis de Baliolo Patronatus Ecclesiæ de Lauder*, Anno 1268. Fol. 17. *Charta Henrici de Anstruther Super Botbis in dictâ Villâ*. This *Henricus Anstruther* is Stil'd *Dominus ejusdem*, in this Charter. Fol. 112. there is, *Resignatio Rogeri Filii Hutredii Piscatoris super prædicto Burgagio*, Anno 1338.

L*iber Carthusianorum de Perth*, 4to. Lombard-Paper.] This giveth the History of the Four First Periods; for it beginneth, *de Mundo Sensibili*, and giveth the Division of it into the Three Parts then known, *Asia*, *Europe* and *Afric*; and then proceedeth to shew the Rise of the *Scottish* Nation, and continueth the History of the *Scots* and *Picts*, till they became One Kingdom; and then goeth on till the Death of King *James I.* with whose Epitaph it endeth. By the Prologue in the First Page, it appeareth that this is the Compend of a large *Scoti-Chronicon*, the First Five Books of which were writ by the Venerable Presbyter *John Fordon*, and the remaining Eleven Books by the Reverend *Walter Broommaker*, sometime Abbot of the Isle of *St. Columb*, who died in the Year of Our LORD M. CCCC. XLIX, and with much Honour was Completed by him. The Writer, by the Prologue, appeareth to be one of the *Carthusian* Monks of *Perth*, for he saith, Considering the Prolixity of the great *Scoti-Chronicon* and the Tediousness the Reading of it might occasion, he had compendis'd the great Book to this of a middle and fit Sise, for the Comfort and Edification of himself and his Brethren the *Carthusians*, residing in the Retirement *Vallis Virtutis* (so he calleth them) Besides this mention'd in the Prologue, it is confirm'd at the Close of the Book, in the Title of the Epitaph upon King *James I.* thus, *Epitaphium Regis Jacobi primi Fundatoris hujus Domus Vallis Virtutis*. The Compend of the *Scoti-Chronicon* consisteth only of 12 Books, but he saith in the Prologue, That he had drawn it, *singulis Libris Memoratis*, out of each of the 16 Books of the great Chronicle. This Manuscript hath Marginal Notes through most of the Books, which mark the most considerable Passages of the History, foregaint the Places where they are

treated; these Notes are some of them in *Latine* and some of them in our Language, the Authors cited too are in some Places marked upon the Margin. In the First Part of the Book, till the Fifth Chapter in the Fourth Book, they seem to be marked with the Hand of the Writer of the Book; from thence, till near the End of the Book, they are marked with a better Hand. The most Remarkable Treatises in this Copy are these following. 1. The Account of the Lives of King *Malcolm* and his Queen *St. Margaret*, which, he saith, he extracted from *Turgot* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, who wrote their Life, as may be seen in the Tenth Chapter of the Sixth Book of this History. 2. The Genealogy of *Robert Bruce*, in the Sixteenth Chapter of the Ninth Book. 3. The Genealogy of King *Malcolm* and his Queen *Margaret*, is brought down to King *Robert Bruce*, in the Fourth Chapter, Tenth Book. 4. The Process of *Baldred*, a pretty large Account of it, which endeth at the Close of the Twentieth and Seventh Chapter of the Tenth Book. 5. *Baston's* Verses upon the Victory obtain'd by the *Scots*, at the Battel of *Bannockburn*, in the Seventh Chapter, Book Eleventh. 6. The Description of the Battel of *Otterburn*, in *Latine* Verses, written by *Thomas Varvy* Provost of *Botbwell*. 7. The Account of the Founding of several Monasteries by our Kings and Nobility. 8. An Account where several of our Kings and Queens, and some of our Nobility, were Inter'd. 9. There is a Particular Account of the Monasteries, Hospitals and Churches Founded by King *David*. 10. The Account, of the Homages done by our Kings to the Kings of *England*, that they were *salvis Dignitatibus*. The other remarkable Accounts may be seen marked upon the Margin of the Book.

AN Account of the REGIAM MAJESTATEM.] The First Authentic Body of our *Scots* Laws, is call'd the *REGIAM MAJESTATEM*, from the Two First Words in it; for it is the common Practice of the Doctors of the Civil Law, to make their Citations sometimes by the First Words of the Cited Chapter or Book, sometimes by the Figure, and often by both. The Compiler (a) declares, That King *David II.* put him upon the making of this Collection, and that it was taken out of a vast Number of Old Law-Books, as a Manual of the most known and common Practice of the then Courts of Judicature. Besides the Ancient Laws in this Collection, we have several Offices Describ'd with their Fees, Escheats and Profits of Court; Thus, in the Second Chapter, the Office of the *Chancellor* and his *Clerk* is describ'd, where it may be Remark'd (b), That the Barons had anciently great Territories from a certain Fee, which is appointed to the Chancellor and the Clerk, for Charters of Lands of an Hundred Pound of Old Extent; and that the Letter or Precept of *Safine* was a distinct Writ from the Charter it self; and from another Fee, *Pro litera Presentationis ad Ecclesiam vel Hospitale*, we may learn the King's Right of Presentation, and that the Parochial Churches and Hospitals were the Ecclesiastical Benefices at that time.

The Third Chapter treats of the *Justiciar* his Clerks and *Coronar*, he exerced his Office by Aires and Circuits, over the Country where the Sheriffs, Barons, and other Freeholders appeared, his Clerks are mentioned

(a) In Præf. (b) Vid. Sir James Dalrymple, Collect. Pag. 139, &c.

tioned in the Plural, because of the largeness of his Jurisdiction, the number of Causes before that Court; and their Fees are defined: The Office of the *Coronar* described, and his Casualties and these of his Clerk and Two Servants.

Cap. Fourth. The Office of *Chamberlane* hath been very great, for we find that his Fees have amounted to Two Hundred Pounds; His Jurisdiction was over the Burghs, their Provost and Baillies; And had his Aires as well as the Justiciar: His Fees did not arise from the Casualties of the Office, as these of the Chancellor, but (the Profits of the Escheats, Fines, Tolls, and Customs of the Burghs accruing to the King) had a set Salary paid out of them. From this Office we may observe the Antiquity of the Royal Burrows: The Sense of this Chapter is more distinct in the Manuscript, than in the Printed Copy, which would make one believe that the *Residuum de Amerciamentis*, &c. went also to the Chamberlane: In which Case it had been unnecessary to have divided the Two Hundred Pound from it, seeing they had both gone the same way: But it is more agreeable to the true meaning, to think that the *Residuum* belonged to the King, according to the Sense of the Manuscript.

Cap. Fifth, The *Stewart* is designed in these Laws, *Seneschallus Domini*, or *Domus Domini Regis*, albeit the Office at first was only over the Household, yet it came afterwards to be further extended. With us the *Stewarts*, our King's Predecessors, were first called *Seneschallus Domus Domini Regis*, then *Dapifer*, then *Seneschallus Scotiæ*, without any Alteration or Addition to their Office. And after the Succession of the Royal Family of *Stewart*, to the Crown, we find that Officer called *Magister Hospitii*, whose Power perhaps was less than the *Stewarts* once had been; and which was frequently exercised by the Family of *Argyle*. After the *Stewart*, the Offices of the King's Household are enumerated, such as, *Clericus Liberationis Domus Domini Regis*, (whom *Skeen* calleth Clerk to the Liveries) who was perhaps the Predecessor of the Comptroller; *Clericus de Coquina*, *Pannitarius*, *Buttelarius*, *Pistor*, *Braciator*, *Magister Cocis*, *Lardarius*, *Janitor*, *Ostiarus Coquinæ*, *Ostiarus Aulæ*, *Ostiarus ad cameram Regis*, *Factor ignis in Aula*; And after having specified all their Fees, addeth, That all the rest of the King's Servants, *De minori statu*, should have their Fees *vel per considerationem Domini Regis*, *Seneschalli*, *vel aliorum de Consilio Domini Regis*.

Cap. Sixth, The *Constable* and *Marisbal*-Court, the Jurisdiction of which was extended no further than within a few Miles of the King's Castle during his abode there, and concerned Trespasses and Ryots committed within the Bounds: In which Courts the King himself was often present.

Cap. Seventh. The Jurisdiction of the *Sheriff* is also defined in these Laws, and a certain Salary allowed him; His Clerks, Servants, or Serjeants had also their Fees: His Jurisdiction was over the *Barons*, and was subject to that of the Justiciar. We have here told us that the Amerciaments of the Justiciary-Court, *Ex parte Boreali maris Scotiæ*, were payed in Cattle; And these *Ultra mare Scotiæ sicut in Laodonia & inter Aquas de Forth & Tyne*, were payed in Money. We may observe from these Districts, that these Laws were made on the North-side of *Forth*, and that the Jurisdiction of Scotland extended also far as *Newcastle*, in the time of *Malcolm* the Second, whom the *English* Historians agree to have been Prince of *Cumberland* before his Accession to the Crown.

The Power and Privilege of the *Barons* appeareth to have been great ; For not only they, and their Vassals, who were called *Milites*, had their Courts with this Distinction, that the *Milites* could not Judge of Life and Limb, but only of *Wrang* and *Unlauch* ; But even the Vassals of the *Milites*, who were called *Sub-vassores*, had theirs : It is also plain from these Laws, that in the Case of Capital Crimes, the *Baron* got the Escheat of his Vassals, and that the King got it only of these that held immediately of him, except in the Cases of the *Four Pleas of the Crown*, wilful Slaughter and the Resettlers, and Treason, to which (i. e. to the Punishment of Treason) is added, *sine recuperatione hæredis* : From which we may observe, that at that time there hath been no Tainting of Blood depriving the Heirs, of what Possessions, Dignities, or Offices they had, or Incapacitating them to acquire new Ones : There was a less Punishment for the rest of ordinary Malefactors, upon Earl, Baron, or any other, *sub pena amissionis, Curiae suæ in perpetuum*.

With these Old Laws there are several other Treatises Printed, as

1. *Quoniam Attachiamenta* ; named likewise from its first Words. It has 101 short Chapters, of the like Contents with those in *Regiam Majestatem* ; and is suppos'd to be about the same Age.

2. *L. L. Burgorum*, made by King *David* the First at *Newcastle* upon *Tyne* ; wherein are all things requisite for the good Government of Boroughs and Market-Towns, in 143 Chapters. A few of the last of these are not thought to be so Authentick as those in the beginning, and others are expressly said to be Enacted by latter Powers.

3. *Curia quatuor Burgorum* ; being some *Byrlaws* of that Court, held at *Sterling* in the Year 1405. and an Act of Parliament (in 1368) to make *Lanerk* and *Lithgow* Two of the Four, as long as *Bermick* and *Roxburgh* continued in the hands of the *Englisb*.

4. *Statuta Gildæ* ; made by *Robert Durham*, Mayor of *Bermick* and his Brethren in 1283. They are 46 Rules for the Right Government of that Coropration in their Trade, the Ordering of the River, &c.

5. *K. David* the First's Assize about Weights and Measures, at *Newcastle* ; confirm'd expressly by Parliament, 4. *Ja.* 1. Cap. 68.

6. *Iter Camerarii* ; the Process and Matters of Enquiry, in the Lord Chamberlain's Courts, in 39 Chapters. Some say these were compiled, and first put in Practice, in the Reign of *James* the Third ; tho'tis certain such Courts were held long before his time.

7. *Brevis & succincta Forma Itineris seu Curie Justiciariorum*.

8. *Statuta Wilhelmi Regis*, at several Places (as *Pertb*, *Montrose*, and *Scone*) in 39 Chapters. They speak of Iron and Water Ordail, as Tryals still in Fashion.

9. *L. L. Forestarum*. They contain 22 Chapters, and are ascrib'd to *K. William* the First in an Old Manuscript of *Sir David Lindsay's* : But *R. Burnet* says, the Author of 'em is not certainly known.

10. *Statuta Alexand.* 2. in 25 Chapters. They begin at 1214. the first Year of his Reign.

11. *Statuta Prima Rob.* 1. in 35 Chapters. In one of which it is ordain'd that the Judges of all inferior Courts have Copies of the Laws given them by the Lords Justices.

12. *Statuta Secunda Rob.* 1. Some of the 38 Chapters here are Father'd at a Venture.

13. *Sta-*

13. *Statuta Regis David* 2. in 52 Chapters; wherein are some good Laws against Pardons and Dispensations.

14. *Statuta Roberti* 2. in 17 Chapters.

15. *Statuta Rob.* 3. in Forty Five.

There are a great many Manuscript Copies of the *Regiam Majestatem*; some whereof have other Law-Tracts annex'd to them than are here mention'd. In one of these we have these following, never yet Printed :

1. *In quibus Causis amittitur Feodum.* 2. *Processus Curie purpresturæ.* 3. *De Tutoribus & Curatoribus.* 4. A Scots Treatise of 18 Rubricks. 5. *De quatuor Modis tenendi Terras de Rege.* 6. The manner of Battail within Lists. 7. *Notabilia quedam concernentia Iter Justiciarii antequam ad Iter procedat.* 8. A Treatise concerning the Procedure before the Justice-Court. 9. *De Obligatione, & eam concernentibus.* 10. Some Questions about Divorcement, &c. 11. *De ratione Carte Consciendæ.* 12. *De pregnante damnata.* 13. *Constitutio de Mercatura.* 14. Several other Constitutions. 15. The Laws and Customs of Ships. [Hear the Censure which Master J. Skene long since gave of this Piece. It is, says he, *An Treatise collected and written by some particular Person, quilk is not Authentick, and contains ane brieife Summe and Abridgment of the auld Lawis, and is swna called because it contains the Ordinances anent the Customs of Ships, passand forth of this Realm or arryvand to the samin, laidened with Merchandise, and the Form of Customs, baith outward and inward*] 16. *Quedam Questiones Juris.* 17. The Forrest-Laws. 'Tis here a large Treatise; tho' only four Leaves in the Printed Book. 18. *De Judicibus.* [Of this likewise Mr. Skene gives this indifferent Character : *Ane long and large Rapsoidie, collected furth of all the Buikes containan the Civil Law of this Realm; It is not Authentick, but zit very profitable for Exposition of sundry Places of the Principal and Authentick Buiks. It is swna called, be reason the Beginning thereof is, de Judice Eligendo*] 19. *Tailzies.* 20. *Leges Marchiarum.* 21. *Statuta Militum predictorum.* 22. Several Titles of the Acts of K. Robert the Third, not in Print. 23. The Order of falling Doom. 24. *Expositio quorundam Vocabulorum in Chartis.* 25. *Apud quem Judicem Causa Feodi debet agitari.* 26. The Form and Method of Procedure in several Actions. 27. *Tractatus Coronæ.* 28. The Order and Manner of shewing Holding. 29. *Ultima Statuta Regis Roberti Bruis.* 30. Points belonging to the Wardens-Court: The chief Matters, 'tis true, in most of these are Moot-Cases in the Civil Law : But there are also so many of the Usages and Customs of Scotland interspers'd, that they ought not to be wholly overlook'd. There's another fair Copy of the *Regiam Majestatem* in my Lord Longuevill's Rich Library of Manuscripts; which begins as the Printed Book, but is afterwards carry'd on (in Lib. 7.) in a Method somewhat different. The First Book contains 38 Titles, and treats *de Jure personarum.* The Second has Eight, and is *de Contractibus.* The Third has Six, *de Ultimis Voluntatibus.* The Fourth Fifteen, *de Preparatoriis Judiciorum.* The Fifth Twenty Two, *de Actionibus Civilibus.* The Sixth Seventeen, *de Causis Criminalibus.* The Seventh Three, *de re Militari.* The last of these Three Titles is, *Leges Marchiarum*; which makes a distinct Treatise in the Manuscript at Edinburgh : And so most, if not all, of the foremention'd are here taken into the Body of the Book. In the same place there is a Third Copy agreeing more with the Print; in the Conclusion whereof is this Note, *Expliciunt Constitutiones Regni Scotiæ Editæ per David Regem Scotiæ quæ Intitulantur quatuor Libri seu quatuor partes*

partes Regiæ Majestatis Scriptæ per me M. A. 5to Junii, 1570. The *Formæ Literarum Cancellariæ* (mention'd in the *Oxford-Catalogue*) are Constitutions made by some of the *James's*; probably the First of that Name. Some of the Titles of 'em are these: *Breve Inquisitionis post Mortem Alicujus*; *Saisina post dictam Inquisitionem, quàm Terræ tenentur de Rege*; *Breve quod dicitur Furche, directum Baroni vel Domino Superiori*; *Breve de Aquæductu, &c.* There's a Fourth Manuscript Copy of these Laws in the Library of the Right Reverend the present Lord Bishop of *Normich*; the Contents whereof are particularly recited in the Printed Catalogue, and are (all of 'em) the same with some of those already mention'd. The Oldest I have seen belongeth to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Cromartie*, containing the Old Laws, including these of *K. R. Bruce*, about the end of whose Reign, it appears by the Character to have been written, and the Age of this MS. appears yet more by the not taking notice of the Laws of *K. David Bruce*, and other subsequent Kings, and its being shorter in many things than the printed Copy, and wanting many of the *Leges Burgorum* towards the end, of which *Skene* observes in the Margine, *Non inveniuntur in veteribus codicibus*: And further saith, *Moderno tempore scilicet Roberti Bruce, nam antiquitus tempore Regis David, &c.* And lastly, it contains an Explication of the difficult Words, in the *Affisa Regis David*, wherein is expressed, *Uncia debet ponderare XX. Denar: de Sterling, sed modo tempore scilicet Roberti de Bruce, Uncia continet XXI. Denar: sterling, quia moneta minuebatur in tanto.* This Manuscript beareth the following Inscription, *Malcolmus Makyneth, sequuntur Leges Malcolmi Makyneth qui fuit Rex victoriosissimus super omnibus nationibus Angliæ, Walliæ, Hiberniæ, Norwegiæ, ipse dedit totam terram Regni Scotiæ hominibus suis, &c.* This Glorious Inscription hath been made in the Reign of the Victorious *K. Robert the Bruce*: The Manuscript differs only in a few Words from the Printed Copy, and endeth with the 14th Chapter. It is like the two last Chapters in the Print *de Coronatore* hath been added by a later hand, the Third Chapter having formerly treated *De Coronatore*. This Ancient Copy is sufficient Authority to ascribe these Laws to *Malcolm Mackyneth*, and not to *Malcolm M'duncan*. Besides all the Registers above-mentioned, there is the Register of *CAMBUSKENNEITH*, which I have seen in *Folio on Vellum*, belonging to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Marr*; which has the Donation-Charter of *David I.* in the Third Year of his Reign, witnessed by several of the Bishops of that time. Also the *Liber Monasterii de KINLOSS*, is a formal History of the Abbots of that Place, and other Remarkables of their Monastery; written in *Latine* by *Ferrarius*, the Continuer of *Boethius's* History. The Author came into *Scotland* with *Mr. Robert Reid*; who was afterwards Abbot here, and Bishop of *Orkney*. It begins with the Foundation of the Abby, and is brought as low as the Year 1535. whence there are some imperfect Additions down to 1542. Here are also the Lives of Bishop *Reid* and his immediate Predecessor in the Abby of *Kinloss*, very particularly and at large; together with many Curious Remarks, on public and private Transactions, for a Succession of Four Hundred Years. The Original (written by the Author's own Hand, as appears from several of his Letters to Cardinal *Beaton* still extant in the *Scots College at Paris*) was lately met with, in the Queen of *Sweden's* Library at *Rome*, by Dr. *Jameson*;

Jameson; who transcrib'd it correctly, and kindly Communicated his Copy to several Persons of his Acquaintance.

In some Libraries, both in *England* and *Scotland*, there are Manuscript and Anonymous Histories of the *Scottish* Nation, which fall little short of the best of those that are publish'd, and have their Authors ascertain'd; of which kind are some of these that follow: 1. There's a very full and well written Book in the Hands of the Lord *Maitland*; (says Sir *George Mackenzie*, Def. of R. Line, Pag. 50.) which brings the *Scots* from *Spain*, about the Year of the World 3242. and makes them first Govern'd by Captains, before we were subject to the Kings mention'd in our other Histories. 2. Another Chronicle of the Kings of *Scotland* (together with those of *England*, *Norway*, and the *Isle of Man*) was given by Mr. *Dodsworth* to Sir *Robert Cotton*, in the Year 1621: whereof a Transcript is now, or was lately in the Hand of Dr. *N. Johnson* vide Catal: MSS: *Oxon*: Tom: 2. Par: 1. Num: 3843. 3. A Third History of our Kings (in Old *Scottish* Verse) from our first coming out of *Parthia* into *Ireland*, and thence to *Scotland*, as low as K. *James I.* A. D. 1405. is in the *Cottonian* Library. So is, A Fourth, which (having accounted for the Original and Progress of the Nation) endeavours to prove This Kingdom, in all Ages, subject to the Kings of *England*. This Book was Anciently in the Possession of the Great *Humphrey* Duke of *Glocester*. 5. In the same Place there is a short Abstract of the Lives of our Kings, from K. *Ewain*, who Dy'd in 721. in *Latine* Epigrams: The Treatise bears the Title of *Epitome Historiæ Rogeri Hoveduni*; and, towards the End has a mixture of *English* Affairs to the Year 1270. 6. *Pugnæ sive Conflictus Scotorum, tam externi quam interni*, is the Title of another Anonymous Manuscript; which well Answers its Inscription; 4to. In Bibl. JCC. *Edinburg*. Several more both in *Folio*. and *Quarto*, beginning at *Gathelus*, and falling as low as K. *James VI.* But they are mostly Translations of some of the larger Copies, or lesser Abstracts of *Forde*. The Manuscript History belonging to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Cromerty*, which I promis'd to give an Account of in the Life of *Walter Bowmaker*, is one of these; and is nothing else, but the same with the Continuation of *Forde*'s, which is in the Library of the College of *Glasgow*, as I have found, by causing them to be compar'd together; so that I would not trouble the Reader with any further Account of it.

We may likewise find some other Histories cited, which (at this Day, are hard to be met with; such as those by *Habakkuk Biret* (a Servant of Queen *Mary's*) *David Moise* and *John Colum*: With whom we may Rank *John Aldar*, an *English-man* (but when or where he Liv'd is not known) who is said to have written a great many Historical Tracts; none whereof are suppos'd to be now extant, except his Book *De Scotis & Hibernis*. Dr. *J. Jameson* found a *French* History of *Scotland* (in a *Vellum* Manuscript) in the King of *France's* Library, which may prove of more Note; since he observed the Language to be of a considerable Age.

The Most of all these MS. Anonymous Writers, Chartularies and Registers are mentioned by the Bishop of *Carlisle* in his *Scots Historical Library*; and a great many of them are to be found in the Lawyers Library at *Edinburgh*.

*Thus I have Finish'd all that I Promis'd
in the First Part of my proposed De-
sign, and shall proceed to the Second,
which is to give an Account of the
Lives, Characters and Writings of
those who have Flourish'd from the
Year One Thousand Five Hundreth,
till the One Thousand Seven Hun-
dreth Year of Our LORD.*

F I N I S.

*A Chronological and Alphabetical Catalogue
of the Scots Authors and Manuscripts Treated
of in this Volume, with their Names, when they
Flourish'd and Died, and where mention'd.*

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Joannes a Sacro-Bosco Professor of Mathematics at Paris	1256	161
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John Scot Bishop of Dunkeld	1203	383
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Robert Keith of the Order of St. Francis	1347	425
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Thomas Coldingham a Cistercian Monk	1387	422
Thomas Lermont of Erslingtoun.	1282	394
Thomas Wisliart Doctor of the Laws	1417	466
Thomas Varoy Provost of Bothwel	1380	297
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William an Abbot of the Order of St. Augustine	1290	403
William Abbot of Glenlufs in Galloway	1214	406
William Bailzie Doctor of Medicine	1482	432
William Bruce	1479	460
William Dempster Professor of Philosophy	1323	231
William Seton a Chirurgion	1495	441
William Shevez Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews	1496	462
William Turnbull Bishop of Glasgow	1457	465
William Malvoisin Bishop of St. Andrews	1238	404
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* Alexander Beaton M. D.	1620
* James Beaton Arch-Bishop of Glasgow	1601
Belesarius	440
* Thomas Bicartou Professor of the Belles	1594
Lettres in France	
Bernard	870
Adam Blunt	1317
* Alexander Boyd a Poet	1582
* Robert Boyd of the Society of Jesus	1620
* Robert Boyd of Trochridge, Professor of	1613
Theology at Saumer	
* Duncan Burnet M. D.	1620
Sahuel Beulamius	640
* Hector Boethius Arch Deacon of Aberdeen	1520
* Arthur Boethius Doctor of the Canon Law	1520
* Gilbert Brown Abbot of New Abbey	1612
* Richard Brown	1617
* John Brown a Minorite	1620
* James Brown Arch-Deacon of Aberdeen	1520
Stephen Brown	1340
* George Blackwood Professor of Philosophy	1571
† Henry Blackwood M. D.	1614
* Adam Blackwood Prof. of the Civil Law	1613
Bricmorus	1382
Gregory Bridlington	1217
* Mr. Robert Bruce the Reformer	1620
* Mr. George Buchanan	1582
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* Gilbert Burnet Professor of Philosophy	1620
* Robert Baron Doctor and Professor of	1620
Divinity in the Marishal College of	
Aberdeen	
† Robert Baleanqua Minister at Edinburgh	1620
* Walter Ballantine Professor of Phil.	1620
* Alexander Boyd Professor of Phil.	1620
* James Blair Professor of Phil.	1620
* Mr. Robert Blair Professor of Phil.	1620
* Mr. Andrew Bruce Professor of Phil.	1620
Mr. Patrick Bruce Professor of Phil.	1620

C.

Caducanus	1225
Cahinnechus	536
Caitanus	606
Calanus	358
Carpus	1100
Caranus	460
Carnocus	358
Cedda	671
Celach	658
Celfus	1100
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Christina	1070
Chromacus	660
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Christianus	1179
Cevillo	827
Cibrachus	640
Clarus	600
Chunilda	734
Coganus	800
St. Colanarus	697
Coinus	606
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Congellus	681
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B. Candidus	790
B. Claudia	92
B. Clemens	1256
B. Cornelius Azirichze	1447
Simon de Cramonda	1379
Claudius Clemens	815
Clemens	750
* William Chyfolm Bishop of Vaison	1620
* Benedictus Chelidonius	1519
* Chrysostome Campbel a Capucin	1620
Candidus	1158
† Jacobus Cadanus Prof. of the Civil Law	1612
† David Chambers Lord Ormond	1620
† Jo. Cambron Prof. of Theol. at Saymer	1620
† Thomas Cargil Professor of Philosophy	1604
Cogitofus	510
Celestinus	1234
† Alexander Cochurn Gent,	1571
* Alexander Cochurn Gent.	1503
* Patrick Cochurn Prof. of Languages at Paris	1552
Cornelius Hibernicus	1165
* John Colvil Gent,	1607
Conradus Ruffus	1319
† George Cone	1620
† Sir Thomas Craig	1606
† Alexander Craig	1614
* David Cranston Professor of Philosophy	1502
† Gilbert Crabe a Carmelite	1520
* James Crichton known by the Designa- tion of the Admirable Crichton	1581
† Geo. Crichton Royal Prof. of Greek at Paris	1611
* William Crichton a Jesuit	1616
† Andrew Crichton a Priest	1620
John Currar	1270
Williams Carr	940
Thomas Conferenus	1320
Robert Calder	1200
† James Curle a Jesuit	1615
* Thomas Carcart a Franciscan	1612
† George Chambers	1620
† Ja. Carmichael School-master at Haddingtoun	1620
† Ja. Chyne Prof. of Phil. and Mathematicks	1620
† William Couper Bishop of Galloway	1620
Alexander Cochran,	1430

D.

David	1120
David	523
Dévincus	880
Dimaus	664
Donatus	802
Diculus	650
Dympna	720
Donortius	1040
Donatus	1040
* Geo. Durray Abbot of Dumfermlin	1561
Drostanus	606
Dunstanus	606
St. Donanus	640
Duthacus	1249
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Dagamus	555
Damianus	1120
Daria	454
Deicola	590
Daria	520
Dunatus	344
Duffus	972
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B. Daniel	1569
David Douglass	1575
† Gavin Dumber Bishop of Aberdeen	1522
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* Patrick Dun M. D.	1570
Demetrius	110
† George Duly a Priest	1620
William Douglass	1110
Doban	751
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B. Dudoco	1031
* Gavin Douglass Bishop of Dunkeld	1521
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David	1375
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* John Dumbar M. D.	1620
David	1281
* Findlay Dickson Professor of Philosophy	1509
S. Designatus	508
Joseph of Dundranian	1291
Patrick of Dryburgh	1330
Michael Dirltoun	1444
* David Douglass Gent.	1521
† John Dumbar Prof. of the Belles Lettres	1591
Donatus	1158
* Samuel a Benedictin Monk, Prof. of Mathe.	1547
* George Dundas Professor of Philosophy	1620
George Dempster	1495
* John Dempster Professor of Philosophy	1561
* Tho. Dempster Professor of the Civil Law	1620
* John Dury a Jesuit	1587
* Walter Donaldson Prof. of Phil. at Sedan	1620
* Wil. Davidson M. D. Prof. of Phil. at Paris	1554
* Andrew Duncan Professor of Philosophy	1628
* William Duncan Professor of Philosophy	1620
* Marc Duncan M. D.	1620
Archbald Dumfries	1396
* Jo. Dazel or Dalyel Prof. of the Belles Lettres	1610
* Joseph Drumond Professor of Philosophy	1620
* William Drumond of Hathornden	1620
* George Douglass	1620
* Alexander Douglass	1620
* John Durwardus	1620
* David Dickson	1620

E.

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Erdwaldus	680
Erulphus	833
Egebertus	1459
Erthadus	930
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Eberhardus	675
Elifus	350
Englatius	1100
Ebba	630
Æthelreda	600
Eloquius	651
Ethernanus	666
Etto	651
Euthinus	534
St. Eustasius	624
Eunochus	606
Ernanus	606
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Edmund	1081
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* William Elphinston Bish. of Aberdeen	1597
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Ernulphus	1188
* Raphael Eclinus	1485

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Erueus	1300
* John Eldmair Prof. of Theology	1501
B. Evanax Marbodus	154
Eugenius III. before the Birth of our Saviour	15
* Tho. Evatus Prof. of the Belles Lettres	1551
* Jacobus Eclinus Prof. of Philosophy	1604
* David Eclinus Prof. of Philosophy	1620
* George Eglishame M. D.	1620

F.

Failbeus	649
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Foianus	495
Fridelinus	600
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* Grhame Laird of Fiotry	1593
* Jo. Forbes or Alexis	1597
Francis	1559
* Duncan Ferne Professor of Philosophy	1509
* Elias Forbes Professor of Philosophy	1555
S. Fastidus	440
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Robertus de Fedic	1182
* And. Foreman Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews	1521
* John Fogne Doctor of Theology	1550
* Thomas Forbes Professor of Philosophy	1502
S. Fothadus	681
* Fridericus Professor of Philosophy	1501
Fulgentius	211
Fugetus	1162
* John Frazer Professor of Philosophy	1605
* Ja. Flimin Professor of the Belles Lettres	1611
* William Fowler	1620
* Pat. Forbes of Corfs Bishop of Aberdeen	1620
* Jo. Forbes of Corfs Prof. of Theol. at Aberdeen	1620
S. Fulco	1210

G.

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Gernadius	812
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Geni:	

<i>Names</i>	<i>Flourish'd.</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Flourish'd.</i>
K.			
Kentegernus	560	Medananus	534
Kortilla	826	Mathilda	1118
Kenerth	442	Mimbornius	975
Kenotha	1007	Malachus	1161
Keneira	454	Macwlokus	320
K. Keneth	855	Maglastianus	818
K. Kinnatillus	880	Medothus	318
B. Kincardus	801	Minnanus	878
John Cuninghame	1399	Marnanus	962
St Kundakar	755	Mackefagus	520
Killianus	1090	Mundus	962
Kanillus	792	Magnus	1109
Keina	400	Molonathus	628
Kessogus or Mackessogus	700	Malimbæus	1024
Kentilla	910	Mathanus	886
Kevinus	807	Mirinus	969
Kenochus	1000	Marnocus	322
Kinedus	684	Maura	898
Kunegundis	454	Mathaanus	888
Kunera	454	Midanus	503
James Karden	1292	Mathulus	553
William Keith	1350	Maxentia	792
Peter Kyntyre	1275	Manerus	829
† Quintine Kennedy Abbot of Crofs-Rule	1564	Moveanus	444
† Ja: de Kelfo a Benedictine Monk, Prof. of Mathematics	1475	Mudanus	535
† Jo. Abbot of Killwining	1475	Melchiades	1120
† Rob. Keith Brother to the E. of Marisnal	1551	Moducus	534
† David Kinaird a Jesuit	1620	Moteferus	606
† David Kinloch M. D.	1620	Mono	738
† James Keland	1620	Mumbulus	661
L.		St Madacus	716
Luciade de Monte	886	Maildulphus	690
Levinus	633	Margaret	1400
Lolanus	664	Marinus	670
St Lefmo	731	Macbeathathgne	892
Levinus	609	Marnockdub	364
Libaria	291	Maforius	680
Lua	550	Macarius	454
Lugadius	630	Maurus	440
Lulus	755	Maurinus	900
Lupita	492	Malcallinus	987
* Ladilandius	1600	Menalchus	663
* Andrew Leech Doctor of Theology	1562	Menna	361
† Epiphanius Lindsay a Capucine	1620	Methodius	361
† James Logan	1502	Michael	1121
John Lundy	1453	Modesta	740
† James Leith M. D.	1620	Motomagus	600
Marcus Lyon	1312	Mooh	560
Thomas Licht	1231	Murdoch	800
George Landils	1291	Merinatu:	369
S. Laurence	995	Merinus	369
† Alexander Lyon Chanter of Murray	1527	Marc	912
† James Laigne a Doctor of the Sorbone	1594	Marcellus	950
John Littler	1419	Modestus	787
John Lesly	1307	Mellanus Probus	1199
† Jo. Lesly Professor of the Belles Lettres	1620	Magilmumen	891
Allan Lumisden	1395	Mauritius	1315
Liberius	440	Medanus	100
† Thomas Lauder Bishop of Dunkeld	1481	Modochus	322
† John Leech	1620	† Queen Mary	1587
Laurence Lindors	1411	K. Machabæus	1064
† John Lesly Bishop of Ross	1594	K. Malcom II.	1250
† Duncan Liddle M. D.	1613	Martin	1267
† George Lesly a Capucine	1620	Macerius	53
† James Logan	1620	† John Francis Metland a Minorite	1625
M.		Marcus Moubray	1372
Maccæus	460	† Alexander Morison	1620
Macra	300	Franciscus Myronis	1365
Machutes	563	Majolus	1061
Margaret	1097	Machabæus	369
St Mazora	717	Richard Midelton	1300
Malcolm	1097	Muricherodachus	1158
Mansuetus	62	Peter Maillart	1483
Molocus	590	† Peter Myrton Doctor of the Laws	1560
Mathilda	1238	† John Mure a Benedictine	1585
Malrubus	1024	† John Macbee	1550
		† William Manderston M. D.	1520
		† James Martin Professor of Philosophy	1576
		† Alexander Mill a Canon of Dunkeld	1511
		G E E E E	Gre-

<i>Names</i>	<i>Flourish'd.</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Flourish'd.</i>
S. Sylvenus	369	Theophantus	1398
* John Scot the Hermite	1531	Teclanus	1217
Samson	750	Thebaculus	369
Robert Slippingen	1410	Tyna	1164
* Rob. Stewart of the Order of St. Francis	1552	St Thelias	562
Serundus	120	Turgot	1115
*George Sibbald M. D.	1620	Tuda	664
*Henry Spittle Professor of Philosophy	1520	Trumherus	664
*David Scot Prof. of the Canon Law	1573	K. Thereus before the Birth of our Lord	138
*Robert Straloch Professor of Philosophy	1569	Timothy	1399
*Simon Simson a Doctor of the Sorbone	1585	Thomas	1438
*Tho: Smeton Principal of the Col. of Glas.	1578	Thadus	1070
*Henry Scrimger Prof. of the Civil Law	1524	Allan of Tiffdale	1421
Salyt. & Bardus	150	Theodoricus	1320
Silvius Bonus	310	Simon de Thondi	1184
Sylvius Bonus	1270	Thomas	1273
Simon	1270	B. Thelesinus	540
Salomon	1164	Thomas	1483
John Serlo	1160	Walter Treil	1385
John Seron	1319	Adrianus Turnebus	1564
*William Seton Prof. of the Civil Law.	1620	K. Tyrol	1163
*Alex. Seton Confessor to K. James V.		† James Tyrie a Jesuit	1592
* Alexander Seton Chancellor	1623	Robert Turner M. D.	1590
* James Seton a Priest	1620	† George Thomson a Jesuit	1595
Thomas Sandals	1257	† George Thomson a Minister	1608
S. Sanco	1412	Wendelinus	730
* Henry Santclare Bishop of Ross	1464	Winfid	560
* John Santclare Dean of Restalrig	1516	William	197
* David Seton Prof. of Mathematicks	1620	Wiminus	715
Thomas Sutron	1290	Wafnulpheus	651
James Strachan a Priest	1560	Walpurga	750
William de Sannuco	1244	Veranus	521
* George Wishart the Reformer	1547	St Winochus	598
* John Stewart Professor of Phil:	1581	Vigianus	1000
* Sir John Skeen Clerk Register	1610	Ultanus	654
* John Scharp Professor of Theology	1620	Vinianus	595
* Patrick Sharp Principal of Glasgow.	1600	Wiro	757
George Strachan Prof. of the Belles Lettres	1620	Ursula	445
S. Eigrandus	1066	Ulganinus	572
* Thomas Sigeus	1620	Walthenus	1140
* Semple	1595	Virgonus	606
John Cuninghame	1402	K. William	1213
* Alex. Scot Prof. of the Belles Lettres	1615	Waldramus	640
* Mr. Patrick Simson	1611	Veremundus	1090
* William Strythers	1620	† Ninian Winzet Abbot of Ratisbone	1569
* Patrick Sands	1620	William	1170
* James Sandelands	1620	William	1159
Thomas Synlerf	1620	William	1266
* Andrew Stephenson	1620	William	1140
* Robert Stephenson	1620	William	1259
* George Synlerf	1620	William	1227
* James Scot	1620	Waldenus	1394
* Andrew Simson	1620	† John Waldock a Franciscan	1541
* John Stewart	1620	Joannes Varius	1490
* George Surke	1620	† Richard Wigton a Carmelite	1465
* Andreas Sylvius or Wood	1620	† David Waterston a Carmelite	1524
* Jo. Strang Principal of the College of Glas.	1620	† John Wourem a Canon Regular	1546
† William Semple	1620	† Thomas Winterhop Prof. of Philosophy	1552
		Vardeus	1214
		William	1160
		† John Willox the Reformer	1569
		† John Welsh a Minister	1600
		† Andrew Wilkie	1606
		Walter	1164
		† Robert Wachop Arch-Bishop of Armach	1551
		† Florentius Volufenus	1536
		† Thomas Wishart Professor of Philosophy	1417
		† William Valcart Prof. of Mathematicks	1577
		† William Walwood Prof. of the Civil Law.	1602
		* George Wachop Prof. of the Bel. Lettres	1595
		† Da. Wederburn School-Master at Aberdeen	1620
		† Michael Wallace	1620
		† David Udar	1620
		† Alexander Wederburn	1620
		† William Wallace	1620
		† Robert Wilkie	1620

T.

Tanco	820
Theodorus	690
Thotnanus	689
Tolmanus	697
Tigernacus	823
Trumwinus	680
Tefanus	1145
Trefanus	522
St Totanus	606
Timotheus	80
Tarnanus	800
Tarkinus	889
Tergulus	505
Trudbertus	590
Triduana	802
Thewanus	684
Thomianus	664

E R R A T A.

*P*Age. 13. Line 30. *after* Grace *Read*, Then he condemns those who say, That Men &c. p. 132. l. 8. *Read thus*, remains amongst us. By an Ancient Law made by *Evenus* &c. p. 149. l. 11 *read* Greek *and* Hebrew. p. 191. l. 31. *after* Poems, *read* and tho'. p. 200 l. 25. *after* Science to *read* the. p. 256. l. 36. Northfold *read* Northfolk. p. 261 l. 3. *read thus*; 'And therefore the Pope says, the Bishop of *Tork* could, &c. p. 271. l. 17. Laner *read* Lanerk. p. 315. l. 3. there was sharp *read* there was a sharp. p. 330 l. 3, by Bull *read* by a Bull. p. 332. l. 36. *dele* St. p. 336. l. 38. the they *read* that they. p. 350 l. 21, on the Life *read* in the Life. p. 403. l. 4. wen *read* Owen; *ibid.* l. 15. Brethen *read* Brethren. p. 411. l. 33. *read* Chancellor to King William. p. 479. l. 1, 187. *read*. 1086.

What other Mistakes may be, 'tis hop'd the Candid Reader will please Correct.

The End of the First Volume.



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